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THE

WORKS

OF

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SUCCESSIVELY

BISHOP of BANGOR, HEREFORD, SALISBURY,
and WINCHESTER.

Publiſhed by his SON

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VOLUME THE THIRD,

CONTAINING

V. POLITICAL PIECES;

VI. An Account of the LIFE and WRITINGS of Dr. CLARKE;

VII. PRACTICAL DIVINITY;

AND,

VIII. A Letter to CLEMENT CHEVALLIER, Eſq.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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The Chriſtian Race.

1 CORINTHIANS ix. 24, 25.

Know ye not, that they which run in a Race, *run all, but* One *receiveth the Prize? So run, that ye may obtain. And every Man that ſtriveth for the Maſtery is temperate in all Things. Now* They *do it to obtain a* corruptible *Crown, but* We *an* incorruptible. p. 820.

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From May 31, 1740, *the firſt Day of* Fournier's *Appeal, to* Sept. 4, 1740, *the Day of the Date of his Note, no one Mark of any Thought in the Biſhop to give him a Sum of Money*; *but ſeveral of* Fournier's *deſigning ſomething bad.* p. 971, 972.

From Sept. 4, *to the End of* 12 *Months,* Fournier's *Forgery of four Notes over the Dean of* Jerſey's *Name for* 1000 *l. ſworn by the Dean in the* Common-Pleas: *which Oath being never anſwered, and the* Cauſe *deſerted by* Fournier, *remains ſtrong upon Him.* p. 972—974.

The ſaid Four Notes, *and the* Note *over the* Biſhop's Name, *ſent to the* Biſhop, *in* 1741, *by Mrs.* Fournier. p. 973.

By F's *firſt Account in* 1740, *and* 1741, *to Dr.* Le Moine, *and Mr.* Maynard, *the* Note *was given by the Biſhop for ſo much Money*; *as a Compenſation for the Injury the Biſhop had done him by his Judgement, in his Appeal.* p. 974.

By the ſecond to the ſame Perſons, it was the overflowing of Good-nature, and the Effect of ſtrong Liquors which the Biſhop uſed to ſupport Himſelf with, till he hardly knew what he did. ibid.

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In his Letter to the Biſhop, Auguſt, 1743, *the Note was declared to be a wicked Contrivance of the* Biſhop, *and the Dean of* Jerſey, *to ruine him by putting ſuch an incredible Sum into it,* &c. p. 976, 977.

By his Account to Mr. Rant, 1745, *the Note was again a Note ſeriouſly for the Sum mentioned in it.* p. 977—979.

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Fournier's *own Witneſſes in the Cauſe, rather Witneſſes* againſt *his Note than* for *it.* p. 990.

His very remarkable Croſs-bill againſt the Biſhop entirely deſerted by himſelf. p. 992.

A Recapitulation. p. 993, 994.

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V.

POLITICAL PIECES.

VIDELICET,

I. *Letters ſigned* Britannicus, *publiſhed in the* London Journals, *from* September 15, 1722, *to* January 9, 1724; *comprehending, amongſt other Subjects,* Remarks *on the* Speeches *of Mr.* Kelly, *and the late Biſhop of* Rocheſter (Atterbury), *at the* Bar *of the* Houſe of Lords, 1723.

II. *An* Enquiry *into the* Reaſons *of the* Conduct *of* Great Britain, *with Relation to the preſent* State of Affairs *in* Europe. 1727.

III. *A* Defenſe *of the* Enquiry *into the* Reaſons *of the* Conduct *of* Great Britain, &c. *occaſioned by the Paper publiſhed in the* Country Journal, *or* Craftſman, *on* Saturday, January 4, 1728-9.

LETTERS

SIGNED

BRITANNICUS,

Publiſhed in the London Journals, from Sept. 15, 1722, to January 9, 172$\frac{4}{5}$;

Comprehending, amongſt other Subjects,

Remarks on the Speeches of Mr. Kelly, and the late Biſhop of Rochester (Atterbury), at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, 1723.

ADVERTISEMENT.

AT Number cc. of the London Journal, Britannicus is interrupted in his preſent Subject by the Publication of Mr. Kelly's Speech in his Defenſe at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, which was followed immediately after by that of (Atterbury) the late Biſhop of Rocheſter; on both which Occaſions He thought proper, that the Antidote ſhould follow the Poiſon as immediately as poſſible; and accordingly poſtponed all other Subjects, to purſue theſe Performances with his excellent Remarks; which have been ſince confirmed by a late Publication of Bp. Atterbury's Correſpondence with the Pretender and his Friends. In this the Editor has perpetuated his Infamy to Poſterity, by adding a Copper-plate; in which his Hand-writing is aſcertained with the greateſt Exactneſs. There was at that Time ſo great a Call for theſe Papers, that they were immediately republiſhed as diſtinct Pieces, in two thin Folio Pamphlets, 1723: with the following

ADVERTISEMENT.

“ THE following *Remarks* upon Mr. Kelly's Defenſe at the Bar of the Houſe
“ of Lords, as well as thoſe which will follow upon that of the late *Biſhop* of
“ *Rocheſter*, were firſt written with no other Deſign, but that of vindicating
“ *Juſtice*, and *Truth*, and *Religion* itſelf, from the *Great Hurt* done to them, by
“ ſuch open *Miſrepreſentations*, *Falſhoods*, and *Prevarications*; as I believe hardly
“ ever yet met together, before theſe two Perſons made their Defenſes. If in
“ the main, and as far as the *Publick* is concerned, theſe Obſervations are founded
“ upon *Evidence*, *Reaſon*, and *Equity*; they will remain, on one Hand, as *Teſtimonies*
“ againſt their *Treaſon*, as well as againſt their inexcuſable Manner of
“ Defenſe; and, on the other Hand, as *Teſtimonies* of the *Patience* and *Unbiaſſedneſs*
“ of their *Judges*, and of the *well-grounded Juſtice* of the *Sentence* paſſed upon
“ them. At leaſt, it is hoped, they will be received as *Teſtimonies* of the *Writer's*
“ ſincere *Love* of his *Country*; and of his hearty Deſire that ſo great and neceſſary
“ *Tranſactions* may not be tranſmitted down to *Poſterity*, only under the moſt odious
“ Colours with which the *Conſpirators* themſelves have painted them out:
“ but be accompanied at the ſame Time with ſome of the plain *Advantages*
“ of *Honeſt Simplicity*, and *Undiſguiſed* Truth. BRITANNICUS.”

LETTER I. London Journal, Sept. 15, 1722.

SIR,

THERE is nothing that has done more Miſchief to good Conduct with Regard to the Publick, than the *Extremes* Men have been apt to run into, in the Heats of their Oppoſition to one another; and there is no Time perhaps in Hiſtory in which this has been more ſeen, than it is at preſent amongſt ourſelves. In the *Common Writers*, who have of late very much governed the Politicks and Paſſions of Men, there ſeems to have been a Conſpiracy to deſtroy the right Notions of Things from off the Earth, and to ſubſtitute in their Room ſomething which is agreeable to the Reſentment and Anger of themſelves and others; ſomething that, inſtead of correcting or abating, falls in with, and flatters the Uneaſineſſes and Outcries of the World; fomenting and encreaſing that Ferment upon which it is formed, and out of which entirely it ſprings. I will give now one very remarkable Inſtance of this, and perhaps afterwards ſeveral more.

There is not a more great or more noble Idea amongſt all that have any Relation to human Society, than that of a PATRIOT, and of Patriotiſm. But if one were to judge from much of the Conduct and Writings of this laſt, and the former Year, what could one think, but that any Thing will do for a *Patriot*, that is but hot and ſtiff equally in every Point propoſed? This has gone on to ſuch a Degree, that we have ſeen an open Avowal of a never-failing Oppoſition to whatever is to be brought on by ſome Perſons, put upon the World for the Heighth of a Virtue, which is entirely loſt in a Cloud of Duſt, as ſoon as it is governed by ſuch a Rule. Some Gentlemen have thought the Rule ſo good, that they have entertained the World with *Publick Advertiſements* at the Time of the late Elections, founded upon it: One deſires to be choſen Member, and he merits it—*having never given one Vote with the* Court.—Another, *having oppoſed the Miniſtry in every Thing*.—A Third, *having no Place or Penſion*; and giving his Word and Honour (a raſh Reſolution!) that he never will accept of any.—A Fourth gives his Electors warning againſt his *Antagoniſt*, that *he was ſeen once ſpeaking with a Man in a great Poſt*—and that *this great Man had ſpoke favourably of him*.—A Fifth gives publick Notice, that his Brother Candidate *is an Officer of the Militia*, a Poſt of a great Income, and in the Nature of it under the Direction of the *Lord Lieutenant* of the *County*.—And he (injured Gentleman!) cannot bear ſuch a Reproach, but obliged the World with a ſolemn Declaration, that *it is a* Poſt *of* Trouble *for the Service of his Country, and not of* Profit; *and that it cannot* directly *or* indirectly influence him from his *Reſolution of oppoſing every thing propoſed*.—And more of the like ſort; too many to be enumerated. It was always doubtful with me, whether to receive ſuch Notices of the Diſpoſitions of my Countrymen with *Laughter*, or *Pity*, or *Indignation:* And therefore ſometimes *One* took Place, and ſometimes *Another*.

——*Ut mihi ſæpe*
Bilem, ſæpe jocum veſtri movere tumultus!

It is not that I have any Fear upon me, but that the *raſh Reſolutions* of theſe Gentlemen againſt all *Places*, and their vicious Modeſty and Humility, may be overcome by Importunity; and they *prevailed upon* to give themſelves to the Service of their Country in ſome *Poſt* or other, which ſo much wants the Help of Perſons of ſo great and ſelf-denying *Geniuſes*. But I own, I am in Pain for one of the greateſt Virtues of the ſocial Life: For what is all *this*, but the turning *Patriotiſm* into *Ridicule*; and bringing into Contempt, amongſt thoſe that know the World, and the Movements and Viciſſitudes of Men's Paſſions, that *Publick-ſpiritedneſs*, which alone, rightly underſtood, can ſave us from utter Deſtruction?

And I am ſtill more in Pain, for the preſent Deceit upon thoſe who know little or nothing of theſe Arts and Tricks of Management in the World. When a young Man is firſt choſen into Parliament, he can be compared to nothing better than to one born into a new World, ſurrounded with new Objects and new Relations, deſtitute (in great meaſure) of Experience, the Mother of political Wiſdom, knowing no Oracle to go to for Direction, but his own young and freſh, and in their own Nature haſty Obſervations, and Concluſions from them. If he gives himſelf Leave to think at all, and is not abandoned to Inſenſibility, or wholly ignorant what the Publick, and what his own Intereſt mean, he cannot but feel ſome Impreſſion and Weight in the Reflection, that *Every Step he takes, and every Vote he is to give, will have ſome Influence upon the Fate of his Native Country*; and that he can never anſwer it to his *Honour*, or to that Country, if he does not form himſelf upon the beſt Model, follow the beſt Examples, and conduct himſelf by the beſt Maxims he can frame from the Obſervations of others of greater Experience than himſelf.

In this Temper he comes up with all the Sincerity of unexperienced Youth, and all the Warmth natural to thoſe of that Age, in whatever they embrace or propoſe to themſelves as right and good; reſolved to ſave and ſerve his Country, and ſtruck with the Love of Praiſe and Glory from that Reſolution, he comes up, free from all that Jealouſy which is begot by Experience only; and never having had the Experience of being deceived by others, he imagines *them* as ſincere as himſelf; and he takes *that* for Reality and Probity of Intention, which is only *Practice* upon ſuch as himſelf, and the *uſual Management* of good Workmen, to make themſelves formidable enough to be courted into what they have ſo much proteſted againſt. What muſt ſuch a one think or do? He comes with theſe Diſpoſitions; and he finds the *beſt* as well as moſt *popular Words* fixed upon by Men of no ſmall Vogue and Figure: They have taken Poſſeſſion of them, and preſſed them into their Service; and by the Magick of their Names, accompanied with Noiſe and Poſitiveneſs, have gained a great Reputation and many Followers: How eaſy therefore is it, without a great deal of Thought and Care, for him to be charmed with the Voice of ſuch Oracles; to add himſelf to the Number of thoſe who *conſult* them, and to imitate their *Conduct*, that he may have a ſhare in their *Popularity?* And how well, perhaps, he may come to think, it will ſound in his Country,—*Mr. N—— is certainly right,—he oppoſes every thing,—he is reſolved againſt all Places,—he votes every Vote againſt the Court,—he follows my Lord —— and Mr. ——, who are great Patriots, and though* Whigs *yet join with our Friends to ſave their Country.*—As for the old and experienced *Craftſmen*, who know the Force of the Methods they take for their own Purpoſes, they conduct themſelves by their *Wills*, and not by their *Underſtandings*; and by their *Wills* only they *ſee*, and *hear*, and *ſpeak*, and *act*; and it is in vain to apply to any other Faculty about them: But this is the *Bewitchery*, which I fear may ſeize upon the Unexperienced, before repeated *Tryals* and long *Uſe* in ſuch Affairs can have fortified them againſt it.

What therefore is to be done? What can be done in ſuch a Caſe, but to make *greater Caution*, and a greater degree of Conſideration, ſtand in the Place, and ſupply the Want, of long Experience? To be above that mean and abject State of Soul, on each Side, as to ſpeak, or vote, or act, becauſe either a *Courtier* or an *Anti-*

courtier ſpeaks, or votes, or acts thus? If I feel that I truly love my Country, *this* is Satisfaction enough to me, if I have a well-formed Mind, that I am a *Patriot* in the beſt Senſe: And if I feel this, one Minute's Thought will convince me, that the ſole Point to me is, *what* is propoſed, and not *by whom*. If it be good and unexceptionable, it ought to give the more Joy to every honeſt Mind, that it comes from *Them* who are in Power: And if it comes from *Others*, it ſtill ought to be received and applauded, let all in Power receive or reliſh it how they pleaſe. And the Judgment about it every Man muſt form for himſelf, upon the *Arguments* only made uſe of on each Side: And I hope it is no unreaſonable Suppoſition, that every Gentleman, who thinks himſelf capable of repreſenting his Country, thinks himſelf capable of *voting*; and that, if he thinks himſelf capable of voting, he thinks himſelf capable on which Side to do it.

But I muſt ſtop for the preſent; and will take the next Opportunity to proſecute this Subject farther, in order to ſhew more fully the Marks of the *Real* and *Pretended* Patriot. *I am,* SIR,

Your humble Servant,

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER II. London Journal, Sept. 22, 1722.

SIR,

IT has fared in our Days with the *True Patriot*, juſt as it ſeems to have done with CATO in *Horace's* Time; or at leaſt, according to the Alluſion he makes for the Uſe of miſerable Imitators of Great Characters. *A Man*, (ſays he) *puts on a ſcrowe Countenance, and comes abroad in a ſevere and horrid Dreſs; but what then? Is this to perſonate the Virtue and Manners of* Cato?—*Vultu torvo ferus, & pede nudo—Virtutemne repræſentet, moreſque* Catonis? No. There is ſomething more wanting to finiſh the Likeneſs, than merely to be Rough and *Untractable*. The Man in *Martial* might as well have hoped to be like the *elder Cato*, by being *ſometimes drunk*; or like *Tully*, by *making bad Verſes*; as any one may hope to come up to the Character of a *True Patriot*, by having only a few of the worſt *Lineaments* that perhaps ever belonged to any of them. But thus it has been, and, I fear, is ſo ſtill. *To look ſowre—To be conſtantly and remarkably out of Humour—To dictate with a loud Voice*, if a Man be bleſſed with ſtrong Lungs—*To be impatient of all Contradiction—To beſtow the worſt Names upon all who differ*—Sometimes, upon great Occaſions, *to foam at the Mouth, and look black in the Face*—And above all, *To be reſolved to approve of nothing that is done*—I have myſelf known ſome, or all of theſe, to paſs for the Marks of a *True Patriot*, when, in Truth, they are no more ſo, than *To look dark and ſolemn* is the Mark of a *True Stateſman*.

A Man who brought with him from the Womb a Face formed, in every Feature of it, into a *ſnarling Peeviſhneſs*, and will carry the ſame with him to the Grave, palms it upon the World at laſt for a *Face* ſo faſhioned by the Cares and Fears of *Patriotiſm*; and *He*, who never perhaps ſmiled agreeably through his whole Life, nor ever bore a Part in the Pleaſures of *Human Converſation*, charges all the *Wrinkles* and *Fret* and *Chagrine* of his *Domeſtick Face*, upon his *Love* to his *Country*, and his eternal Sollicitude and Watchfulneſs over it. This is not Invention. I myſelf have ſeen *Men*, who never looked otherwiſe than *ſowr* and *diſturbed* in *common Life*, ever ſince they appeared in the World; and who were never known to be eaſy with any Perſon or any Thing about them; all on a ſudden, with great Dexterity, turn this *Private Ill Countenance* into a *Publick-ſpirited Sowerneſs*; and place all thoſe Indications of Diſſatisfaction, which were little more than a Vent to their own Tempers, and an Eaſe to their own inward Feeling, to the Account of their *Concern for the Publick*. But when I have ſeen and heard them in ſome Places, and ſome Companies, I have often thought with myſelf, that a Man of very common Abilities might look as unpleaſingly as they; and that a Man of a very ordinary Capacity might reſolve, as ſtrongly as they, never to vote, or to be pleaſed, with ſome Men; and that, if Strength of Lungs, or Loudneſs of Voice, in Places of publick Reſort, made a *Patriot*; Homer's *Stentor*, if he were to appear, and be well inſtructed in a few *Terms of Art*, would far excell the beſt of them.

By this Time, perhaps, you will ſay, that all this is intended to ridicule and bring into Contempt all *Patriotiſm*, and all *Publick-ſpiritedneſs*; and ſome, I doubt not, will add (the common Threadbare Topick againſt every Man who at all Diſguſts them) *This is a Courtier—a Miniſtry Man*—and the Deſign is to lull Men aſleep, and to prevent all Oppoſition to whatever ſome Men in Power think fit to propoſe. But before you are ſo haſty in your Concluſions, hear a little. I am ſo far from endeavouring, or wiſhing, to bring into Contempt, or under an ill Fame, ſo noble and ſo neceſſary a Virtue as *Patriotiſm*, that the ſole Reaſon of my entring upon this Subject, was to hinder others from doing it: and ſo far from leading Men into a baſe and ſervile Submiſſion to Great Men, that I am certain, I ſhall do more *againſt* it, than All thoſe put together, who by a conſtant and bitter Oppoſition grow nauſeous to thoſe about them, and lead them at length to ſettle in *this* very Extreme, when they ſee Them ſo unreaſonable and ſo injudicious in the *other*. It is *They*, who bring the Name of *Patriot* into *Ridicule*, and are deſtroying the Character from off the Earth, who aſſume it to themſelves, upon the ſole Bottom of eternal Wrangling and Peeviſhneſs, and fix it upon Qualifications that have little or nothing to do with it. But that it may not be thought I avoid the declaring *poſitively* what I take true *Patriotiſm* to be, and only cavil at the Conduct of *Others*, I will, before I go any further, lay down ſomething about it.

I have already, in general, ſaid that *Patriotiſm* is nothing but the *Love of our Country*; and therefore, that He is a *Patriot*, whoever he be, that truly loves his Country. There muſt be, I own, a Zeal or Warmth of Heart in the Cauſe, without which the Signs or Appearances of this Love will be very faint and languid. But then, this *Warmth of Heart* muſt be conducted by a *Cool Head*: for a *Hot Heart* and a *Hot Head* together will always make terrible Work. They will be always excellent at *Over-turning*, but never can build up or fix any thing. The Love of our Country in particular, as we are *Britons*, is the Love of our Conſtitution, and of the Eſtabliſhment in the preſent Royal Family; without the Safety of which, no Man in his Senſes can hope for any laſting Good to his Country: but with which, he may flatter himſelf that *Liberty* and *Property* may be ſtill tranſmitted down to his Poſterity; which is the great End propoſed both in our Conſtitution, and in this *Eſtabliſhment*.

Upon this Bottom, it preſently appears, that being *in Place* or *out of Place* ſignifies nothing to the *Patriotiſm* of a Man; though it may, to his *Good* or *Ill Humour*. A Perſon in a *Poſt*, nay in the *higheſt Poſt*, may have as good a Title to the Name of *Patriot*, as one who never was in one even of the *leaſt*. If he performs the Duty of it with punctual Honour; if he has a conſtant Regard to the Rights and Happineſs of his Fellow-Subjects; and makes uſe of his Power in it, only to guard and preſerve what is committed to him; to leſſen the Burthens of his Country as much as the Security of it will permit; and to extend and continue down all its Advantages and Bleſſings as ſafely as poſſible: This is the *Patriotiſm* of Men in Power; by which they can merit the Title of *True Patriots*, perhaps much more than Any under them. And certainly, it is ſo much their own Intereſt; and their own Security and Proſperity ſo entirely depend upon it, eſpecially in the critical Circumſtances of our preſent Situation; that their Enemies themſelves, even whilſt they think them guided by their own Intereſt, give a ſort of Teſtimony to them, that their own *Advantage* and *Duty* being now ſo plainly united and ſo inſeparably the ſame, They cannot be ſo blind as not to ſee it, or ſo neglectful of themſelves as not to regard it.

But as all Power naturally intoxicates the Brain, and, without great Care, puts a falſe Biaſs upon the Mind; not diminiſhing but increaſing Men's Paſſions, and often boiling them up into the Head; and as the beſt Men may be miſled by Thoſe whom they are often forced to depend upon, as well as miſtaken through the natural Weakneſs of their own Underſtandings; the *Patriotiſm* of *Others* will certainly very well ſhew itſelf in being upon the Guard; in ſifting and trying whatever is propoſed to them; in acting as the Good of their Country, and not merely as the Will of Others, requires them; and in keeping as great a Diſtance from a *ſervile Homage* to Power, as from a *determined Averſion* to every thing propoſed by Thoſe, whoſe Office both capacitates and obliges them to offer what may be for the great Advantage and Security of the Publick.

How little therefore have many of the late Pretenſions to do with *True Patriotiſm!* As to the Declaration, indeed, againſt coming into any Poſt or Office, I always take it for granted that there are ſome Words to be underſtood in all ſuch Profeſſions, to make the Sentence compleat: And that the *Declarer* always means what he ſays, with ſome ſuch Qualification as this,—*Unleſs a Poſt be offered him*—or, *ſuch a Poſt as he likes, and eſteems honourable for himſelf to accept of.* This I am ſure of, that we meet with but *few* voluntary Reſigners of *profitable Poſts*; and *fewer* ſtill ſo raſh in their Publick-ſpirited Anger, as to *Reſign*, before they have obtained for themſelves and their Dependents almoſt every thing they can wiſh for. And this puts them very much upon a Level with thoſe who ſtill keep in.

But if it were not almoſt ridiculous to be ſerious upon this Head, it might juſtly be ſaid to be a greater Mark of a *True Patriot* to *accept* than to *refuſe* to ſerve in a Place. For as long as there are Places and Offices of Profit and Truſt, and *theſe* muſt be poſſeſſed and executed by ſome or other; and upon the due Execution of *theſe* depends a great deal of the Happineſs and Security of the *Publick*; ſhall not Men, who feel how much they burn with the Love of their Country more than their Neighbours, put themſelves into a Capacity of ſerving it; when they muſt either do this, or leave theſe Offices all to *Others*, whom they are reſolved to think of as *Enemies* to their Country, from the Moment of their taking Poſſeſſion of them? I am very certain, they have no manner of Suſpicion of *their own Virtue*, (which is the only Objection againſt it) or any Imagination, that, upon the poor Conſideration of an Office, they can be induced to act any thing againſt their Country. And all will agree, that it will be much more honourable for a Gentleman to follow the Dictates of True Patriotiſm in all his Conduct, if the Caſe ſhould ever happen ſo, as to hazard the Loſs of a good Poſt which he actually poſſeſſes, than to lie under the Suſpicion of oppoſing thoſe in Power merely becauſe he is *not* in a Place, or in order to be invited into one.

There is another Point alſo, which in Prudence will be conſidered; and that is, that Gentlemen's Reſolutions of this ſort do not always continue in the ſame

Vigour; and then, when the *Mollia Tempora* come, and the *lucky Opportunity* of ſerving their Country appears more plain and inviting than before, their former *raſh Declarations* fly in their Faces, and make them bluſh. Every body remembers *One* very famous *Declaimer* againſt *Places* and *Poſts*, who had ſpent all his Stock of Wit and Oratory (which was not ſmall) upon that Subject, through the Courſe of ſome Years; and at laſt (not with great Difficulty) was prevailed upon to accept of ſomething. His Honour was indeed a little reflected upon, and perhaps a little wounded: And his Friends were forced to have Recourſe to a Piece of Wit to ſalve it, and heal the Wound. And ſo it all ended in this miſerable *Joke*, that He had indeed declared zealouſly againſt taking a *Place*; but that he had not now broke his Word, or acted at all contrary to that Declaration; for he had taken only *Half a Place*. But, indeed, it was a *Half*, that was better than moſt of the *whole Places* in the Kingdom. And, I remember very well, when I myſelf was firſt choſe into Parliament, I was fired with the *Publick-ſpirited Diſcourſes* of ſeveral *Gentlemen*; and in order to carry on glorious Deſigns, we agreed, about Six or Eight of us, to meet in a private Club to fortify ourſelves in our *Oppoſition*. But I ſoon found my Error in my Judgment about Patriots. For ſuch was *then*, and ſuch, I fear, always will be, the poor Policy of Courts, that I quickly perceived *firſt* One of them, who was the *Loudeſt* of the Company, called to an Office, and prevailed upon to accept it; and then a *Second*, and then a *Third*; and ſo on, till by degrees I found myſelf the only Perſon without an Office; and then I ſaw a little into the Meaning of ſuch Meetings *in Terrorem*, and have been ſick of them ever ſince.

I mention theſe Things particularly as Leſſons to the *Unexperienced*, that they may *learn* from what *has been*, what *will be*; and that ſuch high *Declarations* are chiefly to amuſe and allure the *Unguarded*; but mean nothing leſs than what the Words, in the firſt Sound of them, ſeem to import. *I am, Sir,*

Your humble Servant,

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER III. LONDON JOURNAL, Sept. 29, 1722.

SIR,

I KNOW it may be ſaid by ſome, that I have carried the Matter too far, when I have talked as if the Reſolutions of Any Perſons were ſtretched to that degree, as to extend to a Conſtant and Determined Oppoſition to a *Miniſtry*; and even to make *that* the ſtrongeſt and moſt infallible *Note* of a True *Patriot*. And I ſhould think ſo myſelf, if I had not been Witneſs to a great deal of this; and if I had not heard an Argument held for it (when Paſſion has been high) with great Warmth and Stiffneſs, That this was the only way to deſtroy thoſe in Power, and to get in *Others* more truly and heartily concerned for the Publick Good. But in the mean while, what an endleſs Scene of Unhappineſs muſt this bring along with it; if this be to be eſteemed the Meaſure of Mens Conduct, upon whoſe Votes the Fate of the Nation depends? Let the Wiſhes of theſe Gentlemen take place; let my Lord —— and my Lord —— and Mr. —— give room to the greater Genius's of my Lord —— and Mr. ——; do theſe Perſons think that there are None in the World who judge the *Former* to be as fit to manage and conduct the *State* as the *Latter*? None, ſo weak as to think them *fitter*? None, who have Paſſions and Reſentments, beſides themſelves? None, who will ſuffer their own Diſappointments to work upon them, in the ſame Way that *Others* have? And None, who will take up the ſame Maxim of Wrangling and Oppoſition; than which, nothing is eaſier to All, or more natural to Some? Nay, They who know humane Nature, and the Methods of Working in ſuch Caſes, will prognoſticate, and with very great Probability, that even theſe Gentlemen themſelves, who have wiſhed and brought about the Alteration, will be the firſt, in a little time, to renew the ſame Game; and to entertain *Them* too, with the ſame Sport as they have their Predeceſſors. For the Caſe is always thus, and *there is nothing New under the Sun.* At the firſt effecting theſe Motions in publick Affairs, we hear of nothing on that Side from whence they ſprang, but Declamations upon the Publick Felicity. Happy the Nation, which has ſuch *Heads* and ſuch *Hearts* to preſide over it! and Fortunate the People, under the Influence of ſuch Counſels! *Taxes* and *Burthens* abate of themſelves, and fly before ſuch *Patriots*—No *Camps*, no *Plots*, make Part of their *Scheme*—Every Thing ſafe and ſmooth and eaſy is made to dance before the Imagination of the People at firſt.

But, alas! the *Honey-moon* of a *New Miniſtry* is always of a ſhort Continuance in *England.* And, as Time, which alters every Thing, paſſes on; and the *Faces* at the Helm ceaſe to be New; and Difficulties unforeſeen in Government make the ſame Things neceſſary to *theſe Perſons*, which were ſo much cried out againſt in their *Predeceſſors*; and above all, when Every One, who thinks he has a Right, cannot poſſibly be in the *Rank* or *Poſt* he pretends to, and All cannot be ſatisfied, and many Miſtakes incident to humane Affairs muſt of Neceſſity be committed; One Uneaſineſs brings on Another, Grumbling begets Grumbling, and Complaints multiply Complaints upon the back of one another; and at laſt they vent themſelves in the common Cry—*We are but where we were*; *All Miniſters are alike*; only that the *Preſent*, becauſe they are the *Preſent*, are always the *Worſt*, and the moſt *Intolerable.*

Tell me, therefore, what End of our Misfortunes upon ſuch a Bottom of *Oppoſition* for *Oppoſition*-ſake; unleſs thoſe who go upon it, can anſwer for the Paſſions and Judgments of *Others*, who have as much Right to be angry, and to judge unfavourably of *Them*, and their *Favourites*, as *They* have of Thoſe whom They themſelves ſo highly diſlike? And how much leſs Proſpect of an End, when, in the Nature of Things, they cannot anſwer even for Themſelves, that they ſhall, upon Trial and Experience, think any better of Others than they have done of their *Predeceſſors?* But if this Maxim of *Oppoſition* muſt be the *Rule* of *Patriotiſm*; Thoſe, who wiſh moſt Evil to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, muſt carry away the Title of *Patriots* from all the Contenders: for their Oppoſition, both in *Votes* and *Conduct*, never ceaſes, nor ever will, till the *Pretender* is able enough to teach Others to agree better. And to be ever *voting* in ſuch Company, methinks, ſhould not be the greateſt Satisfaction to *Gentlemen*, who mean quite differently in the End. But I wiſh, that *Different Meaning* may make amends for, or countervail, at laſt, the Miſchiefs of *acting* and *talking* and *writing* exactly in the ſame Strain with thoſe Enemies; of propagating the ſame Jealouſies and Fears, the ſame Stories and Diſcontents, throughout the Nation.

I know there are *Others*, who ſpeak in a more moderate Tone—Let but the Miniſters act with regard to the Publick—let them but ſhew, they have a Senſe of the Difficulties we are involved in, and that they have at Heart the diminiſhing the heavy Debt and Burthens now upon the Nation—and We are ready to join with them Heart and Hand in ſo good Deſigns. With theſe Perſons I join Iſſue, if they are in earneſt; and am very ready to declare my Judgment in Conjunction with them, that This is incumbent upon Thoſe in Power, what is required, and what ought to be expected of them, That they apply themſelves to this Work with an uninterrupted Diligence, and ſhew a Zeal and Readineſs to do every thing poſſible for ſo good and neceſſary an End. Their own Intereſt will lead them to this: and every Propoſal of this Sort will be an *Experiment*, whether their *Oppoſers* are in *earneſt* at all, or no. But in the mean while, there is another Point which ought in Honour to be regarded by their Adverſaries—That the Eternal Diffidence and Jealouſy, which They have raiſed and fomented, may not go on to ſuch a degree, as to render it impoſſible for Them to propoſe any thing with any Hope of Succeſs. *Miniſters*, the Beſt of them, are but *Men*, and have the Paſſions and Failings of Men: And let them be *changed* a thouſand times over, They will be but *Men* ſtill. But I will be bold to ſay, Were They *Angels*, or greater than *Angels*, as long as ſuch a Spirit of *Oppoſition* and *Miſconſtruction* is kept alive, All theſe Profeſſions, though ſounding well, muſt end in the forementioned Extreme; and whatever is propoſed muſt at laſt be oppoſed and rejected, merely becauſe it comes from Thoſe, whom Many are taught to think utterly uncapable of modelling or offering any thing truly conducive to the Good of their Country.—However, I will take the Liberty to hope, not without ſome Confidence, for the only Thing that can help us, That Thoſe at the Helm will endeavour to cure or to ſhame this Diffidence, by propoſing all that the Nature of Things permits for the *Eaſe* of their Country; and by aſking nothing of it, but what is apparently of abſolute Neceſſity; and that Thoſe, on the other Hand, who profeſs a Readineſs to comply in what is ſo propoſed, will at the ſame Time help to abate, if not to remove, thoſe *Diffidences* and *Jealouſies*, which muſt otherwiſe obſtruct all that can be well deſigned, or reaſonably offered.

Here then I will fix this for certain, that *Patriotiſm* conſiſts no more in voting *againſt* the Court, than in voting *with* the Court; but that both theſe are accidentally, and at ſeveral Times, *good* and *bad*. Nor has *He* at all a better Title to the Name of a *Patriot*, who feels within himſelf the *Fever* of a Spirit of *Conſtant Oppoſition*, than *He* who labours, in the other Extreme, under the *Lethargy* of a ſervile undoubting Compliance. Both the *One* and the *Other* are equally void of all Title to the *Name* of *Patriots*; which can have no Place, but where there is a true Diſpoſition to do that, and that only, which is for our Country's Good: And this Diſpoſition can be no where, but where there is a Readineſs to receive and embrace whatever is ſo, and nothing but what is ſo, from whatſoever Hand it comes, and by whatſoever Mouth recommended.

But though this be certain, that it is ſo truly *Patriotiſm* to vote *with* a Miniſtry, whenever the Intereſt of the Publick is conſulted in what is propoſed from that Quarter, that indeed it is to be entirely void of it *Not* to do it; yet, I know not how, Thoſe, who make it a ſort of a Duty to ſtand in an open avowed Oppoſition, have taken Poſſeſſion of the *Word*, and dignified themſelves with the Title of *Patriots*; and have, I know, induced too many, who mean well, to believe that the Glory of it reſts with *Them*, and *Them only*. And I have known ſeveral *Topicks* inſiſted on, and prove uſeful to this Purpoſe; which, if you enquire into them, are nothing but Bugbears, to affect and frighten unexperienced Minds. I have heard it ſometimes declared *ſcandalous* to vote with a *Majority*, and the Honour to reſt all upon the *Minority*. And yet, every one knows, there is not a Man who *votes* with the *Minority*, who does not do it in hope of arriving in Time at that Heighth of *Scandal* of *voting* with a *Majority*. Every Step he takes, and every *Vote* he gives, is with this ſole View, to turn that *Minority* into a *Majority*: And then, by the ſame Rule, *Patriotiſm* muſt lie againſt Themſelves, when once They are grown able to do any thing in the publick Service; and They may come Themſelves to feel the Miſchief of a *Phantom*, which Themſelves have raiſed up.

But if *this* ſeems to ſome amongſt themſelves to be carrying the *Point* too high, yet They will not ſcruple often to throw out the Word *Tool* plentifully, and to fix it upon *Thoſe* who do not join with them in their *Oppoſition*. And as this *Word* of *Reproach* ſounds badly, and carries along with it a good deal of *Infamy*, it has not failed to do Execution upon *Some* that it has been played upon, and perhaps to ſhame them out of what they would otherwiſe have thought not at all diſhonourable to Themſelves, or prejudicial to their Country. I ſhall not doubt to call *This* too a *Phantom*, a *Scarecrow* dreſſed up and ſet out to View, merely to work upon *Thoſe* who can be wrought upon by Outſides and Appearances. I will be here as equal and impartial as poſſible. He is certainly a *Tool*, who ſwallows every Thing he hears dictated to him, and acts blindly juſt as he is bid or directed; and this, let it be on which Side it will. I ſay, *on which Side it will:* for this makes no Difference, whether it be *with* or *againſt* a Court. There may be *Tools* on each Side, working and moving juſt as they are bid, or directed; and never moving or working, but under ſuch a Direction. No *Court*, therefore, has any Reaſon to take the whole Infamy of this to their own Account; ſince in every Age, and every Oppoſition, the other oppoſite Party muſt accept of their Share in it; and have, in their Proportion, as full and as juſt a Title to *their* Number of the ſame ſort of Friends. It is a Reproach which falls equally on all Hands; and therefore, ſhould the more ſparingly be uſed.

But I have not only this to ſay. The Miſery of it is, That Men, in their *Reproaches* upon Others, are very apt to forget the Condition they themſelves are in. It is not only *He* that is a *Tool*, who blindly does what he is directed to do, either by a *Courtier* or an *Anti-courtier:* but every Man is a *Tool* likewiſe, who is a Slave to his own *Paſſion*, *Ill-nature*, *Diſcontent*, *perſonal Reſentment*, *Ambition*, *Pride*, or to any *Diſtemper* of Mind, which is his Maſter, and leads and governs him in all he does. There may be *Tools* to *theſe* Diſpoſitions *within* Men, as well as to *Courts*, or Leaders of Parties, *without* them: and *Theſe* are as *Dangerous Tools* to the Publick, as well as *Infamous* in *Themſelves*, as Any of the other Sort can poſſibly be. For theſe, and the like Diſtempers of Mind, are of that Force, that they can abſolutely hinder Men from at all regarding, or even ſeeing, what is the Intereſt of the Publick; nay, can make them take thoſe *good Words* in their Mouths, to carry on thoſe Purpoſes of their Hearts, in which the Love of their Country, the very Eſſence of *Patriotiſm*, has but little Part. Yet, how common as well as pleaſant is it, to ſee the *Tool* of *Paſſion* inſulting over the *Tool* (as he calls him) of a *Court*; and the Man whoſe *Publick Spirit* bears *Date* from ſome known *Points* of *Diſappointment* and *Anger*, exalting himſelf above the *Other*; appropriating to himſelf the Name of *Patriot*, and ſetting himſelf out as the very *Pattern* of all *Patriotiſm:* whilſt he either does not feel the *Biaſs* which his own *Reſentment* ſtruck upon his Soul; or hopes that it may be hid from all other Eyes, and the View or Remembrance of it loſt in that Cloud of *Smoak* and *Duſt* which he raiſes all around him. But if many of the ſtrongeſt *Oppoſitions* have been manifeſtly begun upon theſe Principles, and are always, in part, carried on upon them; there is but little Reaſon for *Thoſe* to be caſting the infamous Name of *Tools* in the Teeth of Others, who may find ſo much Place for it amongſt Themſelves. All this is no Argument (nor is it ſo deſigned) to Any One, againſt being always upon his Guard, or for a Blind Compliance with any *Miniſtry:* but it may, and ought to ſhew us effectually, That Virtue and Publick-ſpiritedneſs are not neceſſarily *there*, where the Noiſe of them is moſt heard; and that *True Patriotiſm* does not depend upon *Names* and *Sounds*; but often *is not* where it is moſt pretended to be; and as often *is*, where the Prejudices of Men, and their miſtaken Notions of Things, will not allow Us to ſuppoſe it ſo much as poſſible to be.

I am, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER IV. London Journal, October 6, 1722.

SIR,

I HAVE already often acknowledged, and I ſhall always go on to contend for it, That there is nothing more abject, or more unworthy of a Free-born Subject, and eſpecially of Any who have a Right to vote in *Parliament*, than a ſervile Submiſſion to the Dictates of Great Men in Power. On the other Hand, I will as freely and as ſtrongly maintain, That the carrying an Oppoſition to Them to that Extremity, which ſome of late have appeared to do, is equally irreconcileable with the *Character* of a True *Patriot*; is *always* unjuſtifiable upon all the Principles of Duty to the Publick; and at *ſome* Critical Junctures, may prove abſolutely fatal to that Country, which it profeſſes to ſerve and ſave. We may ſee an Inſtance of This in what has paſſed throughout this laſt *Summer*, and is now moſt talked of amongſt us: I mean, the Behaviour of Many, (whoſe Zeal for their Country, if you will believe them, outſtrips that of All their Neighbours,) with regard to *Plots* and *Conſpiracies*; and particularly, to the Conduct of Thoſe in the *Adminiſtration* about *That* which at preſent alarms the World. A *Behaviour*, I muſt own, which has often made me congratulate the Profeſt Enemies of our Country, upon their peculiar Happineſs, in having *Others* ſo ready, ſo watchful, ſo unwearied in propagating all *their* Stories, and doing all *their* Work for them. For this is in Truth the Caſe.

Thoſe in the *Adminiſtration* are the Perſons to whom the firſt Intelligences of Danger naturally come: And *Theſe* muſt, in the Nature of Things, be received and conſidered, before it is poſſible, or fitting, for *Others* to know any Thing of them. Upon ſuch *Advices*, ſuppoſing them *Real*, what is it the Duty of *Miniſters* to do? And to ſuppoſe them not *Real*, before the farther opening of the Matter, no one can pretend to be ſupportable by any Argument. Upon ſuch Advices, I ſay, could They have been juſtified to their *Maſter*, or to their *Country*, if They did not immediately put the *Kingdom* into the *Beſt* State of Defence, the *Laws* of the *Land*, and the Nature of the Thing, could permit? Nay, would they not have been Criminal and Deteſtable, if They had not? This, therefore, they do. They profeſs, They have ſuch *Advices* of undoubted Credit. They get together, in ſeveral Places, what *Armed Force* is by *Act* of *Parliament* appointed to ſubſiſt in the Nation, and put it into as good a Condition for the Common Defence, as They can; and this an *Armed Force* kept up for this very Purpoſe, by the Conſent of the People; and with this very View alone, of being *thus* called together, and thus rendered uſeful, in Caſes of ſuch Emergency. Theſe Forces are wholly unneceſſary, unleſs upon Suppoſition of *Danger*: and for Times of *Danger* alone, were They therefore conſented to, and appointed. This being then the Caſe: what would one expect in return to this, and eſpecially from Thoſe who profeſs even the Cooleſt Friendſhip to the preſent *Eſtabliſhment*? At leaſt, one would have hoped for a little Patience, a little Expectation for a while only, till Matters opened,

opened, till it come to appear whether the Danger was *Real* or *Fictitious?* But, no ſuch Favour, it ſeems, was to be expected from *Some*. For even before the *Profeſt Enemies* themſelves could recover their Surprize at the Diſcovery of what They thought undiſcoverable; or give out their *Proper Words* of Ridicule; *Profeſt Friends* themſelves were ready to begin the *Game*. Nay, I quickly found that This was to be made one eſſential Mark of *Patriotiſm*; and *He* was from this Moment not to be accounted a *Patriot*, who had not this infallible *Mark* of it in his *Mouth*; and was not ready to join in *ſneering*, and turning into *Pleaſantry*, all Diſcourſes of *Plots* and *Treaſons*. And from *Mirth* and *Merriment*, the Paſſage was eaſy and natural to *Satyr* and *Invective*. In ſome of the *Common Writings*, *Standing Armies* preſently became a Topick of Railing, even to Thoſe who could not but have Senſe enough to ſee, that there was not a *Soldier* more than what was allowed by *Parliament*; not *One* more than what was actually a Member of the Army *before* the calling of them together; nor any *One New* Circumſtance to juſtify that odious Word. But ſo it muſt be. *Standing Armies*, *Encampments*, *Reviews*, *Mock Plots*, *Imaginary Conſpiracies*, were found to be *ſounding* Words, excellently adapted to work up an angry *Period*, and to make *Railing* and *Rage* popular.

If from the *Common Papers*, you went to the Places of *Publick Reſort*, you would find the Effect of ſuch Leſſons: *One* ſhrugging his Shoulders,—*Another* ſhaking his Head,—a *Third* lamenting the Fate of his *Country*,—a *Fourth* railing in a very high Tone,—and a *Fifth* anſwering you with nothing but a *Laugh*, if you ſeemed only to beg a ſhort Truce, and a little Patience: And all this, not from any Concern at the Deſigns of their Enemies, and their own Deſtruction from that Quarter; but at the *too great Care* taken to guard Them againſt it.

I ventured to enter a little with One of them into the Argument: And when his *Fire* was almoſt ſpent, and He began to cool, I begged of Him only to anſwer me the few following Queſtions, without Prejudice or Paſſion. Are the *Miniſters* at preſent in ſuch a *Situation*, as to play with an angry World? Or does their preſent Condition make it probable, They would voluntarily raiſe up a New Scene of *Virulent Oppoſition*, to be added to the Difficulties that ſurround Them already? Can you think *Them* ſo void of Common Senſe, as not to ſee that ſuch a *Fiction* muſt at the End do Them infinitely more *Hurt*, than any preſent *Good* can poſſibly countervail? Nay, that it muſt tend to their own Deſtruction? Suppoſing it a *Mock Plot*, as you call it; an invented Machine for ſome *By-purpoſe*; will it not be Time enough to call Them to Account ſeverely for it, when it ſhall be examined, and appear ſo to be? I promiſe you *then* to join with you, not in *laughing*, but in ſomething more to the Purpoſe, and more becoming an *Injured Nation*. But ſuppoſing it a *True* One, and their *Advices* too Certain; what Reparation can you make your Country, for turning into *Ridicule* that *Care* of the Publick Safety, without which we are all undone? What Miſchief could you do, greater than this, to that *Country* you pretend ſo much to love? And, I pray, what ſhould make you think otherwiſe? Can you deny it to be *poſſible*, can you deny it to be *probable*, that the *Enemy* ſhould take the Advantage of your Supineneſs, and Incredulity on *their* Part; and of your Rage and *Credulity*, and Readineſs to ſwallow and propagate every thing on the *other* Part, againſt Thoſe who are at the Helm, and who alone therefore have it in their Power to guard againſt thoſe Enemies? And if it were only *probable*, nay barely *poſſible*, that Thoſe reſtleſs Enemies are now bringing ſome Deſign to bear; is not This *Argument* enough to a *Briton*, and a *Proteſtant*, to delay his Jokes, and poſtpone his *Wit* and *Satyr*, till it *appears* that an *Adminiſtration* has been wicked enough, or fooliſh enough, to act the *Part* you ſuſpect? But if it be a *Real Deſign*, what would Thoſe *Miniſters* deſerve, or what Fate would be too hard for Them, who ſhould neglect the Defence of their Country, for fear of the *Severity* or *Mirth* of your *Oracles?* If this be your Love to your Country; if this be your *Patriotiſm*; take it all, and keep it all amongſt you,—I deſire none of it. The Word is becoming nauſeous; and will be brought, by theſe Methods, to be, what I ſhall be ſorry to find it, a Contemptible Sound, Diſguſtful to all Men of Senſe.

I found the *Gentleman* ſomething ſtartled, and cool enough to ſuffer me to go on, in this Manner. For God's ſake, Is there no Meaſure in humane Affairs, no *Medium* to be hoped for in Mankind, when once they are ſet a-going! Certainly there is a *middle* Way to be found between the baſe Extreme of yielding yourſelves Captive to Men in Power, and the other as dangerous Extreme of treating them upon All Points in ſuch a Manner. *Your* Fate is indeed hard, if you are expected to be in the former Extreme: But *Their* Fate is as hard, (and *Yours* in *Theirs* at the End) if you *thus* make it impoſſible for them to act *Any* Way, without laying themſelves open to ſuch Reproaches and Imputations.

Take the Affair before us, and try the Abſurdity of ſuch a Proceeding. If Thoſe in Power, upon their beſt Advices of Danger, act a careful Part, and enter into Meaſures of ſecuring you; preſently the *Outcry* is, *Standing Armies*, *Mock Plots*, *Tricks* to get more Money;—though, by the way, every Demand of Money is a Weight upon themſelves, and a Blow to their own Intereſt. On the other Hand, if they indulge you in your preſent eaſy Humour, and in that Imagination of Security, in which you wrap yourſelves; and when they have it in their Power to guard you, leave you naked and defenceleſs; and Danger invades you, and any deſperate Stroke be ſtruck;—Then, what is too bad for ſuch Miniſters? Was it not *their* peculiar Care and Province to guard the Nation againſt all probable Danger? againſt every the *leaſt Appearance* of Evil? Were not our few Forces kept up by our own willing Conſent for this Purpoſe only? Are not *ten Degrees* of Care *too much*, far better than *One* too little? If the Curſes of Us and our Poſterity can be of any Force, Thoſe *Miniſters*, who can thus neglect their Country, will be miſerable in *Life*, and after *Death* their Memories deteſted. This would be then your Outcry, and too deſervedly. But in the mean while, I repeat it again, Do not make it impoſſible for Them to *act*, by telling them in Effect, That which Way ſoever They conduct themſelves, you will equally expoſe them to *Popular Reproach* and *Indignation*. Before you have the leaſt Reaſon to think amiſs of the Part they are acting, let them not incur the Odium of the *vileſt Behaviour*; and ceaſe at leaſt a little from abuſing Them, at a Time when perhaps They are meriting your Thanks. Such a Behaviour, upon ſo hazardous and terrible a Conjuncture, has often brought to my Mind the Saying, *Quos Jupiter vult perdere, prius dementat: Thoſe whom God is reſolved to deſtroy, He firſt infatuates.* Never any thing looked more like It, than your preſent Temper. And the Time, One would fear, is come, for the terrible Accompliſhment of this Sentence, when *You*, who, I am perſuaded, mean well to the preſent *Eſtabliſhment*, not only reſolve to ſhut your Eyes againſt the Appearance of any poſſible Danger yourſelves; but ſpend your idle Hours in ridiculing and outraging Thoſe, who guard you from it; making it, by this means, much more hazardous for any at the Helm to attempt to prevent your Deſtruction, than for any *Traytors* to contrive and execute it; and raiſing ſuch a *Ferment* about you, that one would imagine, from the Diſcourſe of many, That the *Miniſters* are to be *tried* for being ſo *officious* in defending the *Publick*; and not the *Conſpirators* for their *Treaſon* againſt it. If it be ſo ungracious, ſo unacceptable a Work; nay, ſo unpardonable an Offence, to prevent the *Cutting* *of your Throats*, there will be but little Encouragement to do it: and there may come Thoſe in time, who will not merit your Anger by ſo provoking an Office, at the Expence of their own Quiet and Reputation. In a Word, I foreſee, and foretell nothing but *Total Ruine* from ſuch a Behaviour.—This is the Subſtance of what I then urged.

We are now come nearer to the Opening of that Affair. And let every Man, who has treated ſo critical and important a Matter in a Manner ſo unbecoming Perſons of Senſe, and ſo unworthy of *Engliſhmen*, lay his Hand upon his Heart, and think how beſt to make amends to his Country, for the Injury he has done it by ſuch a Proceeding; by tearing out of the Hands of *Thoſe* in *Power*, almoſt all *Poſſibility* of ſaving the Nation; and entirely depriving Them of all Encouragement to attempt it: And if He now ſees his *Miſtake* opened clearly to Him, let Him publickly acknowledge that *Others* were doing their Duty, whilſt He was treating Them as the worſt of Men.

But let not any ſuch Intemperate Unequitable Proceeding bring a Diſgrace upon the greateſt and moſt neceſſary Virtue. True *Patriotiſm* diſdains all ſuch Methods. It is built upon *Equity*, and obſerves the Meaſures of *That* alone. It is as far diſtant from the *Abſurdity* of venting the ſame ſort of *Reproaches*, which Way ſoever Men act; as it is from that equally great Abſurdity, of adorning Them with the ſame Flattery and Praiſes, whatever They do. It is as far removed from purſuing Them with Bitter Satyr *before* any Crime appears; as it is from applauding Them or upholding Them *afterwards*. And as it ſcorns meanly to *bow* to Power; ſo it equally ſcorns to obſtruct or render odious any of its Operations, which may be neceſſary or beneficial; and even rejoices to ſupport and ſtrengthen it, in any of its Attempts for the Publick Security. *I am*, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER V. LONDON JOURNAL, October 13, 1722.

SIR,

THERE is hardly a greater Enemy to *True Patriotiſm*, than the *Love* of *Popularity*, once tenderly and paſſionately entertained: And the irreconcilable Difference between *Them*, though they are come to be almoſt confounded together, is as evident, as *That* between the Love of a *Wiſe Father* to his Children, and the Fondneſs of a *Weak Mother*. *Patriotiſm* concerns itſelf entirely about That only, which the real and true Intereſt of our Country calls for; *Popularity*, about what the Paſſions and Clamours of a Multitude demand. The *Former* works upon the ſole Bottom of Laſting Good to the whole *People*; the *Latter*, upon the ſole Bottom of their preſent ſudden paſſionate Wiſhes upon every particular Occaſion. The *One* ſcorns to fall in with the ungoverned Tempers of a Multitude *without Doors*, and refuſes to be carried away with the *Torrent* of their Rage and Fury, and abhors to ſooth the moſt darling of their groundleſs Paſſions; but rather attempts to ſtop the *Courſe* of ſuch Tempeſts, and apply ſome Cure to the Wound within: The *Other* watches and nurſes thoſe Paſſions; humours and flatters them; indulges them in what they cry for; and increaſes, as much as it can, the Loudneſs of the Cry. A *True Patriot* muſt do good to a *People*, whether They will or no, whether they immediately feel it or no; nay, He muſt be content to loſe the Name and Reputation of a *Patriot*, when he cannot preſerve it without hurting Thoſe, who are ſo mad as to demand *Ruin* inſtead of *Happineſs*. But the Man of *Popularity*, who affects and loves to be in the Mouths of a Multitude, cannot conſent to part with a Name, which depends ſo much upon their Breath; which is made and unmade by them at Pleaſure; and therefore, *cannot* do them *Good* any farther, than as Themſelves underſtand and call for it; nor can He bring himſelf, upon any Occaſion, to be ſatisfied with the conſcious Virtue of *being* a *Patriot*, if He muſt loſe the Reward of being *ſo called and ſaluted* by the Voice of the *People*; even of the *Dregs* of the *People*. And thus, *Their* Paſſions, *their* Loves, *their* Hatreds, *their* Rage, all become *His:* and whatever Diſorders *They* raiſe, He—*rides on the Tempeſt, and* Enjoys *the Storm.*—*Enjoys* it; but not *Directs* it.—There lies the Evil. He thinks, perhaps, *Vain Man!* to *direct* it, becauſe He has helped to raiſe it to ſuch a Heighth.. And He ſpeaks to himſelf within, *Thus far ſhall it go, and no farther*; weakly imagining, that Any Innocent or Uſeful Deſign can be brought to good Effect, in the Heat and Tumult of ſuch a Proceeding; and as weakly comforting himſelf, that he will wind and turn the Giddineſs of a Whirlwind or Hurricane, whither and how He thinks fit, and command it to *proceed*, or *ſtop*, juſt at his own Pleaſure.—Not ſo.—For, as the leaſt of Rivers, ſmall and innocent as they are at firſt, tend all to the *Sea*, and empty themſelves into *That*, and then cannot be diſtinguiſhed from the greateſt and moſt violent of their Neighbours; but *All* make up *One* Great Body, and employ their united Force in the ſame *Deſtructions*, and *Wrecks*, and *Terrors:* So all the ſeveral Streams of Popular Violence and Diſcontent, when once they are put in Motion, join at laſt undiſtinguiſhed in the ſame one *Ocean:* They run naturally to one and the ſame Point; and all their Storm and Noiſe centre in the ſame Ruinous and Deſtructive *Outcries* and *Demands*, far out of the Reach of Thoſe, who firſt thought of modelling and governing them.

Let me here give an *Inſtance*, how far the Affectation of *Popularity* will carry a Man, and in what Evils it muſt naturally end: but whether it be a *Real* or a *Suppoſed* Inſtance, it imports little. It ſhall be taken from the Caſe of an *Election* of a Member for Parliament; and the *Scene* of Action ſhall be a very populous *City* not far from *London*, very tumultuous naturally in itſelf, upon ſuch an Occaſion; and capable of being much more ſo by Art and Management. A *Gentleman*, who has prepared his Way to it by Writing, and Voting, and ſpeaking vehemently, in exact Concert with the Tone and Voice of popular Diſcontents, reſolves to ſhew the Strength of the *Popularity* He has obtained, in this very Spot of Ground: And though He is ſure of being choſen at Another Place, (which would content any ordinary *Patriot*) yet He chuſes this Scene, under the Noſe of the *Court*, and in Oppoſition to all *Courtiers*; but without the leaſt Thought *(Good Man!)* of Diſaffection or Injury to the *Eſtabliſhment* in King *George* and his Family. There lives in the ſame *City* a much *Greater Man* than he: much greater in *Power*, as well as in *Cunning*. This *Greater* Man has much *greater* Deſigns than making this *Gentleman* a Member of *Parliament*; and Deſigns of a quite different Nature. He thinks *This* a lucky Opportunity of executing what He has long wiſhed for.—A *Popular Man* at the Head of *Popular Diſcontents!*—attended by Throngs of People, venting themſelves, they know not why, in bitter Cries; and naturally heating One another into more and more *Madneſs!*—And this *Popular Man* once in the Service of Another Greater and more *Popular Man*, now abroad!—He can make good Uſe of this Machine—He can build dextrouſly upon this Model—and add Deſigns of his own to the more innocent Deſigns of the Other.

Well then, With theſe Views, They both prepare, and model, and marſhal, and diſcipline their Multitudes; teaching them, as well as they can by their ſeveral Agents, how to manage their *Voices*; what their *Cries* ſhould be, and to what Pitch they ſhould proceed. The *Gentleman*, who means little but to ſhew himſelf in the Strength of his *Popularity*; He directs his tumultuous Friends to take Care what they ſay or do. "Keep," ſays he, "your Zeal and your Voices with-"in Bounds. You cannot do a more grateful Thing to Me, than to abſtain from "all Violence, and to preſerve the Peace and Liberty of Election. You may "cry out for *Juſtice—No South-Sea Directors—No South-Sea Schemes*—And if you "will, *No Engraftment*—and if you will go a little farther, *No Courtiers*—But "be ſure, you ſtop here—Let no Cry be heard amongſt you, that may poſſibly "ſavour of Diſaffection to the preſent *Royal Family:* for I mean nothing but Good "to *That*." The *Other* Perſon, greater in *Art* as well as *Power* there, ſmiles at all this. He gives out other ſort of Orders amongſt *his* Company. "Mix your-"ſelves, *ſays He*, with the Multitude. Watch all Opportunities of provoking "the *oppoſite* Party, and of inflaming *This*. And as you find the *Heat* increaſe, "and the *Rage* to bear it, throw in the proper *Cries* at proper Seaſons. And "when you have made a Trial, and find that *Rage* is by this means become "*Madneſs*, and All ſeem to be heated enough with the ſame Spirit—Open your-"ſelves freely, and try the Fate of the Day. A great Stroke may be ſtruck, and "All may be united in it, when once the Phrenzy is high and ſtrong."

The natural Conſequences of ſuch Things are enough to ſhew the Skill of the great Maſter. What could follow, but Confuſion and Treaſon? From *No Schemes—No Courtiers*—the Cry preſently altered to—*No Prince of Wales*—and quickly heightened into—*No King George—An Ormond!*—and more of the ſame ſort—O! (*ſays one.*) This Mr. —— certainly means right.—And what would his old Maſter the *Duke* give (*ſays Another*) to be preſent here, and ſee ſuch a *Crowd* and ſuch a *Cavalcade* attending his old Servant; much more to ſee him ſupported by Many of the profeſt Friends to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, joining their Strength, and their Dependents, to augment the Fury, and enlarge the *Noiſe*, that all bends another way.

Another Way, indeed, it bent apace. For all *Cries* were at length ſwallowed up and united in One ſort only. *Sedition* now became *Rebellion*; and *Riot* was heightened into *Treaſon*. The *Freedom* of *Election* was quickly loſt, in the *Danger* which threatened the *Lives* of All who did not pleaſe; and from thence the Step was eaſy to more deſperate Attempts. All ſeemed to tend that Way: and it is too probable, All had ended in Deſolation, and Blood, if a Difference had not happened between the Conductors of the *Machine* behind the Curtain.—Is this *Real*, or is it only *Feigned?* Who knows, but that it may be found to be *Real?* But if it be *feigned*, it is certainly feigned upon Nature and Probability.

But after ſuch an *Event*, if ſuch an Event had happened, (which perhaps the *Firſt Mover* could not at the Beginning think of without Horror,) What will He do? Shall He fall in with the *Torrent*, and claim a Share in the *Honour* of *That* Work, in the *Labour* of which his Hand bore ſo great a Part? This is what the *Inordinate Love* of *Popularity* will carry him to, if He goes on to follow it. Or, ſhall He turn about to his *Ruined Country*, and call *Heaven* and *Earth*, and *all that is ſacred* to Witneſs, that This was far from his Heart, and utterly foreign to his Deſign? But what avail now all his *Oaths*, and all his Proteſtations? Or what boots it All about him, that They have Ears to hear ſuch empty uſeleſs Sounds?—Cold Comfort to his *Country*, lying in its own Ruins! to be told that He was weak enough to be made the *Tool* of other Men's *Purpoſes*, by being firſt the *Tool* of his own Paſſions; and little *Difference* to *That*, whether it be undone, and made a Prey to its Enemies, by the *Ignorance* and *Inſenſibility* of *One*, who can only at laſt ſay, *He did not mean it*; or by the *Knavery* and *Impiety* of *One*, who will *Frankly*, at a proper Seaſon, own *He did always mean it!* In this great Struggle, we ſee, It is *He*, that meant *No King* GEORGE, who had the full Uſe of Him, who (if We believe Him) meant only *No Courtier*. I ſuppoſe He thinks quite otherwiſe.—And Juſt ſo, the poor *Witch* pleaſes Herſelf, that the *Devil* is working for *Her*, and exerting his *Power* in the Service of *Her* Paſſions; whilſt all the while, He is governing and guiding *her* Paſſions to the fulfilling of *his own* much greater Purpoſes.

A *true Love* to his *Country* would give Light enough to the moſt *Cloudy-headed Man*, to enable Him to guard againſt theſe terrible Miſtakes and Inconveniencies. This Virtue would make him content to be no farther *Popular*, than was conſiſtent with his being truly a *Patriot*: and at the ſame time teach Him, that He could not be truly a *Patriot* any longer, than whilſt the *True Intereſt* of his Fellow-ſubjects, and not their *Whimſies* or Fondneſſes, governed Him. And though it would not forbid Him to rejoice or be pleaſed, if it ſo happens, that *their* Expectations and *his* Judgment agree in the ſame good Things; yet it would abſolutely command Him, not to carry his own Paſſions *abroad* with Him, and throw them into the Lump with thoſe of an Ungoverned Multitude; ſwelling the Torrent of *their* Phrenzy by the Addition of *his own*; and, like the *Evil Spirit* that entered into the *Swine*, carrying them up to a Precipice, and ſo giving the Opportunity to *Better Drivers* than He is, of driving *Them*, and *Him*, and all their *Company*, down headlong into a *Sea* of Confuſion and Calamity. For This muſt be the Conſequence, or Something very like it, wherever the *Love* of our *Country* yields itſelf up to the *Love* of the *Voice* of the Loweſt of our *Countrymen*; and the *Patriot* ſuffers himſelf to be governed by the *Popular Man* within him.

I am, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER VI. LONDON JOURNAL, October 20, 1722.

SIR,

IN the preſent *Uneaſineſs*, which is very natural to *Engliſhmen* upon every *Suſpenſion* of the *Habeas Corpus* Act; and which is induſtriouſly and artfully heightened, upon Occaſion of the *Act* juſt now paſſed to that Purpoſe; it is not enough to tell Them, in general, that it is an *Act* abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure *Them* from Ruin, and from the *Total Loſs* of All other *Acts*, and of this *Habeas Corpus* Act itſelf. But, it is neceſſary for Us all, before we can or ought to be ſatisfied in ſo important a Point, to enter carefully into the Particular Queſtions which naturally ariſe upon this Subject; and which muſt be ſifted and debated, before Any One, who loves his Country and his Liberty, can acquieſce.

“1. Whether it be fit, upon Any Occaſion, to ſuſpend the ordinary Operation “of the *Habeas Corpus* Act? 2. Whether there be any Reaſon ſufficient to “make it fit to do it *Now*? 3. Whether, if it ought *Now* to be done, it ought “to be done for ſo long a Time as a *Year*?” Theſe take in every Thing relating to the *Point* in Hand.

The *Firſt* of theſe *Queſtions* has been reſolved conſtantly, without any Heſitation, in the *Affirmative*, by the *Wiſdom* of All *Parliaments*, ever ſince the making that *Act*. Their Behaviour, and the Laws made by Them, have ever ſhewed, that it was a determined Caſe with them, That upon Occaſion of Any *Conſpiracy* againſt the *State*, (the Execution of which always depends upon the Perſons of the Conſpirators, and the Liberty they enjoy to adviſe and to act,) it was abſolutely neceſſary to grant to the *Executive Power*, for a Time, a *Right* to apprehend and detain the *Perſons* of ſuch as ſhould be ſuſpected to have a Part in it. Otherwiſe, they always argued, There muſt ſoon be an End of our Eſtabliſhment, and All our Liberties; and that without this, the *Habeas Corpus* Act itſelf muſt be much worſe than *Mere Dirty Parchment*, or Waſte Paper: for it muſt be itſelf the very Inſtrument and immediate Occaſion of that Ruin, and Loſs of *Liberty*, it was deſigned to prevent. Accordingly, *Seven Times*, ſince the *Revolution*, has that *Act* ſuffered *Suſpenſion*, as abſolutely neceſſary to the Preſervation of the *Act* itſelf, and all the Privileges of it. *Seven Times* have our *Predeceſſors*, with one Voice in *Parliament*, decreed ſuch a *Power* to the *Crown*, for the preventing Total Ruin. And this, with the higheſt Reaſon of *State*, allowed of, and practiſed upon, by All States and Kingdoms; and by none more, than where the greateſt Liberty has flouriſhed, which has cauſed the greateſt Dread of loſing it.

But there need not Examples. The *Reaſon* of the Thing is plain. For what indeed avails it to have a *Good Conſtitution*, if there be not in that *Conſtitution* ſomewhere lodged a *Power* of preſerving itſelf by *Extraordinary Methods*, upon Extraordinary Occaſions? What imports it, to have a *Roll* of *Parchment*, called an *Act* of *Parliament* for the *Liberty* of the *Subjects*, if, at the Call of Imminent Danger, which threatens the Deſtruction of *This* Act, and *All* Acts, there be not a Power lodged and exerted, to confine the *Perſons* of *Some*, that the *Perſons* of *All* may not ſuffer by that *Liberty*, which ſuch Conſpirators enjoy merely by Virtue of this *Act*? To what Purpoſe will it be afterwards to aſk, Why did not *They*, who knew of theſe *Conſpirators*, and who were to guard againſt Them, at leaſt confine Them where They could do no Miſchief? The *Anſwer* muſt be, Becauſe They had no Power by *Law* to do it. The *Queſtion* then will be equally in vain, Why did not *They* aſk and demand it of *Parliament*? Why, Becauſe They had a Veneration for the *Habeas Corpus* Act, the Darling and Defence of the *People*. The next Voice will then be this, Why do you tell Us of our *Darling* and our *Defence*? Call it no longer by thoſe Names; It is our *Poyſon* and *Ruin*, if a Regard to *That* has brought Deſtruction upon Us, and prevented the Meaſures which alone could have ſaved Us. We are now *dead*, for Fear of *Death*; and have *loſt* this *Act*, and All the Effect of it, *for ever*, out of a ſuperſtitious Dread of ſuffering *Traytors* to loſe the Benefit of it for a *Seaſon*.

The ſecond of the foregoing *Queſtions* is anſwered under the *Firſt*. It only depends upon This, Whether there be in *Fact*, a Deſign of introducing a *Popiſh Prince*, at the Hazard of All that is valuable to *Britons* and *Proteſtants*, now going on. Whoever doubts of this in his own Soul, I am free to give him leave to be entirely and for ever diſſatisfied with every Thing done to prevent it; becauſe I am confident, No One can doubt it, who has *Eyes*, or *Ears*, or Common Underſtanding. Whoever does *not* doubt it, can no more doubt of the *Reaſonableneſs* of following the uſual Method chalked out to Us by All *preceding Parliaments*, and by All *Free Governments* in the World. After what the *King* has, with the utmoſt Solemnity, laid before the *Parliament*, it had been, in my poor Opinion, much more ſincere and becoming, to have Addreſſed Him in humble Manner, and begged of Him to return in *Peace* to his own *People* abroad, than to have delayed one Hour to give Him that Teſtimony of their Confidence, and thoſe Aſſurances of their Zeal, which every *Parliament* ſince the *Revolution* had, upon much leſs Declarations, given to his *Predeceſſours.* In what a Condition indeed, had *His* and *Our* Affairs appeared to All Abroad, if They had ſeen the *Parliament* of *Britain* itſelf cold and indifferent in ſuch a *Cauſe*, and denying their preſent *King* the *Powers* neceſſary even for the Preſervation of his own *Life* againſt *Violence*, as well as of the whole Conſtitution againſt Ruin?

But the *Third* Queſtion creates the Difficulty, *Why for ſo long a Time, as a whole Year?* Upon this, it is worth remembring, That there was no formal *Conteſt,* as I am informed, in *Parliament*, about the doing the Thing itſelf. It was by moſt allowed, or ſuppoſed, to be *Right* and Neceſſary: though, at every proper Place, Arguments were thrown in, which plainly enough ſhewed, that *there* lay the Grief, *that it ſhould be done at all.* However, to gain a greater Number, That was given up. Some would conſent to it for *Three*, ſome for *Four*, and ſome for *Six* Months. But they could not poſſibly (ſuch was their Love to their Country!) conſent to it for *Twelve Months*. When I heard this, I preſently thought with myſelf, What? Can theſe Perſons truſt *Themſelves*, and *Us*, and all their *Fellow-Subjects*, in the Hands of the *Miniſters* for *Six Months?* And is it ſo terrible a Thing to do it for *Six Months* more? If They can be ſafe and ſecure in this for the firſt *Six Months*, and the Condition of Affairs requires it, ſurely They may be ſafe for the laſt *Six Months?* If ſuch *Miſery* and *Calamity* be in the Matter; ſuch Horror and Dread, that the Government by the *Bow-ſtring* is better, Why is it conſented to for *Six* Months? Why for *Four* Months? Nay, why for *One?* But if *Six* Months can be reaſonably allowed, let Us try whether another *Six* Months may not be as reaſonable. No. It is too much; it is too long to truſt ſuch a *Power*. I grant it; *Twelve Months* is too long a Time. So is *Six Months.* So is *Four Months.* So is *Four Days.* But if *Twelve Months* be neceſſary; if the Occaſion requires and demands ſuch a Time; It is juſt as *fitting*, as *Twelve Days* or *Twelve Hours*. It is a Pain and a Grief to think of doing it at all. No *Engliſhman* can conſent to it, but with *Reluctance*. But to None can it be half ſo pungent, or half ſo uneaſy, as to *Thoſe* who are to execute it, (if Neceſſity calls them to it,) unleſs They are Monſters, void of all Concern, and hardened into *Stone*.

Take, therefore, my Notion of this Affair in ſhort. If this were the *Spring-time* of the Year, there is no One, I believe, who would have aſked, and no One who would have conſented to give, more than *Six Months*, becauſe That Space of Time would take in all the *Summer*, and reach down towards the Meeting of the *Parliament* again: And the *Summer* being the Time always of the greateſt Danger, *That* would be provided for; and the *Seſſions* would come on Time enough to make farther Proviſion, if neceſſary. This is the *Caſe* at preſent. There is a Certainty of a more reſolute Deſign, (with ſeveral Perſons of Note actually embarked in it,) than perhaps has ever yet been known. There muſt be a Proviſion *at preſent*, becauſe the Deſign is *at preſent* working, far from being at an End. Put the Caſe now, that this New Law were to take Effect but for *Four* or *Six Months*, and that at the End of that Term the *Miniſters* were to repreſent the Neceſſity of prolonging it, (as was propoſed by *Some*,) if any ſuch Neceſſity ſhould then appear. Not to mention the Difficulties, and Cavils, Objections and Outcries, which would then be raiſed afreſh; Are we ſuch Strangers to the Cunning and Dexterity of ſuch *Conſpirators*, as to doubt that All Care would be taken to huſh every thing into Peace and Quiet; that every *Mouth* would be taught not to open too loud; much more every *Hand* not to ſtir, during that *Four* or *Six Months*; and that there might be ſuch a *Diſcipline* and *Management* exerciſed, that, if it were fit to keep, or to call the *Parliament* together, the *Miniſters* ſhould not have it in their *Power* to demonſtrate clearly that there was any ſuch Mark of Diſturbance ſtirring, or any ſuch Treaſons ſtill *viſible*, as would be ſufficient to urge the Continuance of this *Act*. But as ſoon as that Term expired, and the Time for *Action* came, What would They do, or what would They not do, when it would be ſafe for them to exert themſelves again, and They could have the *Benefit* of this *Habeas Corpus* Act to elude any Confinement?

But, it is ſaid, *Precedents* are againſt You. This *Suſpenſion* never yet was made for ſo *long* a Time. It may be ſo; though *One* was continued to *Nine Months*, pretty near this. But *Precedents* are on the Side of this material Part of the Proviſion, That the *Seaſon* in which the *Parliament* was not ſitting, was always the *Seaſon* taken Care of. In this, *Precedents* lead Us. And the Reaſon is, becauſe the Execution of ſuch Deſigns is generally in that *Seaſon*. No one ever pretended that a *Suſpenſion* for *Six* or *Nine* Months was a *Precedent* for a *Suſpenſion* for *Twelve* Months; nor therefore can the preſent *Suſpenſion* for *One Year* ever be a *Precedent* for a *Suſpenſion* hereafter for *Two Years*; as ſome would ſeem to fear, though there be an *Abſurdity* in the very Suppoſition. But the Care in *former Suſpenſions*, to guard againſt Danger in *that* Part of the Year when the *Parliament* would *not* be ſitting, was juſtly affirmed to be a *Precedent* for the ſame Care in the *preſent Suſpenſion*; which could not have been ſhewn, without extending the *Term* through the *Summer*. Accordingly, It is impoſſible that Extending the *preſent* Act to the *Summer* can be a *Precedent* any farther, than for taking Care of the *Interval* between *Seſſions* and *Seſſions*.

Seven times has this Act, in the ſame Form, paſſed; but never with more certain and undoubted Neceſſity, than at preſent. It always guarded againſt the *Danger* of the *Summer:* and *This* cannot do the *Same*, without remaining in Force for a *Year*. If it be a melancholy thing to think of ſuch a *Suſpenſion*, Whom muſt *Engliſhmen* thank for ſuch an *Evil*, but Thoſe who by their *Repeated Deſigns* make it abſolutely neceſſary? Whom muſt They curſe, if ſuch Deſigns had prevailed for want of a *Suſpenſion*, but an *Adminiſtration* that would not contend for it? It *may be* abuſed, without doubt; there is a *Poſſibility* of *That*. But there is a *Probability* it *will not*, becauſe it never has made Matter for ſo much as *One* Complaint, under the *Seven* foregoing Tryals; and for a ſtronger Reaſon, becauſe it is evidently Perſonal *Deſtruction* to thoſe *Miniſters*, who attempt to *abuſe* it. But the *Poſſibility* of ſuch *Abuſe* is no Argument againſt the Neceſſity of extraordinary Methods; and is greatly outweighed by the *Certainty* or *high Probability* of *Confuſion* firſt, and *Ruin* afterwards, without it. Nor can I compare this *Dread* of preventing a preſent Ruin by a *Method*, which has in it the bare Poſſibility of being *abuſed*, to Any thing better, than to the Temper of a Man, who, hearing the *main Beam* of his Houſe crack, and ſeeing it all yielding and tumbling upon his Head, reſolves not to eſcape out of it too raſhly, becauſe it is *barely poſſible* that a *Tile* may fall from the Top of the Houſe upon his Head. *Something* muſt be *hazarded* to ſave *All:* and when the *Whole* is in Danger, a *Part* muſt not have all our Care. A *Power* to *ſave* is always in ſome degree a *Power* to *hurt*. A *Power* to do *Good* always carries with it a *Power* (though not a *Right)* to do *Evil*. But *Power* muſt be truſted ſomewhere upon ſuch Occaſions: and They truſt it moſt reaſonably, who truſt it for a Seaſon of Neceſſity only, where *Self-intereſt* and *Self-preſervation* forbid the Abuſe of it. I ſay, *Self-preſervation*. For it is at their own Peril, that the *Miniſters* act under ſuch a *Law:* and They muſt know aſſuredly, that if there be the leaſt *Abuſe* of the *Power* given Them, through

Malice or *Wantonneſs*, at *Their* Hands it will be required: and at the End of the *Term* allowed, the *Men* themſelves, who veſted This Power in Them, will meet together with as great an Indignation againſt *Them*, and *Reſolution* to deſtroy *Them*, as They now have ſhewn with regard to the *Conſpirators*. There is a *Day* of *Reckoning*. This is Security enough, even in the Opinion of Thoſe who can think a *Miniſtry* vile enough, without it, to be wicked merely for Wickedneſs ſake. And this *Security* is the ſame, as well in the *Abſence* of His *Majeſty* (which ſome have been pleaſed unneceſſarily to ſuppoſe, to heighten their *Argument)* as in His *Preſence*. For as a *King* of *Great Britain*, though *preſent*, is never ſuppoſed to act, but by his *Miniſters*, and *They* are accountable for *All* that is done; ſo, in His Abſence, if there can be a Difference, They are *much more*, but without doubt, *equally*, Accountable; no other *Character* that can be given Them, altering at all their *Miniſterial* Office, or rendring Them at all the leſs free from the Apprehenſion and Awe of a *Parliamentary* Inquiry.

But why ſo much *Zeal* againſt this *Length* of Time, when it cannot ſhew itſelf without groſs Self-contradiction? They who make this *Objection* from a ſuppoſed *Abſence*, themſelves profeſs a Readineſs to continue this Act into the *Summer*, if neceſſary; which is liable to the *ſame* Objection. And They who think this *Act* ſo ſecure from Abuſe, whilſt a *Parliament* is ſitting to keep *Power* in Awe, cannot but know that the *Parliament* muſt meet again at the End of this Term; and that there is in Truth as Effectual and as Beneficial an *Awe* from the Certainty that It *muſt* meet *then*, as from the *ſeeing* it met *now*.

If I have omitted, or miſtaken, any thing, on either Side of the *Queſtion* in Hand, I ſhall conſider it in *Another Paper*, having no poſſible Intereſt but that of my *Country*. But in the preſent View of it, I am free to declare, for myſelf, as *One Engliſhman*, That conſidering the *Nature* of the preſent *Conſpiracy*, and the Expectations and Face of Affairs *abroad*, I would not have thanked *Any* of my *Repreſentatives* for defending me when I am *moſt* ſecure, and leaving me defenceleſs when I am *leaſt* ſo. NOW, I ſay, NOW is the Time, (perhaps the only Time We may have left Us) to ſhew in the Face of All the *Powers* of *Europe*, that We will try all Methods, rather than ſuffer a *Popiſh Bigot* to be impoſed upon Us; and that We have ſtill *Unanimity*, *Spirit*, and *Strength* enough to ſearch the preſent *Evil* to the Bottom. *I am*, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER VII. LONDON JOURNAL, October 27, 1722.

SIR,

UPON all great Indications of Diſorders in a State; and eſpecially under the *Appearance* of any Deſign of *Total Ruin*; there is a *natural Curioſity* raiſed in an Inquiſitive and Free Nation, which quickly becomes an *Impatience*, to be let, as ſoon as poſſible, into the Depth of ſuch a Contrivance; to know the great Springs of the Whole, and the great Movers of thoſe Springs; with *all* the Circumſtances accompanying ſuch a Diſcovery. This is the Caſe at preſent, with regard to the *Treaſonable Deſign*, now ſo much in the Mouths of the *People*. The Uneaſineſs of Men, which is ever rowling from *One* Subject to *Another*, is changed from the Humour of *Joke* and *Ridicule* upon the *Conſpiracy* itſelf, into an Impatient *Demand* to ſee and hear what *Evidence* there is againſt the *Conſpirators*. And in *This*, Many on all Hands, and of all Sorts, join their Voices.

There is a Set of Men, who may be called Men of *meer Curioſity*. Theſe Perſons are *refreſhed* with the Talk of ſuch a Thing as a *Conſpiracy*, and even glad of a *Plot*, with no other Meaning but the Pleaſure of having ſomething continually *New* to feed their own Humour. No wonder if Men of ſuch Accompliſhments are *eager* to hear, every Hour, ſome Freſh Circumſtance or other, to ſurprize their Fancies with, and to furniſh them Diſcourſe to paſs away their idle Hours.

There are *Others* of quite different Views, and of much greater Conſideration, from whom one hears the ſame Queſtions:—Where is the *Evidence* of this *Conſpiracy*? Why do not the *Miniſters* oblige Us with their *Intelligence*, and Proofs againſt the *Chief Actors* in it? To which ſometimes I hear this Anſwer given, “Without doubt, now the *Parliament* is met, *Gentlemen* will demand it, and the “Great Men will lay it all before them.” Theſe I now mention, are not *Enemies*, but *Profeſt Friends* to the *Eſtabliſhment*; and join in the ſame *Demand*, ſome of them for One Reaſon, ſome for Another. But that which is moſt remarkable is, That the Perſons who, though far from ſuch Ill Deſigns themſelves, yet were the firſt and chief in ridiculing the *Plot*, and reviling the Care of the Government to preſerve *Itſelf*, and *Them*, and *All* of *Us*, are now the firſt and loudeſt in the *Demand*; and, ſeeing ſome Shadow of *Reality* in what They had repreſented as *Invention*, from their former ſneering *Queſtion*, “Who are the True *Plotters* in this pretended *Plot*?” are paſſed now to Another, “Why is not the *Evidence* againſt the *Plotters* all produced?”

The Noiſe of this *Demand* is made ſtill louder by the *Dexterity* of Another ſort of Men, who have for a long Time worked chiefly by the *Paſſions* of their Neighbours, and by falling in with every *Cry* or *Demand* that ſavours of Uneaſineſs, and may help to make or to increaſe any Noiſe, which may ſerve to hide or to promote their own deſtructive Deſigns. I mean, The *Guilty*; the Men, who know too well the Depth of this Deſign; and who are either in it Themſelves, or hearty Well-wiſhers to Thoſe who are: And in this *Demand* They join for a very plain *Reaſon*, which I ſhall mention by and by.

This *Impatience*, therefore, we ſee, may proceed in *Some*, from a mere empty Impertinence of *Curioſity*; in *Others*, from an eternal *Jealouſy* of *Men* in *Power*, which Men in Power have *ſometimes* given but too much Ground for; in *Others*, or rather in the *Same*, from an over-weening Conceit of their own ſuperior *Abilities* to fix what is moſt proper to be done; in *Others*, from an Innocent Deſire of knowing how highly the *Publick* is affected, and how deep the Wound is, without the Apprehenſion of any *Inconvenience* from ſuch a *Publication*; and in *Others*, from a *Conſciouſneſs* of *Guilt*, and an Eagerneſs to be informed how far That Guilt is laid open, and in what Danger of *Puniſhment* They and their Friends are.

I own myſelf a very improper Judge of ſuch Affairs, as I am far removed from the Springs of Counſel and Action. But, as *Common Senſe* is not ſhut out from any One Place more than Another; it is by *That* a Perſon may judge, upon any ſuppoſed Caſe, which does not need much refining, or depend upon the actual Knowledge of Particulars, which are and muſt be out of his Sight. And a moderate Degree of that *Common Senſe* will, I am of Opinion, teach One how to judge in this Caſe.

It is very plain, methinks, upon the firſt Thought, without entring into *Particulars*, that, as long as there are, and muſt be, *Miniſters*, intruſted with the Adminiſtration of what is of concern to the State, Theſe *Miniſters*, whatever or whoever They are; whether They be ſuch as we like and would chuſe; or not; are not only the *proper*, but the *ſole* Judges at preſent, by what Steps and Degrees to open to the World an Affair of ſo vaſt Importance; becauſe They alone know the Whole of what lies before them; and becauſe No One, let his Capacity be never ſo great, can be a Judge of this, who does not know the *Whole* of what is already come to their Knowledge. For myſelf, I can eaſily conceive that the Good which the Nation may reap from what is known, muſt now much more depend upon the wiſe and proper Management of every Part of it, in due Time, Place, and Manner, than upon the *Diſcovery* itſelf; becauſe the *Diſcovery* itſelf may be made vain and ineffectual to the *Ends* it ought to anſwer, by an over-haſty or precipitate Communication of every *Particular* of it to the World. Nay, Do not all Men acknowledge it as a *Maxim* undenied and uncontroverted, That there *muſt be* in *All* Governments, *Arcana Imperii, Secrets of State*; that there can be no Adminiſtration of Affairs, no Buſineſs of a high Nature, carried on without them; and that to reveal and lay open theſe at an improper Juncture, would often be to ruin the Purpoſes they were deſigned to ſerve. And if this be ſo in the common Courſe of All *Governments*, much more is it ſo in *Affairs* which concern, not the *Well-being* only, but the very *Being* of the State. Theſe and the like are *General Obſervations*.

But *One* may be led, by the *Nature* of the Thing itſelf, to be much more particular, without pretending to dive into the *Secrets* of *Stateſmen*. And here, as in *all* Diſcoveries of *Conſpiracies*, there muſt of Neceſſity be ſeveral *Different* Channels, as well as various Sorts and Degrees of *Intelligence* and *Evidence*. I may, I hope, without Offence, make ſome *Suppoſitions*; which, though they are merely ſuch as naturally offer themſelves upon this *Subject*, yet may ſerve to ſhew what is aimed at, as fully as if They were really the Truth of the Caſe.

It is poſſible, for Inſtance, that One Principal Branch of *Intelligence*, which opened the preſent Deſign to the *Adminiſtration*, might come to Them from a neighbouring *State*, in Alliance with *England*; but yet, upon many political Accounts of Conſequence to Itſelf, utterly unwilling that This ſhould be laid before the World in all its Circumſtances. If this Intelligence be ſuppoſed to have been communicated under the Condition of *Secrecy*, it is not to be expected that, without the Permiſſion of that *State*, this can be amply and particularly laid open as *Evidence*. Or, if it ſhould be, Who will ever ſend you *Intelligence* again, when the Condition is ſo diſhonourably broke through? It is poſſible again, that *Another* great Branch of *Intelligence* may be purchaſed at ſome Foreign Court by *Money*, and this perhaps from a Perſon the moſt truſted and unſuſpected. The laying open ſuch *Evidence*, as to render it *Authentick*, muſt be Breach of Faith to that Perſon; and muſt probably point him out ſo plainly, as to end in his utter Ruin: After which, what Hope of any ſuch *Clandeſtine* Correſpondence, or Intelligence, not only at *That* particular *Court*, but at all others? A *Third* Channel of *Intelligence* often, I ſuppoſe, in ſuch Caſes, comes from *Falſe Brethren* amongſt the *Conſpirators* themſelves, or their *Agents*; who, either for Money, or ſome Accidental Difference, (which almoſt always happens in theſe Affairs,) or out of a Shock given Them at ſomething propoſed, at which They ſtart and give back, chuſe to reveal as much of what They know as They think fit. And theſe generally, Perſons not willing to be named; reſolved againſt appearing as *Evidence*; and imparting the Light they give under the expreſs Stipulation of remaining ſecret and unknown. Upon this Suppoſition, Honour and Intereſt both forbid any *Government* to reveal what is neceſſary to make this ſort of *Evidence* thoroughly *Authentick* *Another* Channel of *Intelligence* comes, I ſuppoſe, by means of *Intercepted Letters*. But though this be a Method allowed by *Act* of *Parliament*, and no One can doubt but that it is put in Practice; yet there is ſomething in the Thing of ſo delicate a Nature, that ſome Caution and Diſcretion is neceſſary in the Uſe and Management of what comes this Way.

But ſuppoſing much of the *Evidence* is of ſuch a Nature, as to be *fit* to be laid open, and may be again atteſted by Thoſe who gave it; yet even in the doing this, there is a *Meaſure* to be obſerved, and a proper *Time* for every Part of it to appear. No wonder indeed, if Thoſe who know Themſelves *Guilty*, or heartily wiſh well to Thoſe who are ſo, demand *All the Evidence* very loudly and importunately, for this very good Reaſon to *Themſelves*; becauſe the *more* They know of the *Intelligence* given, and the *ſooner* it is produced, the more effectually They can counterwork and diſappoint the *Adminiſtration* in bringing Them to Infamy or Puniſhment. But then, this *very Reaſon* ſhould at the ſame Time moderate the ſame Demands of Thoſe, who truly wiſh well to the *Eſtabliſhment*, and not let them proceed ſo impetuouſly, as to ſnatch out of the Hands of Thoſe in Power the Opportunity of bringing the Whole to a good Concluſion.

But this is not all the Benefit which a little *Patience* may be ſuppoſed to produce. For it muſt be ſo, in the very Nature of theſe Things, that as *One* Day leads on to *Another*; ſo, *To-morrow* often brings to Light what *To-day* is not ſo evident. The *Firſt* Step perhaps appears of ſmall Moment, but it gradually and inſenſibly leads to *Another*; and this to a *Third*, of greater Moment. A trifling *Circumſtance* often ends in a very *material Point*. One Part of the *Thread* directs to Another: And when once the *Clue* is obtained, it is *Step by Step* to be handled and followed. And all this while, under the Notion of a *Diſcovery* going on, Thoſe who are in the Deſign grow every Day jealous and diffident of one another: and theſe Jealouſies and Diffidencies increaſing, and being often heightened by private Quarrels and Reproaches, produce every Day ſomething new. By this Means, Several are by degrees brought to think *Themſelves* as worthy to be *Diſcoverers*, as their *Neighbours*, and to be very unwilling to have their Lives lie at the Mercy of *Others*.

Under all theſe *Circumſtances*, and many more which may be ſuppoſed to ſurround an Affair of this Nature, who cannot ſee, that the *Communication* of *Some* of the *Evidence* in it is as impracticable, as it is to break Faith, and to deſtroy all Hope of *Evidence* for the future? And that to *precipitate* the *Communication* of what may be honourably publiſhed, and to demand it before it is ripened to all the *Perfection* which the Nature of the Thing will admit of, is in ſome degree to give back the *Diſcovery* again into the Hands of your Enemies; and to ſet all their Wits and their Powers to work, to guard Themſelves and their Adherents againſt all the Conſequences of it; as well as to force out of the Hands of the *Adminiſtration* all poſſibility of bringing the Whole to a good Iſſue?

Whether theſe *Thoughts*, which naturally ariſe upon this Subject, have any Weight in them, muſt be left to Others. The *Judgment* in all Matters of this ſort will principally be in the *Members* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, in which I have not *now* (as I formerly had) the Honour to ſit. And They will have One very great Advantage towards the forming of that Judgment, above what Any *without Doors* can ſo ſoon have; that They, who always ought to be upon their Guard, will be able preſently to ſee, by every Step the *Miniſtry* take, and every *Motion* They make, "Whether They are trifling with the Fate of a Nation, or thoroughly in earneſt in their Endeavours to ſave and ſettle it," And according to what They ſee, They can conduct Themſelves in *This*, as well as all other Affairs.

I am, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER VIII. London Journal, November 3, 1722.

SIR,

THE *Two Things*, which are at this Time the chief Subjects of Converſation, are The *Suſpenſion* of the *Habeas-Corpus-Act*, and The Increaſing the Number of Our *Forces*. The firſt Diſcourſe and Apprehenſion of both Theſe, has been always ſeen to give an *Uneaſy Shock* to the Minds of the People of *England*. And this is ſo far from being ſurprizing or diſagreeable to me, that I cannot but look upon it with ſome ſort of Pleaſure, as the natural Struggle of *Free-born Souls* for Liberty. When you tell an *Engliſhman*, that the *Habeas-Corpus-Act* is ſuſpended for a Time; and not only this, but that an *Augmentation* of *Four Thouſand* Men is to be made to our *Forces*; the firſt Impreſſion from hence is, the Terror of *Arbitrary Power*, over-bearing all *Laws* and all *Liberty*. And if *this* natural Uneaſineſs be improved by the *Repreſentation* of Thoſe *Orators*, who traffick in the *Paſſions* of Men, before He can have Patience or Opportunity to hear the Reaſons of *Others*, He will think, and talk, and dream of nothing but *over-turning* the *Conſtitution*, trampling upon all *Rights* and *Privileges*, and governing the Nation by *Standing Armies* inſtead of *Acts* of *Parliament*.

But if He be naturally a reaſonable Man, or if *Time* has by degrees permitted his Paſſions to ſubſide, and his Underſtanding to be in a State of *Freedom* and *Coolneſs*, the ſame *Love* to *Liberty*, which created his firſt *Diſſatisfaction*, will itſelf give him back that *Eaſe* of Mind, which it before took from him. This I have attempted to ſhew, in a *Late Paper*, with regard to the Act of *Suſpenſion*. And now, with reſpect to the other great Point mentioned; When the *Addition* made to the *Forces* is repreſented to him in the ſame Light, as what would never have been aſked, and never conſented to, but upon Account of the ſame *Neceſſity*, ariſing from a *Conſpiracy* againſt the very *Being* of all our *Liberties*; that the *Number* added is but *barely ſufficient* for a Defence, in caſe of any ſudden *Attack*, or *Inſurrection*; and this *Augmentation* made but for *One Year*, at the End of which it is to be reconſidered by the *Parliament* itſelf; that, after this Addition, the whole Number in *England* and *Scotland* will not exceed *Sixteen Thouſand* Men fit for Service; and that *Four Thouſand* of theſe cannot readily be brought to any one Place of Action upon any Emergency, nor *then* without leaving *Other* Parts unguarded; and that *All* this is ſo prudently ordered, that the *Expence* of *Officers*, which is the *great Expence*, is entirely avoided; and the whole *Charge* reduced to a Sum ſo inconſiderable, that it will not much increaſe the Burthen of the People, in this Year of *Neceſſity*, above what it was the *Year* before: When *This*, I ſay, is laid before Him in its true Colours, He will look more favourably upon it; and eſteem the *ſad Occaſion* of ſuch a Neceſſity, Reaſon enough for doing *Something* which he does not *otherwiſe* like, or ever wiſh for, to preſerve *All* that He loves and values in this World.

But it is not my Deſign to ſtop here. The Occaſion I have had to conſider theſe *Two Points*, upon which the preſent *Uneaſineſs* of many *Well-wiſhers* to their Country is ſaid to turn, has at the ſame Time very naturally carried me to an Enquiry into the *Behaviour* of All *Free States* in the like Caſes of *Conſpiracy* againſt their *Liberties*. And the *Reſult* of this *Enquiry* I am now going to communicate, not without ſome Hope, that it may help a little, in this important Juncture, to give Satisfaction where it is wanting, and to confirm it where it already is.

I will *firſt* therefore, in *general* ſay, that I found the *Behaviour* of the greateſt Lovers of their Country, in all ſuch Caſes, to be always, without any Variation, conducted by theſe and the like *Maxims*, *viz.* That in Dangers and Exigencies of an *Extraordinary* Nature, to which the *Ordinary* ſtated Laws cannot effectually anſwer, there is a *Right lodged*, wherever the Supreme Power is lodged, to take *Extraordinary* Methods of Defence: That it is impoſſible, in ſuch Caſes, to preſerve the Liberties of a *Nation*, but by *hazarding* Them: and That it is not therefore a reaſonable *Objection* againſt Any Extraordinary Method propoſed, to urge that there is *Danger* in it, or that it cannot be put in Practice without the Poſſibility of *hurting*, in ſome Degree or other, the *Liberties* it is deſigned to preſerve. By theſe Maxims I affirm, and am ready to maintain, that the *Wiſeſt* Men, and the moſt *Unſuſpected* Patriots, in all Ages, and all Countries, have conducted Themſelves: And that, oppoſite to *Theſe*, there can be no *Maxims*, but ſuch as (though they may be eſpouſed by Honeſt and Well-meaning Perſons, yet) in *Fact* are, and were always, the *Maxims* and *Arguments* of the *Conſpirators* Themſelves; and what, if they are followed, muſt end in a quick and total Ruin of any *Free Nation.*

But, in particular, I own to you, that no Part of my *Enquiry* gave me a greater Pleaſure, than That which was concerned about the Judgment and Conduct of the *Romans* in ſuch Caſes; I will add, nor a greater *Surprize:* becauſe I had not for ſome Years examined into it with any Exactneſs; and the *Names* and *Characters* of their Greateſt Men had been of late ſo uſed, as to lead to quite different Impreſſions about Them, from what I found to be conſiſtent with the *Truth* of *Facts.* The *Conſpiracy* of *Catiline* againſt the *Liberties* of *Rome*, will alone furniſh us with Matter enough to juſtify what I now ſay; the main Circumſtances of which are too well known to bear repeating, and yet the moſt obvious *Remarks* upon them ſeem of late to have been very much removed out of Mens Sight.

The Diſcovery of this Deſign, made to *Cicero* the *Conſul*, was very plain and convincing, as far as it went; but it was but imperfect. He ſaw the Danger, but yet could not dive into the Bottom of it immediately, or come to the compleat Knowledge of the Strength and Number of the *Conſpirators.* He therefore lays the Affair before the *Senate*, knowing his *Ordinary Power* not to be ſufficient to guard the *City* itſelf, much leſs to preſerve the *Whole Commonwealth.* What followed upon this? The *Senate* immediately and unanimouſly decreed, *Darent operam* Conſules *ne quid Reſpublica detrimenti caperet:* Not that the *Conſuls* ſhould make uſe of all their *Ordinary Powers*, and all that the *Laws* then in force gave them, for the Preſervation of the *Whole*; (for this they could do, and did do, without recurring to the *Senate*;) but, that the *Conſuls* ſhould be, *ipſo facto*, veſted with All Powers ſufficient to preſerve the *Republick* in Time of ſuch Extremity. *This* the *Nature* of the Thing ſhews to be implied in this *Decree.* And *thus* the *Hiſtorian* explains it, that by that one *Vote* or *Decree* of the *Senate* was given to the *Conſuls*, *Poteſtas Maxuma*—amongſt the Particulars of which He reckons up, EXERCITUM *parare, bellum gerere, coercere* OMNIBUS MODIS *Socios atque Cives, domi militiæque imperium atque judicium ſummum habere: None* of which Powers, *He adds*, had the *Conſuls* any Right to, without ſuch a *New Law.* Here then, was a Vaſt and almoſt *Abſolute Power* immediately, and without Heſitation, lodged in the Hands of the Conſuls; a Power *to raiſe and put in Order an Army*, without limiting the Number of Men in it, or ſpecifying the Places where it was to act; *to wage War*, without binding them to Any particular Method of doing it; *to reſtrain and keep within Bounds, by ALL Methods, their Subjects and Allies*, in which was neceſſarily implied (as the Event likewiſe ſhewed) the *Con-*

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ſining and Impriſoning all ſuſpected Perſons; in a Word, *to have the laſt and higheſt Authority, without Appeal, in the City, and in the Camp*: And all this, without the Limitation of any *Time*, but permitting *That* to the Judgment of the *Conſuls*, who had then a *Year*, wanting a few Days, to ſerve in that Office; *Tully*, as it appears, being but *juſt then* created *Conſul*, upon the general Apprehenſion of a *Conſpiracy*.

If I were to put this into the Stile of our Times and Country, it ſhould be thus. The *Chief Miniſters*, upon an imperfect but certain Diſcovery of a *Conſpiracy* againſt the State of *Rome*, called the *Parliament* together; and gave them an Account of what had been diſcovered; declaring, that they had not, by the ordinary Laws then in Force, ſufficient Powers to guard the *State* againſt ſuch a Deſign. The *Parliament* of *Rome* immediately, without any One *Diſſent* or *Proteſt*, paſſed an *Act*, veſting in the *Adminiſtration* ſuch *Powers* as were ſufficient to that Purpoſe; particularly, ſuſpending the *Roman Habeas-Corpus-Act*, or all ſuch Laws as might prevent the *Adminiſtration* from confining ſuſpected Perſons, and this for the Space of a *Year*; and ordering an *Augmentation* and exact Diſcipline of the *Forces* then in the Service of the *State*.

Here is a Power granted in *One* Vote of the *Senate*, ſo abſolute and unlimited for the particular Occaſion, that it is enough to create a *Dread* in any *Free-man* to think of it. And I heartily pray, it may never be, in ſo unreſtrained a Manner, experienced here. But I give this Inſtance, as very proper to ſhew the *Sentiments* of that *People*, in Caſes of *Conſpiracy* againſt their *Liberties*; and certainly as a good Argument, that *They*, who did ſo *much* at *Rome* upon ſuch an Occaſion, would more readily have joined in doing much *leſs* than This, were They now alive, and met to ſave this Nation, in like Circumſtances. For the *Hiſtorian* not only tells us, They did this upon Occaſion of that One *Conſpiracy*; but that it had been their Common Practice to give this *Power* to their *Conſuls*, in all like Conjunctures of Danger, *quod plerumque in atroci negotio ſolet*, &c.

But, *Who were Theſe*, who acted this *Part* upon the firſt opening of a pernicious Deſign againſt their Country? *Abject Slaves*, ready to ſell Themſelves to Any who would aſk to be their Maſter? No. The Braveſt, the Wiſeſt Aſſembly then in the World; the moſt jealous of their Liberties, and the moſt quick in their Apprehenſions of any Danger to them. This was the Aſſembly, which veſted ſuch large *Powers* in the Adminiſtration: And it was that very *Jealouſy* of their Liberties, which induced Them to add ſo much *Power* to *Power*. But what is remarkable is, that in this *firſt* Step, (which indeed, in general, comprehended every thing,) there was no Difference of Opinion: the *Vote* was *Nemine Contradicente*. No One *Patriot*, in the whole Number of *Senators*, ſtood up to repreſent the *Danger* to the *Liberties* of *Rome*, from ſuch a Power lodged with the *Conſuls*, as an Argument againſt the *Thing*. No *Patriot*, did I ſay? No *One* ſecret *Conſpirator*. No *One* ſecret Favourer of the *Conſpirators*, (of which ſort there were ſeveral in the *Senate*) dared, or cared, to make the leaſt Shew of Oppoſition to this firſt Motion; which yet lodged in the *Conſuls* a Power much greater, and much more dangerous, than what we have heard ſo much declaimed againſt.

But when I tell the *Engliſh Reader*, that in this very *Senate*, the Great, the True *Roman* CATO bore a principal Part; and that in the *Debates* upon the next *Queſtion*, in which there was ſome Difference of Opinion, *He* ſhone forth in all the Brightneſs and Dignity of what *He* accounted *Patriotiſm*; the Mention of that *much-loved Name*, of which he has heard ſo often of late, will probably raiſe his *Curioſity*; and he will be impatient to know very particularly the Truth of *His* Conduct, whoſe Reputation was ever unblemiſhed with any *Corruption* or *Suſpicion*.

He will immediately aſk, How did CATO, that Patron of Liberty, who courted and defended Her with all the Jealouſy of a Paſſionate Lover, behave Himſelf upon this Occaſion? What were the *Principles* and *Maxims*, He avowed? And which Way did the *Zeal* of CATO ſhew itſelf, whoſe *Name* alone *Engliſh Patriots* have thought ſufficient to ſupport their *Characters?* I have not Room at preſent to ſatisfy this Curioſity. But I promiſe to do it in *Another Paper*; and now can only aſſure Him, that the Account of that Great Man will be ſomething very different from what may be imagined; and in particular, that He had not *One* of thoſe *Romantick* Principles of *Liberty*, which in *ſome Conjunctures* are as Fatal to a *Country*, as *Standing Armies* and *Irreſiſtible Force* can be in *Others*. *I am*, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER IX. LONDON JOURNAL, November 10, 1722.

SIR,

I HAVE already obſerved that, upon the firſt imperfect Diſcovery of *Catiline's* Conſpiracy againſt the Liberties of *Rome*, the *Senate*, immediately and unanimouſly, gave extraordinary Powers to the *Conſuls*, particularly to confine Perſons, and to prepare an *Army*; exactly anſwering to what has been juſt now agreed to in the *preſent Parliament:* though under ſuch happy *Limitations*, as are agreeable to our *Conſtitution*. But though there was indeed, in this *firſt* Decree, an *Univerſal Conſent:* yet, it appears very plainly that there were ſeveral in the *Aſſembly* who could not be pleaſed with it, as They were ſecret Favourers of the Conſpiracy; and that ſome of *Cæſar's* Arguments, upon the next Occaſion, are as ſtrong againſt this *firſt* Reſolution, as againſt what particularly gave Occaſion to them. For this has been always, I ſuppoſe, a Maxim amongſt the *Managers* of *Debates* in all *Aſſemblies*, not to put the Streſs of the *Debate* upon the *Point* which is likely to be carried with leaſt Oppoſition; but to reſerve their Strength for ſome *Circumſtance*, or ſome *ſecondary* Matter, upon which They can diſtinguiſh more nicely, and ſpeak more plauſibly, and for which They are likely to obtain a Number of Voices, which would not join with Them in their Oppoſition to the former Propoſal; and at the ſame Time leave to Themſelves the Advantage of the uſual *Apology*, that They were not at all againſt the *Main General Point*.

Thus it was at *Rome*. The grand *Debate* came on upon the *Second Queſtion*, relating to the *Perſons* of the *Conſpirators* then in Cuſtody. And upon This it was that the *Difference* of *Principles* and *Views* amongſt the chief *Senators* ſhewed itſelf. And particularly nothing was more remarkable, than the Oppoſition between *Cæſar* and *Cato*, who were the chief *Debaters* upon this Occaſion. Of this I will now give a ſhort Account, for the Uſe of ſome amongſt Ourſelves: not with the weak Imagination, that every thing which *Cato* thought right in the *Roman State* can be attempted in *Ours*, without Madneſs, or Wickedneſs, or Both; but with a View only to the wiſe *General* Principle which *He* maintained, and which will juſtify *All* who practiſe upon it, whilſt They take Care always to adapt their Practice to the Nature of that particular *Conſtitution* under which They act.

In the Courſe of the Debate, when it came to *Cæſar* to give his Opinion, *He* argued that the *Methods* pointed out by the *Ordinary Laws* then in Force were ſufficient, and therefore, that there was no need of *New Ones*—That Any thing *Extraordinary* in ſuch *Conjunctures*, was often ſeen to give a wrong Turn to the Minds of the *People*, who were apt to remember the *Severity*, after They had forgot the juſt Occaſion of it. And juſt thus we have heard it argued, That to augment the *Army*, to ſuſpend the *Habeas-Corpus-Act*, to impriſon ſuſpected Perſons, may increaſe a *Diſaffection* already too great, and turn that inward Affection to *Pity*, which might otherwiſe be *Abhorrence*. And then, As for any Danger, in the mean while, to the *State*, which may be feared from not taking any extraordinary Steps, *Cæſar* argues, *De timore ſupervacuum eſt dicere, cum præſenti diligentiâ clariſſumi viri Conſulis tanta præſidia ſint in armis.* And thus, *The Danger of the Plot* now amongſt Us, *in the Hands of ſo faithful and wiſe a Miniſtry*, as the preſent, who have had Time already to take ſo many uſeful Precautions, is made ſo inconſiderable by *Some*, as to be a Reaſon againſt giving Them Power enough to ſhew either their Faithfulneſs or their Wiſdom to any Purpoſe.

When *Cæſar* comes to treat of the Argument drawn from the Miſchiefs of ſuch a *Precedent*, He handles it in a very elaborate and moving Manner. *Omnia mala Exempla ex bonis initiis orta ſunt: ſed, ubi imperium ad ignaros aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud Exemplum ab dignis & idoneis, ad indignos & inidoneos transfertur*: In the Language of our Times, thus: All *Precedents* of bad Conſequence have taken their Beginning from good and plauſible Occaſions, which Times of Danger and publick Diſtreſs have afforded. But when hereafter *Power* comes into the Hands of Thoſe, who are leſs Wiſe, or leſs Honeſt; this *Precedent*, which was at firſt good, and deſigned only againſt ſuch as deſerved ill, is made uſe of againſt the Beſt and moſt Worthy. And therefore, We have heard it added, That theſe Times of Danger, which alone are the Seaſons that call for extraordinary Defence, are particularly the *Times* when you muſt avoid all ſuch *Defences*, for Fear They ſhould be called for, or made uſe of, when there is no ſuch Danger. You muſt not give any *Governours* a Power to ſave a Nation, by ſeizing a *Conſpirator*, for fear They ſhould ſeize an *Innocent* Perſon. You muſt not inveſt Them with a *Power* to raiſe or keep together an *Army* ſufficient to defend you againſt *Force*, for fear They ſhould make uſe of that Army, or that Army itſelf ſhould reſolve, to ſet up an Arbitrary Government in its own Strength.

To return, *Cæſar*, after giving ſome *Inſtances* how *Power* has been abuſed, concludes this Part with a fine Compliment upon the *Conſul*. *Atque ego hoc non in* M. Tullio, *neque his Temporibus vereor. Sed—poteſt alio tempore, alio Conſule, cui item Exercitus in manu ſit, falſum aliquid pro vero credi*, &c. " Theſe indeed are " Evils which I have no Fear of from *Tully*, nor in the preſent Conjuncture. " But— at Another Time, and under the Adminiſtration of Another Conſul, " Groundleſs Suſpicions may be taken for Truth. And when once, by this " *Precedent*, ſnch a *Conſul* ſhall have drawn his puniſhing Sword, who ſhall ſtop, " or govern it?" But this, which has of late become a *Common-place Topick*, cannot be better tranſlated into Modern *Engliſh*, than as We have read and heard it *thus* expreſſed, often enough to make the *Irony* nauſeous and inſipid. " But " this is not our Caſe. God has bleſſed us with a prudent and faithful *Miniſtry*. " We have nothing to fear from *Them*, who have given ſo great Proofs of their " *Abilities* and *Integrity*. But *Miniſtries* are changeable. Another *Sett* may come " in, not ſo adorned with good Qualities. And when by this *Law*, or by this " *Precedent*, ſuch Power comes to be lodged in Hands not ſo worthy of it, " Who can tell what will be the Event? *Suſpicions* are *endleſs*. Falſe Accuſations "may be induſtriouſly multiplied. The Blow may fall, in worſe Times, upon "the moſt Innocent and Beſt Subjects. And who ſhall ſtop it, or wield it off?"

After all theſe plauſible Arguments, which are plainly ſeen to have equal Force againſt the former Decree of Extraordinary Powers to the *Conſuls*; *Cæſar* ſeems, as many Others upon a like Occaſion do, to have forgot He was arguing againſt *New Steps*; and Himſelf propoſes, at the *Concluſion*, ſomething againſt the *Conſpirators, equally New* with what He oppoſed; though more to his own Purpoſe. This was That ſame *Cæſar*, who afterwards roſe up in open War againſt his Country, and put in Execution that Deſign of *Arbitrary Power*, which He was probably, at this very Time, contriving in his great Soul.

But we are not now enquiring only into the Conduct of the *Corrupt*, or *Suſpected* Part of the *Senate*; but into That of the *Part*, not only *Uncorrupt*, but even *Unſuſpected* of any Love to Power, or Flattery of Thoſe who had it. Particularly, the *Queſtion* now returns, What was the Conduct of CATO? And how did *He*, that uncorrupted, unſuſpected Lover of his Country, behave Himſelf from the Beginning to the End of this whole Affair? Did CATO open the Scene by ridiculing the Conſpiracy, even in its moſt imperfect Diſcovery? or by making Sport with the *Conſul's* Care in endeavouring to ſuppreſs it? Did CATO ſpend his Strength, upon that Occaſion, in contending eagerly, that the *Time* of *Danger* was the proper Time to be *Defenceleſs*, and the only Seaſon for guarding againſt *Power* in the Hands of *Thoſe*, who had the Defence of the Commonwealth intruſted to Them? Did not CATO know, that the *Sword* in *Cicero's* Hand was as *ſharp* as that in *Catiline's*; and that the Troops under the *Conſuls* could bring as certain Death and Deſtruction, where-ever their Force ſhould ſhew itſelf, as the Troops under *Manlius* and *Catiline?* Did not CATO know the Worth of *Liberty*, or did *He* not know that it was *hazarded* by the *Powers* given to the *Conſuls?* And yet, Did CATO lay hold on this Handle to inveigh againſt *Tully*, as attempting to govern a *Free Nation* by a *Standing Army*; or take *this* Opportunity to enumerate the many Nations undone, and kept in *Slavery*, by the Power of *Armies?* No. He knew, as well as Any One ſince his Time, the Value of Liberty, and the Hazard it always runs by being defended by *Force*. But He was too wiſe, to make This an Argument againſt *defending* it. And when Ruin was *certain* the other Way, He would not ſo much as mention the *Poſſibility* of *Danger* in this Way, which Neceſſity made prudent. He readily joined in granting the *Conſuls* an unlimited Power to reſtrain and confine the Subjects of *Rome*, and to raiſe ſuch an *Army* as They themſelves ſhould think ſufficient: And yet He knew, as well as *Cæſar*, or as any of the Modern Followers of *Cæſar*, that the *Conſuls* by that Power might ſeize even CATO himſelf, if They could be ſo mad, and all the *Friends* to the *State* inſtead of the *Enemies*; and He knew as well, that the *Javelins* and *Swords* which might firſt deſtroy *Catiline*, might afterwards, in the Hands of the *ſame* Men, deſtroy *Himſelf*, and all the remaining Hopes of *Rome*. But this was of no Weight againſt Neceſſity. Neither did *Cæſar's* beautiful Speech at all move the Steadineſs of CATO'S Soul. He lamented the Degeneracy of his Countrymen, and complained that They had even loſt the true Names of Things; and this particularly with regard to what had been contended for by *Some* before Him, under the falſe *Plea* of Compaſſion and Mildneſs. He affirmed, that the little Fear *Cæſar* had expreſſed for the *State*, allarmed Him the more, and made His own Fears the ſtronger. He contended earneſtly for Methods that were ſufficient to cruſh the *Conſpiracy*. "Other Crimes, *ſays He*, may "admit of Time and Patience, and *after* They have taken Effect, it may be "enough to *puniſh* their Authors. But the Nature of this is ſuch, that unleſs

“ you *prevent* it, and give *Powers* enough to *prevent* it, you are undone. When “ once it has taken Effect, it will be too late then to ſeek *Redreſs.*” [Words, which look as if they were *Now* framed to juſtify what has been already done, upon the preſent Occaſion, for our own Security.] But then He contended, in Oppoſition to *Cæſar*, that theſe *Methods*, though *Extraordinary*, were not *New*, or unknown to the *Romans*; and that to make uſe of them, was no more than proceeding *More Majorum*, according to *Precedents*, and the *Cuſtom* of their *Anceſtors*. This was That CATO, who, ſome Years after having thus combated the Arguments of *Cæſar* in the *Senate*, entered himſelf into *Pompey's* Army, and fought againſt the ſame *Cæſar* in the *Field*, for the ſame Cauſe of *Liberty*; and after the ill Succeſs of his Cauſe, parted with Life, rather than He would owe it to the *Man*, who was bringing *Slavery* upon his Country. And yet here again, He knew that *Pompey's Sword* could wound as deep as *Cæſar's*; and that *Victory* on *Pompey's* Side might poſſibly have proved fatal even to the *Liberties* his Arms defended. But He did not think this a Reaſon againſt oppoſing *Cæſar*, or making *Pompey* ſtrong enough to do it.

They that will ſtill go on to argue in Contradiction to All this, ſhould at leaſt ſpare CATO'S *Memory*; and not oppoſe and vilify his whole Conduct, under the Cover of his own *Name*. Let Them deliver their Sentiments as their own, or let Them convey them to the World under the Name of CÆSAR, whoſe they truly are: but let Them not profane a *Name*, which owed all its Luſtre to other ſort of Maxims, and a quite different Behaviour. Who can help, indeed, lamenting the hard Fate of CATO?—To ſee his *Name* made Uſe of to propagate Principles, which were Thoſe of his greateſt Adverſary, againſt which He contended in full *Senate*; and yet to ſee plainly, at the ſame Time, that were He alive amongſt Us, He himſelf muſt be content, from the ſame Mouths, to accept of the Titles of a *Court-Penſioner*, a *Tool* to *Miniſters*, and a *Creature* of *Power*.

I am, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER X. London Journal, November 17, 1722.

SIR,

METHINKS the Month of *November* cannot well paſs over the Head of Any *Briton*, without a Croud of ſuch Reflections as are natural to Every Lover of his Country. The *Fifth* Day of it, now juſt paſt, concluded the *Thirty-fourth* Year ſince That *Revolution* was brought about, which firſt delivered the Nation from the Fears and Terrors under which it was ſinking; and afterwards led the Way to what We now have lived to ſee eſtabliſhed amongſt Us. Certainly, at the End of *Thirty-four* Years, it may be Time to ſit down, like wiſe *Merchants*, and ballance the Accounts of the Nation, and ſee our Gain or our Loſs; how far We are advanced; what has been done; and how much ſtill remains upon our Hands to do. It is in vain to flatter ourſelves in ſtating this Matter. A Trader is never the happier, nor the richer, for entring falſe *Articles* on the Side of *Gain*. He may cheat Others by it for a very little while: But the Folly recoils upon Himſelf with double Force at laſt, and makes his own Ruin the more inevitable. So it is in the Caſe of the *Publick*. We may cheat

Thoſe, who do not know the State of the Nation, with the Voice of well-ſounding words, *Rights* and *Privileges*, *Liberty* and *Property*, *Proteſtantiſm* and *Free Parliaments*: But theſe are but *Sounds*, unleſs there be *Something Real* to anſwer them; and unleſs that *Something* countervail ſufficiently all the Inconveniencies and Evils, which We ſhall find placed on the other Side of the Account. But as the *State* of our Affairs is come now to be very well known in this Part of the World, through the wiſe Enquiries of *Some*, as well as the Diſſatisfactions of *Others*, it would be Folly, indeed, to attempt to put a *Cheat* upon Thoſe who *feel* it, as well as *ſee* it. And it would be ſtill *Madneſs*, above and beyond *Folly*, for *Any*, who have a Mind to enter into the State of the Caſe, to attempt to impoſe upon *Themſelves*. For as the only End of ſuch an Enquiry in an honeſt *Trader* is, That He may know the better how to conduct himſelf for the future, what Miſtakes to avoid, and what Alteration to make in his Method of *Living* and *Buſineſs*; ſo is This the Reaſon of Enquiry in the other Caſe, that All who are concerned may know, from the Experience of many paſt Years, what is ſtill behind-hand, what ought to be their Conduct, and whether it be worth while to go on any farther, or not: And this ſole Advantage is entirely loſt, if Men are willing to deceive themſelves in this important Affair.

I am reſolved on the contrary Method. I will be ſo far from Partiality on the Side of *Advantage* and *Profit*, that I will ſtate the *Evils* of *Loſs* and *Diſadvantage*, on the other Side, in the Manner in which the Bittereſt *Adverſaries* of the *Revolution* themſelves love to ſtate them, when They would moſt of all ſerve their own Purpoſes. I will be free to place on *that* Side of the Account, Two *Long* and Expenſive Wars with *France*, the moſt potent and cunning Adverſary in all *Europe*—Innumerable Lives of Brave Men ſacrificed—Unſpeakable Quantities of Blood poured out—A Sea-War with *Spain*—Two Rebellions at Home—A *Third*, better laid than either of them, ripe for Execution—And at the Foot of the Account, beſides an immenſe Sum of Money ſpent, a fatal Article of between *Forty* and *Fifty Millions* of Pounds Sterling *Debt* upon the Nation—And if you will mention Religion, A Number of differing Sects venting their ſeveral Opinions, &c.—I will here alſo add the *Queſtions* uſualy aſked and repeated, Was the *Revolution* worth all This? What was there in it? What is there that has followed from it, to ſet againſt ſuch Articles? Or, What is the Price of ſtill contending to preſerve it, upon ſuch Conditions?

I will not ſtop here to obſerve, that Much of this Heap of Evil is perhaps owing to the Ill Management of Some, and certainly to the Diſaffection, or Diſcontent of Others; and is no more an Argument againſt the Wiſdom or Benefit of the *Revolution*, than it would be to ſay, that it was quite wrong in a Gentleman to ſave his *Friend* from being *drowned*, becauſe He went immediately and *hanged* himſelf. But I will be free to own, upon the ſeveral heavy Articles mentioned, That *without* the *Revolution* there *would* have been *No* War with *France*; but then it is for this unhappy Reaſon, becauſe there COULD NOT have been One. But inſtead of it, there muſt have been a much greater *Evil*; and that is, Slavery to *France*, or to a *Government* modelled and ſupported by it. I acknowledge that, *without* the *Revolution*, the Expence of Wars Abroad, the Lives of Men fighting in Defence of their Country, and the Effuſion of much Blood, had been ſaved. But inſtead of theſe—Loans of Money exacted—Arbitrary Demands of Taxes—Numberleſs Lives ſacrificed of Brave Men, fighting in another Way, for the Love of Truth and of their Country, againſt Blind Submiſſion to Blind Guides, and a Diſpenſing Power in the *Crown*—No *Rebellions*, I grant; or rather, No Power of *Reſiſtance* from the Beſt Friends to their Country; but, inſtead of it, All terrified into Quiet by Power and Force. No Debt of *Forty* or *Fifty Millions*, I own ; becauſe *All* your *Eſtates* would have been the Property of the Prince. It would have been a Favour to receive his Demands ; and the only Obligation beſides That would have been, that He did not *demand* your *All*. And if We come to *Religion*—No Variety of Sects, I grant, or of *Opinioniſts* venting their ſeveral Notions freely, or worſhiping God according to their own Judgments.—But, inſtead of this—*Black Darkneſs*—*Deep Silence*, never interrupted, unleſs by the Groans of Thoſe, who dare not any farther diſturb it—The Terrors of an *Inquiſition*, or a *High-Commiſſion-Court*—*One* Voice of *Bigots* blaſpheming, and of *Hypocrites* affronting God—The profound Quiet of Slavery, in which all Arts and Sciences are by degrees ſunk ; Men of Parts *loſe* their Integrity, and become *Atheiſts* ; and Men of Underſtanding, who keep their Integrity, have nothing left but to become *Martyrs*.

I do but juſt mention theſe Things, before I can come to ſtate the Whole of the *Account*. At the ſame Time, I know too well, that the Impreſſion of them is long ago become faint and languid. I am ſenſible, here lies the *Evil*. That which is *paſt*, is eaſily forgot : That which is *not* come, is hardly felt even in Imagination. There is a ſort of a Fatal *Bewitchery* in that *one* Circumſtance of any particular *Good* or *Evil*, (not yet made familiar by Cuſtom) That it is *Preſent*. The Impreſſion of a particular *preſent* Pleaſure is ſo powerful, that Men are mad enough every Day, for the Sake of it, to forego all Pleaſure that is *future*, whether in this World or the next. The Senſe of *preſent* Evil is ſo quick and piercing, that Men are mad enough every Day to accept of the *Certainty* or *Probability* of much greater Evils, in order to get rid of it, merely becauſe they are *future*. Nay, rather than bear the *preſent* Uneaſineſs from the Want of any One particular Gratification, They will often loſe the Poſſibility of enjoying That very Gratification itſelf, and all others, for the *future* ; and be ready, with *Laertes* in *Shakeſpear*, under their *preſent* Grievance, *Both Worlds to give to Negligence*.

Thus it is throughout the whole common Courſe of humane Life. Take a Man in the Heighth of a violent Storm, from which there is no apparent Hope of Deliverance, and aſk Him what He will give for Life and Safety, He will tell you, *Half* of All that He has ;—*More* than Half ;—*Every thing* that He has, except what may ſupply him with the bare Neceſſaries of Life. But bring Him ſafe to Shore, and let the *Sun* ſhine, and the Rage of the *Sea* abate, and ſubſide into a *Calm*, All is forgot. He will hardly believe, There was a *Storm* any where, but in his own *Imagination* ; and if you put Him in mind of what He offered and vowed, the *Flambeau* which was promiſed to the *Virgin's* Shrine, as big as the *Maſt* of the *Ship*, dwindles into a *Farthing-Candle* ; and He hopes *That* Acknowledgment will do, ſince it is plain there was not the Danger He apprehended. Thus is that Circumſtance of humane Life, which was wiſely and mercifully deſigned for the Comfort of it, turned into Iniquity and Miſery by unthankful Men. The good *Author* of our *Being* decreed our Natures to be ſuch, as that the Senſe of Evils *paſt*, or of Thoſe to *come*, ſhould not lie ſo terribly heavy upon the Mind, as the *preſent*, becauſe then humane Life would be nothing but one Point of inſupportable Evil, and no Room left for the reaſonable Workings of *Reflection* and *Attention*, or any Virtue to claim a Reward. And We — make uſe of this Happineſs, to bear us out even in denying the Reports of our own Remembrance, and effacing out of our *Memories* every thing that can help Us to judge and to act as We ought.

And if it be *thus* in *Common Life*, no wonder that it is more viſibly and more remarkably *thus* in the *Affair* of *Government*, in which there always were, and always will be, Errors and *Faults*; and in which every One thinks He has a Right to find more *Faults* than there really are. I come now, you ſee, to the Caſe before Us. *Thirty-four* Years are paſt, ſince the *Storm* which threatened this Nation is gone over. No one *Proteſtant* Soul in theſe *Kingdoms* doubted of the Danger, or had a Prayer for any thing at that Time but a *Deliverance.* But, it is *paſt*. *Many* are literally *dead* who ſaw it: and *More* are figuratively *dead* to all Impreſſions of it. Our Time ſince, has been ſpent in Struggles to gain and preſerve the *preſent* Settlement. Theſe *Struggles*, managed and accompanied with human Frailties, have produced *Evil* as well as *Good.* The *Evil*, by being *preſent*, has deſtroyed the Image of all *Evil paſt*, though infinitely greater. The *Good*, though *preſent* alſo, yet by being felt every Moment, as the Reſult of the ordinary Procedure of a *Legal Government*, is come *not to be felt* at all; and, like the Courſe of the *Sun* in the *natural* World, paſſes, Day after Day, with little Notice or Obſervation; though without it all would be Ruin and Confuſion: whilſt the *Evil*, let it be never ſo ſmall, ariſing from ſome one known and remarkable Occaſion, is obſerved and felt, like an *Eclipſe* or an *Earthquake.* The *Parallel* goes on ſtill farther. Whilſt the *Sun* is ſhining in its daily Courſe, you do not ſee Men running to the *Altars*, or hear Them pouring out their Souls with any Zeal, for the Continuance of that Light and Heat to the World. But under the *Horror* of a Total *Eclipſe*, or in the Shock of an *Earthquake*, They weary Heaven with their Cries for the Removal of the preſent Evil. And ſo in the *Political* World it is as true, that the Paſſions of unthinking Men run naturally more ſtrong towards *Deliverance* from a *preſent Evil*, though comparatively *ſmall*, than towards the *Continuance* of a *preſent Good*, which is become familiar to them, though of infinitely greater Importance. This is a Scandal and a Shame. The *Cure* of This *Evil* lies only in *That*, which ought to be the *Cure* of a Man in all *Evils* of the ſame ſort; I mean, the *Underſtanding* and *Reflection*. Towards this *Cure*, if I offer my Aſſiſtance in the Caſe before Us, though I ſhould not ſucceed, yet I hope, the Attempt is in itſelf worthy of *Pardon*, if not of *Praiſe*. *I am*, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XI. LONDON JOURNAL, November 24, 1722.

SIR,

I AM prevented from proceeding, at preſent, upon the Subject of my laſt *Letter*, by one of the moſt ſurprizing *Phænomena* that, I think, has ever yet been ſeen in our Times, or Thoſe of our Fore-fathers. It is an *Appearance*, which at once gives me a *Pain* and a *Pleaſure*: The *Pain*, of finding that there is ſo much as one *little Corner* of the World abroad, in which the Honour of the *Britiſh Nation* can be ſunk ſo low, by the vile Art of Miſrepreſentation, as that Any Man ſhould admit the leaſt Hope into his Breaſt, of gaining upon ſuch a *People* by *Inſolence* and *Nonſenſe*; and the *Pleaſure*, of ſeeing the Enemies of our Country ſo infatuated, and ſo utterly loſt to all Common Senſe, as to attempt to do it by ſuch Methods. When I have ſaid this, I muſt immediately ſatisfy your Curioſity, by telling you, that I mean *A Declaration* lately ſent over into this Country by *One* who calls himſelf *James* the *Third*, King of *England, Scotland*, and *Ireland*: for the Name of *France*, which our *Kings* have formerly thought it a Glory to wear in their Titles, He has dropt out of his *Royal Style*, in a Manner unworthy of the other *Titles* He has aſſumed: At the ſame time, arrogantly adorning Himſelf with an *Inſcription*, which He as arrogantly mutilates; eſſaying to clothe Himſelf with a *Coat* of *Armour*, which He finds too weighty for his feeble Limbs, and therefore throws Part of it away; and ſhewing Himſelf effectually to be only the *pretended* Father of theſe *Kingdoms*, by imitating the *Nominal* Mother, who, in *Solomon's* Judgment, betrayed Herſelf to be a *Pretender* only, by her readineſs to conſent to the *Dividing* of the *Child.*

I never wiſhed ſo much that it were not an Offence againſt the *Law*, to publiſh and diſperſe Any *Declaration* of *His*, as I do now. If it might be done, or connived at by *Authority*, and if I ſtood near enough to be heard by Any in Power, my firſt Advice would be, that a *Printed Copy* of it ſhould be ſent to *Every* Pariſh in *Britain*, to be hung up in ſome publick Place, for the Uſe of All the *Pariſhioners*: That it ſhould be ſent, naked as it is; free from all Comments, and Obſervations; and unaccompanied with Any thing, unleſs it were the *Picture* of Him, who was capable of ſigning and ſending it. I think verily, it is of that peculiar Make, that it may be ſafely truſted by itſelf. It is ſo exquiſitely framed, as to undo all its own Charms, and to carry its own Antidote along with it through every *Paragraph.* And if the *Picture* ſhould happen to raiſe in Any Perſons, Thoughts of *Pity* towards an Unfortunate Man, let them but read the *Paper* underneath, and it would inſtantly cure the *Paſſion*, and diſſolve the *Spell*; and convince every *Man* living, (and every *Woman* too,) that *He*, who could imagine, a KING in Poſſeſſion of a *Crown*, freely offered Him by the United Voice of a whole Nation, capable of being enticed and argued out of it, little knows Himſelf how to wear *One* with Dignity; and that *He*, who can judge ſo contemptibly of the *Britiſh Nation*, as to think to flatter and cajole them, by treating them as *Knaves* and *Fools* both, little knows Them, after all his Intelligence, and as little deſerves to *rule* over Them. The *Piece* is indeed ſo ſuper-excellently ſilly, that One might naturally account for it, were it not well known that *He*, like All thoſe whoſe *State* He imitates, has his *Counſellers* and *Secretaries*, to adviſe and pen whatever is to go abroad with his Name to it. But then again, This very *Sillineſs* and *Abſurdity*, hardly to be imagined of Any Adviſers, was enough to make One doubt of the Genuineneſs of it. And I own, I began to ſuſpect, that it might be forged by ſome *Over-buſy* Friend to the Government, till a *Written Original*, agreeing with what was before diſperſed in *Print*, was intercepted, ſigned with the *Pretender's* own Hand; ſent to the *Parliament*, a few Days ago, by the KING Himſelf; and treated by the *Parliament*, as ſuch an Inſult upon *Him*, and *Them*, and every *Briton*, deſerved.

I have already hinted to you in general, the Manner in which both *King* and *People* of *Britain* and *Ireland* are treated in this *Paper*. I will now go on, as far as I ſafely can, to give you a more particular Account of this Curioſity. The Perſon, who does Us the Honour to claim Us for his Subjects, dates his Paper, *Sept.* 10, 1722, from his *Court* at *Lucca*, in *Italy*; the Country, of all the World, the moſt proper for his Improvement in the Study of our *Laws*, and the Love and Knowledge of our Conſtitution in *Church* and *State*. He lets Us know, that He is now in the *Twenty-firſt Year* of his Reign over Us; though our *Publick Laws*, in a Train of many Years, have out-lawed and attainted Him; and our *Perſonal Oaths* have, over and over again, renounced and diſclaimed Him. But what is ſtill more wonderful, This *Declaration* is directed not only, *To all his Subjects of the Three Nations*; but *to all Foreign Princes and States*; and this, *to ſerve as a Foundation for a laſting Peace in Europe*. What! Is it not enough for Him to ſend His Viſionary Commands to *Three Nations* here? but is it come to this, that a *Private Perſon* at *Lucca*, by Virtue of claiming the *Fealty* of *Three Nations*, which have a Thouſand times *diſclaimed Him* and all his Pretenſions, ſhall think Himſelf in a *Situation* to give *laſting Peace* to all *Europe*; and ſhall iſſue forth his *Advices* and *Directions* to all the *Princes* and *States* of it? Let Us, whom He views as *Subjects*, comfort ourſelves here a little under the Uſage He gives Us, when We ſee in what Manner, and with what an Aire, He diſpenſes his *Dictates* to all the *Princes* and *States* of *Europe*. This is ſomething ſo *New*, and ſo much out of the *Common Road* of all Political Affairs, that it can be exceeded by Nothing, unleſs it be the *Method* propoſed by Him for this Univerſal *Laſting Peace:* Which is, I promiſe you, ſomething not to be paralleled, either in *Real* or *Romantick* Story.

It is not fit to ſtop a Moment to critique the *Style* of the *Piece*; throughout the Whole of which there runs a Demonſtration, that it could not be drawn up by Any One who underſtood, either the *Language* of *This* Country, or the *Grammar* of *Any*. The Deſign and the Conduct of it are of much more Importance.

Before He opens his *Grand Secret* for the eſtabliſhing a *laſting Peace* in *Europe*, He lets Us know how *fond* He is of *Us*, his Subjects; that though *the Obligation He owes to his own Honour* be great, yet, *the Obligation to the Safety and Tranquillity of his Native Country* is *Above all Ties the deareſt to Him, and the Tendereſt.* And you will eaſily believe Him in This, that *Britain* is the Country of all the World, of which He is the moſt *tenderly* enamoured, and in which He the moſt ſincerely and paſſionately wiſhes to ſee Himſelf ſettled. He then talks of *the* late *Violation of the Freedom of Elections*;—of *Conſpiracies invented on purpoſe to give Pretence for new Oppreſſions*;—of *infamous Informers*;—and *a State of Proſcription*, in which He concludes *Every honeſt well-meaning Man* to be. Theſe Particulars are really enough to create *Pity*; if We could poſſibly imagine Him to be thus treated with *Falſe Reports* by his Correſpondents here; and in his *Intelligence* about our Condition, put beneath the Rank of the Loweſt Order of Men in our Streets. Some Truths, indeed, We may conceive Them unwilling to unveil to Him, for fear his Spirits ſhould ſink and droop: But we cannot doubt but that They have let Him know, for the Glory of his own Friends, how nobly They fought his Battles at the *late Elections*; how heroically, at ſeveral Places, They terrified All but *his own* true Loyal Subjects from coming near the *Place* of Election; and particularly, within the Verge of the very Palace of his Adverſary, what Feats of *Arms* and *Chivalry* were performed under the Conduct of his *Mitred Friend*, and *his own Duke*'s old Servant. It is impoſſible to conceive but that, by his Accounts from his Friends here, He perfectly knows the *State* of the *Diſcovery* of the *Conſpiracy*; upon what undoubted *Intelligence* from *abroad*, upon what Confeſſions of ſeveral of the Actors in it *at home*, and upon what a *Concurrence* of *Circumſtances*, which cannot lie, (ſtronger in ſome reſpects than *Oral Teſtimony*) it is built. But the Depth of the *Cunning* is this. He is directed from hence to join with his Friends here, in their ſhameleſs Talk of *Conſpiracies invented to increaſe Oppreſſion*: And, *O Rem ridiculam, CATO, & jocoſam!* The *Pretender* Himſelf is to deny that there is *Any Plot* in his own Favour; and, after that, Who can dare to think there is? No One, in my Conſcience; No Perſons living, but ſuch as are ſo oddly framed, as to think, that His Declaring publickly, *There is none*, is the ſtrongeſt Argument, and the moſt undeniable Demonſtration, (if we wanted any) that *There is one.* But of all Things, Why will not his Friends here, in regard to their own Cauſe, warn Him againſt this *abſurd* Concern for *Honeſt Well-meaning Men*; who can be no other, in his Opinion, but *His own Friends*, and *Enemies* to the preſent Government: Which therefore, He cannot blame, without too groſs a confounding of his own Purpoſe, for guarding againſt Them.

To proceed: It is *the Repoſe and Security of his People*, which He has at Heart!—His *Compaſſion is excited!—Theſe Conſiderations have engaged* Him *to enter ſeriouſly into* HIMSELF, *to examine and conſult his Heart, what* SACRIFICE *to make on* HIS OWN *Part for the publick Peace and Tranquillity, eſpecially of Theſe Kingdoms, of which* He *is the natural and undoubted Father.* When I firſt read this moſt obliging *Paſſage*, I could not well tell what to think: A Crowd of Thoughts overpowered me. I took it for granted, He had taken ſome deſperate Reſolution, to immortalize his Name, by ſacrificing Himſelf, or his own Intereſt, in ſome ſurprizing Manner. I thought of *Galba*, offering his own Breaſt to the Sword, with theſe Words, *Strike here, if it be neceſſary for the Safety of the Commonwealth.* But this yielded to the ſtronger *Image* of *Otho*, who, though not forſaken of *Friends* or of *Hope*, but ſurrounded by an *Army* eager for his Service, entered into *Himſelf*, and after the ſame Pomp of Deliberation about a *Sacrifice* on *his own Part*, choſe One which was ſo indeed. He told his Friends, "He knew better how to *die* than "how to *reign*; and was ſenſible He ſhould ſhew his Love to his People more "truly, by making, *on his own Part*, a *Sacrifice* of his Life for their *Repoſe* and "*Tranquillity*, than by eſtabliſhing himſelf in his *Empire* by War and Bloodſhed:" And accordingly, "He took a Reſolution, and executed it in a Manner, that (the "*Hiſtorian* ſays) made his *Death* very much celebrated by *Many*, who could not "ſpeak of him in *Life* with any Patience." This Piece of *Hiſtory* ran ſtrongly in my Mind: and how could it do otherwiſe, in reading this *Paſſage* in the *Pretender's Declaration?* But then again, I could not but ſecretly hope, that He would commit no Violence upon *Himſelf*; becauſe I never could entertain any Ill-will to the *Perſon* of an Unfortunate Man, whoſe chief Crime towards Us is, his *Unhappineſs* in being made a *Tool* from his Cradle, for the Purpoſes of *Others*. But ſtill, reading the Paſſage over again, and finding in plain Words, that it was HIMSELF He had entered into; and that the *Sacrifice* reſolved upon, was to be made on HIS OWN Part, and not on the Part of *Another*; I acknowledge, I again expected to find the next *Paragraph* would end in ſome *ſolemn Act* of *Violence* upon *Himſelf*; eſpecially conſidering how long He had breathed the Air in which the *Old Romans* uſed ſometimes to *devote* Themſelves for the Safety of their Country. Or if it be not ſo; I thought with myſelf, All this can end in nothing leſs than a Total Formal Renunciation of All Right and Title to theſe Kingdoms, His *Pretenſion* to which is the ſole Cauſe of all our Troubles; and This, in the Face of *All Europe*, as a Diſcharge and Releaſe to his Subjects, (ſince He will call them ſo) from all farther Obligation to any Allegiance to Him: with the Expectation only of ſome Proviſion to be made for Himſelf and his Family. If any one thinks me not in earneſt, let Him, if the Paper comes in his Way, read the *Paſſage* himſelf, or conſult Thoſe who have read it, and I will then ſtand to his Judgement, Whether Any other Expectation can be raiſed by it, except That which I have now mentioned; or ſomething very like it.

But alas! when I read on, what do you imagine I found? I ſpeak to All who have not quite loſt all Glimmerings of Common Senſe. What do you think poſſible to follow after ſuch a Noble *Preliminary Reſolution?* Would you imagine that a Man, in the Face of the World, ſhould ſtand forth and declare, "Here am I, moved by Compaſſion to my Native Country; ready and reſolved to make a *Sacrifice* on MY OWN Part, for the Tranquillity of *Great Britain*; and the Sacrifice which I propoſe on MY OWN Part is this, That King *GEORGE* do, on HIS Part, quietly make a SACRIFICE of *Himſelf*, his *Crown*, his whole *Family*, his faithful *Subjects*, the *Proteſtant Religion*, and his *Intereſt* and *Influence* in *Europe*, for ever: If He will do this *quietly*, I will, on MY PART, *ſacrifice* myſelf to the Sollicitudes of that *Throne* which He forſakes; I will be content *quietly* to take Poſſeſſion of his *Crown*, and to ſubmit my Head to all the *Cares* of it; and in order to eſtabliſh myſelf in the *Kingdom*, I will *ſacrifice* my Reſentment, and promiſe not to *hang* Thoſe who have been *His* faithful Subjects, if They give me *timely* Proof that They will be now *Mine* for the future." This is the *Main* of his *Grand Propoſal* towards a *Laſting Peace* in *Europe*; all the *particular Branches* of which ſhall follow in my next.

At preſent, I can only aſk, What Account can One give of ſuch an Extraordinary *Appearance* as This—That a *Perſon*, who thinks Himſelf cloathed with *Royalty*, could enter into *his own* Heart, in order to bring forth out of it, before all the Princes and Powers of *Europe*, ſuch a Finiſhed Mixture of Inſipid, Sedate, *Inſolence* and *Abſurdity*? It ſometimes looks like nothing but the Weakneſs of a *Child*, who had run from his *Governours* and *Counſellers*: But at other times, I think it can be reſolved into nothing but *this*, that "*Popiſh Bigotry*, by long-accuſtomed Subjection to the Power of Nonſenſe, extinguiſhes all Underſtanding; ſpreads an *Abjectneſs* over the whole Soul, wherever it operates; and, by Degrees, makes Thoſe, whom it truly poſſeſſes, perfectly inſenſible of what is *Senſe* and *Decency*, even in the moſt *Critical Circumſtances* of their Greateſt Deſigns and Deareſt Intereſts. *I am*, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XII. LONDON JOURNAL, December 1, 1722.

SIR,

I GAVE an Account, in my laſt, of the *Grand Propoſal* of the *Pretender*, in his New *Declaration*, for eſtabliſhing a laſting *Peace* in *Europe*, and particularly in theſe *Kingdoms*: That it is a *Propoſal*, by way of SACRIFICE; and this, at firſt profeſt to be a *Sacrifice* ON HIS OWN Part; but that it ends in the *Sacrifice* of ANOTHER, and of this Whole Nation, TO *Himſelf*; and not OF *Himſelf*, or the leaſt Part of his own *Pretenſions*, to the Peace of this Nation.

But you will ſay, Is this poſſible? Does He propoſe Nothing? No *Equivalent*, to anſwer to what He expects of *Another*? I will not hide, or diſſemble the Truth. I will ſpeak it out, even at the Hazard of not being believed in what I ſay. I will be ſo juſt to Him as to own that He is not quite ſo weak, as to imagine that a *King* in Poſſeſſion of a Rich and Powerful Kingdom will, at the Word of Command, immediately quit it: and therefore, He reſolves to make it worth his while. *Do* You, ſays He to King *GEORGE*, *deliver quietly to* Me *the Poſſeſſion of* the Throne in which You now reign—and *I* will, out of my abundant Grace, beſtow upon *You* the Title of *King* in *your Native Dominions*. Not only *This*, but I *will* INVITE *all other* Princes *and* States to make the Favour effectual. The *Price*, you ſee, to be paid is Something very ſubſtantial, and in preſent Poſſeſſion; The real *Kingdoms* of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. The *Purchaſe* to be obtained by it is, The Title of KING, to be enjoyed in a Country where He little needs it; where He enjoys already all the Authority over his own *Subjects*, that can be wiſhed for by any Prince: and this *Title* not in the Power of *Him* to beſtow, who arrogantly pretends to diſpoſe of it. He may promiſe, indeed, to call whom He pleaſes by the Name of *King*. There is no Difficulty in it to *One*, who has been ſo familiar with the Word, and has ſo long called *Himſelf* by that Name, without the Concurrence either of the *Kingdom* He claims, or the *Princes* about Him, to juſtify Him. But *His* Breath will not convey Royal Titles or *Prerogatives: Non illi Imperium*—And there may be *Powers* in *Europe*, who may eſteem it nothing leſs than *Inſolence* in One in His Situation, to barter away the Gifts of *Others*, whenever He happens to be in a *Sacrificing* Humour, merely to ſave Himſelf the Uneaſineſs of giving up any Thing of what He thinks *His own*. All He here engages for, on *His own* Part, in lieu of *Three Kingdoms*, is to pronounce the Word *King* with his own Mouth. *Vain, empty Sound*, from *His* Lips! giving nothing, conveying nothing, but the *Breath* of *Him* who pronounces it. As for Any Realities, or Advantages from it—*Theſe* He has nothing to do with. But He will INVITE Thoſe who have, to confirm *His* Sentence, and to bear a Part in *His* Folly.

Neither does the *Propoſer's* Favour to K. *GEORGE* ſtop here; but He goes on thus—*Leaving to Him his Succeſſion to the* Britiſh *Dominions ſecure, whenever in due Courſe his Natural Right ſhall take Place.* Now, you will think, He grows too kind—To anſwer for his firſt *Parliament* of *Great Britain*, with Himſelf at the Head of it! and to let his moſt *zealous* Friends know before-hand, That they muſt not think of inſiſting upon the utter Extinction of *all* Right in the *Proteſtant* Branches of the *Royal Family* for ever! This is ſo *moving*, to ſee ſo much Indulgence to *Proteſtants* ſtill left, as to produce this Bountiful and Benevolent Conceſſion, " That, *after* He himſelf ſhall have reigned; and *after* All in the *Popiſh* " Prior Line ſhall, in *their* Courſe, have acted their ſeveral Parts upon this Stage; " and *after* all the Tricks ſhall have been plaid over, that *Italian Cunning* can " invent, or the blindeſt *Bigotry* enter into; that *after* all this, the *Reverſion* ſhall " be in the *Proteſtant* Branches—and *Proteſtants* ſhall *then* be allowed to reign " again in *Great Britain*, when there ſhall not be a *Proteſtant* left in it for Them " to reign over; or when *Papiſts* ſhall be weary of the Weight and Cares of a " *Crown*."

But the *Propoſer* himſelf ſeems a little diffident of the Succeſs of his *Propoſal* to K. *GEORGE*. And therefore, He deſcends to the humane Art of Warm and Pathetical Perſwaſion, and tries the Force of a Moving *Exhortation*, to engage Him to quit *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and go and reign *There* only, where He reigns already, in all the Extent of Authority over his *Subjects*, and in the *Affections* as well as *Obedience* of his whole *People*. The firſt *Motive* is in the *Paragraph* now before Us, That in K. *GEORGE'S Native Dominions an uncontеſted Right will free Him from the Crime and Reproach of* Tyranny—Unhappy Man! to think of *reigning* any where Himſelf, before his *Inſtructors* have taught Him in what it is that the Nature or Crime of *Tyranny* conſiſts. He plainly thinks, it depends upon a Right to reign, with which it has nothing to do. But God deliver theſe Nations from *One*, who has let them already into this Secret: That when his own *Unconteſted Right* to theſe *Kingdoms*, (as He is pleaſed to underſtand the Word) ſhall take place, *That Right* alone will be ſufficient, to free Him, in all his Conduct, from the Crime of *Tyranny!* " I am your *Rightful* King, there" fore, *Tyranny* can be no Crime in *Me*," is *this* very Sentence in other Words: and This is the *Comfort* which He already holds forth to *Thoſe*, whoſe *Subjection* He is claiming. But let Him know, that K. *GEORGE* has other Notions of this deteſtable Crime; and does not think ſo *coldly* of what makes whole Nations tremble. Neither his *Unconteſted Right*, nor the Unbounded Extent of his *Authority* over his *Subjects*, in his *Native Dominions*, ever created an Inclination in his Breaſt towards a ſingle *Act* of *Tyranny*; and where His *Will* alone has been always his *Law*, there the *Law* of Juſtice and Equity alone has been always his *Will*. And in Our *Country*, in which written Laws are the *Rule* of *Power*, HE has conducted Himſelf, in every Step of his *Adminiſtration*, by the Direction of thoſe Laws, with as much Eaſe and Addreſs, as if He had been uſed, throughout his whole Life, to None but a *Limited* Government. A Conduct, which can flow from nothing but a Greatneſs of Mind, *limited* by the *Laws* of Unchangeable Juſtice and Equity; and guarded in *Itſelf* and in its own Benevolent Diſpoſition, againſt all the Starts and Outrages of *Power!* And ſo, having neither the *Crime*, nor ſo much as the *Reproach* of *Tyranny*, to be uneaſy under, He *diſdains* to take Refuge in an *Apology*, which He *much more diſdains* to ſtand in need of.

But in the next *Paragraph*, the *Motives* crowd on apace. The Difference is urged between a *Calm Undiſturbed Reign over a willing and obedient People*, and *a reſtleſs Poſſeſſion in a Strange Land; where Authority forcing the Inclinations of the People, can only be ſupported by Bloud and Violence—eternally ſubject to Fears and Allarms, even when no Danger appears.* And that our *King* may be the more effectually moved to accept of *Regal State* abroad, He is aſſured that his *Setlement* here is *frail and uncertain*; becauſe his *Title muſt and ſhall, whilſt* the Pretender *has Breath, or any Deſcendants in Being, be for ever diſputed.* He then puts Him in mind of I know not what Imaginary *Guilt*, and of the *Divine Juſtice*—and at the End of the *Harangue*, conjures Him, *Inſtead of adviſing with an Imperious Miniſtry, as much His Tyrants as the Nation's, to conſult his Reaſon*, to *aſk his Conſcience*, and to *examine his Intereſt, and his Glory.* Nay, (leſt any thing ſhould be wanting to compleat the Ridicule,) *His very Ambition* (it is added) *will adviſe Him to deſcend from a Throne, which muſt be always ſhaking, to mount Another, where his Seat will be firm and ſecure:* though this *Ambition* itſelf was juſt before repreſented as the Chief Impediment to the Propoſal. Such a *Groupe* of *Abſurdities* and *Contradictions*, like inconſiſtent *Figures* in a *Picture*, ſtaring one another in the Face; and ſuch *Lights* and *Shadows* ſo diſpoſed, to ſet them off, and make them the more remarkable, are hard to be met with! *Compliments* in the midſt of *Abuſes!* and Deſigned *Abuſes* proving in the End the higheſt *Compliments!* a *King*, invited by the unheard-of Charm of *Humble Ambition*, to quit *Three Kingdoms!* a *Miniſtry* made odious by a Latent *Panegyrick* upon their *Faithfulneſs* to the Maſter They profeſs to ſerve! and a *Nation* treated as an *Abandoned Nation*, in order to gain their Affections! For thus it is; and thus it will appear to be, before I have done, That all the Weight of *Satire* and *Reproach* in this *Declaration* falls at laſt, not upon K. *GEORGE*, but upon the Whole *People* of *Great Britain*.

What can One think of all this? If you go to *True Hiſtory*, Did *Otho*, when He had entered into Himſelf, to conſider what *Sacrifice* to make on *his own* Part, ſpend his Time in ſending Meſſages to his *Adverſary*, meanly to beg and perſwade *Him* to deſiſt, and lay down his *Claim?* And yet *Otho* was then in a *Condition* to treat with his *Sword* in his Hand; and rather to *impoſe*, than *beg* Terms. Or, if you chuſe *Romantick Story*, Did ever Adventurous *Knight-errant* attempt his great Works in ſuch Faſhion? I own, indeed, The never-to-be-forgotten *Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance*, full famous for redreſſing Imaginary Wrongs, often began his Attack upon his Adverſary with a Torrent of Rhetorick, and opened His Demands in ſome pathetical moving *Harangue*. But then, No *Mean* Propoſitions, unbefitting the *Character* He had aſſumed, came from his Lips. His *Poſture* all the while the *Poſture* of *Defiance*; his *Armour* buckled on for Battle; ſometimes his *Lance* poized for the fatal Combat; ſometimes his *Sword* brandiſhed in his Hand; his *Eyes* either lifted up to the Image of his adored *Princeſs*, or ſparkling with *Rage* againſt her Enemies; his *Tongue* either invoking her Aid, or execratting all her *Rivals*; his whole *Aire* Intrepid; and every *Vein* of Him on fire to ſacrifice *Himſelf*, as well as *Others*, to his Incomparable *Dulcinea*, with equal Zeal and Reſolution.—Search where We will, We find no Parallel, in all its Parts, to what is now before Us.

The *Teſtimony* of an *Enemy* is the moſt *Authentick* One poſſible. And We have here a new *Appearance* in our World—The Pretender paying the *Homage* of *Truth* to *K. GEORGE'S* Character; acknowledging before all *Europe*, that in his *Native Dominions* He rules over a *Willing and Obedient People*: which He could not do, unleſs He himſelf had *ruled* Them in ſuch a Manner as to make Them ſo. A *Willingly-obedient* People is no where to be found, but where the Influences of a Courſe of Good Government have been ſome time felt. And it would be very ſtrange indeed, if We of this Nation ſhould not feel the ſame, under the ſame *Governour* adminiſtring our own Laws. *Bloud*, and *Violence*, and *Rapine*, may be well-ſounding Words, to thicken the Aggravations, and heighten the Colourings, which ſome Cauſes require. But when they reach our Ears or Eyes in *This* Country, They can be no otherwiſe received, than as the ridiculous Effect of Ill-judged Advice; and *We*, who know and feel (let us be of what *Party* We will) that there has not been a ſingle *Act* of Government, but in the *Courſe* of the *Law* exactly obſerved, are only left to wonder what *Intelligence* this *Perſon* muſt have, if He writes this ſincerely to a *People*, whoſe Senſes every Day bear Witneſs to the contrary; or what a *Weakneſs* of *Inſincerity*, if this can be eſteemed *Art* and *Cunning*. We know of no *Bloud*, but what a neceſſary Oppoſition in the *Field*, or a *Legal Procedure*, can juſtify. But We know of much *Mercy* ſhewn even to the *Adherents* of this *Perſon* himſelf, who thus treats the *King* who ſhewed it; and of much more ſtill ſhewn to their *Families*. This is all the *Cruelty*, We have to charge upon the preſent Reign; a *Cruelty* to the *Whole Body*; for ſo We may come to judge of it, by dear-bought Experience, when We ſee the Returns made to it by Thoſe *Perſons* Themſelves, who have taſted it; and by their *Maſter*, who, even in the preſent *Conſpiracy*, owes the beſt Services He has received, and the biggeſt Hopes of Succeſs He has entertained, to the *Mercy* alone of that *Prince*, whom He thus abuſes.

But who can be ſurprized at any thing, when We ſee a *Spirit* of a ſudden rouze itſelf into the Obſervation of the World, ſo contrary to the *ſacrificing* Spirit at the Beginning; and hear the *Pretender* peremptorily aſſuring K. GEORGE,—*Your Title muſt and* SHALL, *whilſt We have Breath, or any Deſcendants in Being, be for ever diſputed.* Why would not He tell Us this before? Or why would He entertain Us at firſt with the Expectation of a SACRIFICE *on* HIS OWN *Part*; when He was reſolved ſo ſoon to let us know, in a high Tone, That if We expect any *Sacrifice*, or any the leaſt Part of a *Sacrifice*, on *his* Part, We are very much out. No ſuch thing, whilſt He has *Breath*, He aſſures Us. All the Burthen is to be put upon *Another*. And K. *GEORGE* is here adviſed, and entreated, and preſt, to *ſacrifice* HIMSELF, for this incomparable Reaſon, becauſe the *Pretender*, being a Man of *Spirit*, is determined never to do any thing like it on *his* Part.

I would here conclude for this Time, but I am impatient to congratulate the preſent *Miniſtry*; and cannot perſuade myſelf to reſt, without paying Them ſome Honour upon what follows in this very *Paragraph*. I proteſt, It is not any Inclination to Flattery. Their *Power* is no Argument to *Me* of their *Virtue*. I rather incline always to a Suſpicion, that where there is moſt of the *One*, there is leaſt of the *Other*. Beſides, It is not their *Merit*, but their *Happineſs*, I am going to celebrate: and this can give no juſt Offence to Any One. If from this *Happineſs* their *Merit* can be rightly inferred, let not *That* Argument be envied

Them, which, without their ſeeking, is caſt upon Them by their *Adverſaries* themſelves, from the Opinion They have of their Conduct. The *Pretender* hates Them. The *Pretender* begs King *GEORGE* not to conſult Them. The *Pretender* adviſes K. *GEORGE* to change his *Miniſtry*. *Imperious Tyrants*, ſays He, to preſume to ſupport K. *GEORGE*, and ſo unmoveably to adhere to Him, in his *Poſſeſſion* of what I am now preſſing Him to quit! *Tyrants* over *Him*, as well as the *Nation!* not to be prevailed upon, to abandon or betray Him! Tell me, Could their greateſt Flatterers, had They been put to their Wiſh, have invented a higher Compliment to their *Fidelity* and *Honour*, than this Exorbitant *Zeal* of the greateſt Enemy of the Nation againſt Them; eſpecially in the Judgement of *All*, who know that the very *Being* of our *Conſtitution* ſubſiſts, or ceaſes, with the *Eſtabliſhment* or *Subverſion* of the preſent *Proteſtant Royal* Family? *I am*, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XIII. LONDON JOURNAL, December 8, 1722.

SIR,

I HAVE ſaid, that the whole Weight of Satire and Reproach, in the *Pretender's* New *Declaration*, falls in the End, not ſo much upon K. *GEORGE*; as upon the univerſal Body of the *Britiſh Nation*. I will now prove it, if it be yet needful: but I will apply myſelf to *Britons*, worthy of that Name; and to Such only as have not loſt all Remains of the Spirit of their *Anceſtors*. If Any are *dead* to the Calls of Honour, and to the Voice of their Country, and to the Intereſts of their Poſterity; it is in vain to attempt to put Life into them. It is a *Death* of ill-judging, miſguided *Choice*; the Worſt of all Deaths. They have their *Views* in the *Death* They have choſe: And it is not in *Me* to raiſe Them. But *You*,—who have ſtill the Life and Spirit of *Britons*; whoſe *Pulſes* beat *Liberty* and *Manhood*; —*You* will preſently know how to diſdain a *Treatment*, which at once puts the higheſt Affront upon your *Honour* and *Underſtanding*; and paints *You* out to the World, at the ſame Time, as the *Wickedeſt* and *Weakeſt* of Mankind; plunged in the Depth of Guilt, by your receiving and ſwearing to K. *GEORGE*; and, as if You were univerſally conſcious of this yourſelves, *All*, diſpoſed to break through the Laws of God and Man; *All*, ſunk into Inſenſibility to every thing Great and Good; and *All*, in a manner, ready to contend who ſhall be the firſt to betray the *King* that has truſted You; and to yield up, in the Name of *Yourſelves*, and Your *Poſterity*, All that is truly Valuable, to the Demands of a *Popiſh Bigot*. This is the *Point* of *View*, in which *He* ſets you forth to the Eyes of all *Europe:* and this is the *Flattery* by which *He* hopes to win You.

The *Indignity* indeed He offers to your *King*, is an *Indignity* to Yourſelves, of all Indignities the higheſt; and alone great enough to ſtir up All the *Powers* within You to a Juſt and Manly Reſentment. I call K. *GEORGE*, YOUR King, becauſe He is ſo in a very peculiar Manner; and has a *Title* to *You* and *Your* Allegiance, of all *Titles*, to *Him* the moſt glorious, and to *You* the moſt unexceptionable; and ſuch an One, as will make even your *Coldneſs* and *Indifference* to *Him*, a *Higher Treaſon*, in the preſent Signification of the Word; than Any even of thoſe *Overt-acts* againſt moſt Others, which, in the *Law Signification* of the ſame Word, are deſcribed as the *Higheſt* of all. Give Me Leave to explain what I mean. HE is the *Firſt* in the *Proteſtant* Line of the *Royal Family*; that is, in other Words, The *Firſt* in *That* Line, in which there is any Poſſibility of Security for theſe Kingdoms. And how came He to the Poſſeſſion of your *Crown?* Did He *aſk* it? Did He *ſeek* it? Did He *brigue* it? Let any *One* Man in the World ſtand forth and ſay, That any Meaſures were concerted on *His* Part, any ſecret *Treaties*, or private *Intrigues*, or *Party Cabals*, entered into, for the Purpoſe; any *Corruption* of *Bribery*, or *Promiſes*, to forward it?

No. He was ruling in the Quiet and Tranquillity of *Good Government*, (We have now his *greateſt Enemy's* Word for it) over a *willing and obedient People*, in his *Native Dominions*; and enjoying all the pleaſing Returns of ſuch a Government. YOU broke in upon his Repoſe, and demanded Him for *Your own* Safety. YOU ſought HIM for your own Neceſſities: HE ſought not YOU, either out of any Paſſion for his own Grandeur, or out of any Ambition of Royalty. Your *Voices* declared Him Yours, ſome Years before your *Eyes* ſaw his Perſon. And till that *Time* came, which pointed *Him* out in his Courſe to appear with the Enſigns of Royalty amongſt You, He interrupted not any of your Affairs *Here*; but lived in a diſtant and quiet Confidence in your *free Affections* only; engaging Himſelf in nothing but the Publick Cauſe of the *Confederated Powers*, and the Particular Intereſt of the *Proteſtant Religion:* which *then* at leaſt were *Both* of them *Your own* Cauſes, for which you had in thoſe Days ſome Zeal. And when the *Hour* was come, written in *your Books*, in which *Your* Laws, and not *His* own Eagerneſs to reign, called Him hither in Perſon, and your Impatient Zeal haſtened his Unambitious Steps; You ſaw Him land upon your Shore, in the midſt of an infinite Crowd of Spectators, an innumerable Company, all Strangers, all unknown to *Him*. You ſaw Him land, Naked, Defenceleſs, Unarmed, unattended with any *Guards* but what were *Your own*, confident of *Your* Honour, repoſing Himſelf upon *Your* Truth alone. His generous, open Heart told Him, *He* had nothing to fear, who brought neither *Guile* nor *Guilt* along with Him: and He threw Himſelf into Your Arms, void of all Suſpicion or Jealouſy that He could be *Unſafe* where the *Safety* and *Vows* of a *Brave People* had brought Him. Theſe *Vows*, *Oaths*, *Declarations*, *Recognitions*, have been over and over again repeated, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, with Hands lifted up to Heaven, by *All Parties* in *Parliament*, and by particular Perſons of *All Parties* out of *Parliament*.

And is this the KING—ſo invited by You ALL,—ſo recognized,—ſo eſtabliſhed by your repeated Acknowledgments;—ſo *overwhelmed* (if I may uſe that Word) with *Your* Profeſſions of *Fidelity*:—Is this the KING to be inſulted, as having no *Title* to *Your* Allegiance? HE inſulted, did I ſay? No. It is YOU, who are in all this inſulted, and not HE: *You*,—who wrote his *Name* in your Laws without *his* Deſire;—*You*, who called Him *Yours*, fixed Him for *Yours*, before your Deſign itſelf could well reach His Ears;—*You*, who ſince that have received Him, renewed your Vows to his Perſon, ſworn to Heaven, and to God who inhabits there, *Fidelity* to his *Title*; abjured All other Perſons and Titles whatſoever, in the ſtrongeſt Terms that Language can ſupply; and made *Him* and His Family the Subject of your Publick Prayers, and a Part of your ſolemn Worſhip. And if, after all this, You can tamely ſit down under ſuch Uſage; content to be repreſented and treated as Men, who have ſpent ſo many Years in mocking God with your *Oaths*, and in deceiving the *Beſt* of *Princes* with your high Promiſes of *Faith* and *Allegiance*; as a People, now ripe for Diſhonour and Perfidy; ready, at the Call of One at *Lucca*, to give up all the Fruit of your paſt Cares; baſely to betray the *Prince* who has placed his Confidence in You; who came at your Requeſt, and has ruled You by your own Laws; and to receive a Man in his ſtead, from whoſe *Principles* and *Education*; nay, I will add, from whoſe *Profeſſions* too, You have not ſo much as the *Chance* of being Any thing but a *Ruined Nation:* If this be ſo; If All be to end in this; Your *Allegiance* is but a Word, not worth contending for; and your Cries in future Diſtreſſes may pierce the Air, but will never more touch the Heart of Any Man upon Earth.

But far be ſuch *Suppoſitions* from Me. This cannot be. The *Pretender* may treat You thus. *He* may be ſo *weak*, as to think You deſerve it. He may be ſo miſjudging a Creature, as to think you cannot ſee through it. But *Honour*, and *Conſcience*, and *Religion*, and *Intereſt* itſelf, too often of greater Weight than the other Three, *All* are againſt Him: And his Intelligences of your *Diſpoſitions* are as certainly falſe, as it is certainly *impoſſible* for a Nation of Men of Senſe, and native Honour and Probity, to act the Part of *Madmen* with their Eyes open, and to mark Themſelves with the eternal Reproach of a Diſhonour and Perfidiouſneſs, not to be *paralleled*, in the *Annals* of *Former* Times; not to be wiped out, in all the Years of *Futurity*.

I have ſaid thus much in *general*. But let Us be ſo juſt, as to go more into *Particulars*; and ſee, if We can find it out, What it is He *offers*, or *engages*, or *promiſes*, to this *Nation*, as a *Nation* now to be moved, as He weakly ſuppoſes, to receive Him with open Arms. To K. *GEORGE*, who is, according to his Requeſt, to yield You up quietly to Him, He offers, *You ſee*, the *Title* and *State* of a *King*. *To all Chriſtian Princes and States*, whom He *conjures to be aiding to* Him *in this* his *juſt and amicable Propoſal*, He *offers*, *as an Inducement*, *to make good all ſuch Alliances*, *as have been already contracted with* theſe *Kingdoms:* Indeed, He adds theſe Words, *Conducive to the Peace and Tranquillity of Europe*. Words, which are of themſelves ſufficient to ſhew *Him* in his due Light, what He is, and what He will be, to all the *Princes* of *Europe:* A Man, who, in the preſent diſtreſsful Situation of his Affairs, can give *Them* ſuch a Proof of his *Judgement* and *Modeſty* both! who, at the very Time He wants Them, and is engaging Them by the Promiſe of *making good* all Alliances, can put on the Aire of Superiority, and let Them know, in a high Tone, that He looks upon *Himſelf* as the *Judge*, what are *fit* to be made good, and what are *not*, and leaves *That* to his own Determination; in the ſame Breath *promiſing* Them (as He ſays) *Something*, and declaring in Effect, that He promiſes Them *Nothing!* Such a *Man*, capable of making ſuch a *Propoſal*, is as fit to be a *Companion* and *Ally* of *Princes*, as He is to rule a *Nation* of Men of *Senſe* and Taſte. Theſe are but *Low* Offers, and of little Value, You will ſay. But They ſound like *Something*, and would fain appear like *Something*. And Theſe are the *Pretender's Offers* to our *King*, and to the *Powers* of *Europe*.

But what is it that He offers to *You*;—to *You*, whom He is engaging to give up *Your own KING*, and to receive *Him?* Nay, What is it that He *profeſſes* or *pretends* to offer to *You?* I will tell you ſincerely what He propoſes to You. Such is His Grace and Condeſcenſion, that He aſſures You, in the *firſt* Place, If You *will return to your Allegiance*, (as His Phraſe is) or, if You will, *by any Act, and Deed, Advice, or otherwiſe*, contribute to His Settlement here, He *promiſes*, upon ſuch Demonſtration of Affection and Service to Him,—*a full, free, and univerſal PARDON to all Perſons of whatever Degree or Condition.*—After all that has already paſſed between you, You muſt not take this Word *Pardon* amiſs from Him. He conſiders You, and treats You, as in a State of *Sin:* and He has lived a great while in a *Country*, and ſucked in, with his Milk, a *Religion*, in which the Words *Pardon* and *Abſolution* make a great Figure, and are eſteemed very *ſolid Benefits*, when pronounced by the proper Mouths. He ſends, therefore, before Him, from *Italy*, His *Pardon* and *Abſolution* of all Offences paſt, if You will now be ſo vertuous as to break through your *Oaths* to K. *GEORGE*, and transfer your *Allegiance* to Himſelf, and help forward his Eſtabliſhment here. As to any *Reward* for ſuch Service, He has forgot it in this Place. But You will ſee, in what follows, the *Benefits* He promiſes to pour on *You* all. From this Promulgation of his *Pardon*, He goes on to acquaint You with his general Diſpoſition, and Zeal to make You a *flouriſhing Kingdom*, with Himſelf at your Head: And *then*, he comes more particularly to let you into his Great and Good *Deſires* and *Deſigns* for theſe Nations. *Now* the *Scene* is going to open, and diſcloſe All his *Love*, All his *Benevolence* towards You. And here, I know, You are before-hand with Me, in your Thoughts. I ſee, You are big with Expectation. I ſee you waiting, with a Confidence free from all doubt, that You ſhall *now*, at *this* proper Time and Place, receive the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances from Him, ſolemnly given, like his pretended Father's, in the Preſence of God, That He will protect your *Church*, as it is now Eſtabliſhed by your preſent *Laws*; that He will make thoſe Laws the *Meaſure* of his Government; and that He will preſerve your Parliamentary *Funds* unviolated, upon which ſo many Thouſands of You depend for the Support of your Lives and Families. And, methinks, I hear You, by this Time, aſking with ſome Impatience, *What* does He ſay of our *Church?* *What*, of our *Laws?* *What*, of our *Funds?* Not a *Word*—not a *Syllable*—not a *Letter*—I aſſure You, if I can ſee, or read. Your CHURCH He looks upon, with inbred *Hatred*, as the *Bulwark* againſt *His own*, to which He has devoted *Soul* and *Body*: Your *Laws*, as the ſtrongeſt Fence againſt the Effects of his *Bigotry*, even backed with *Power*; and Your *Funds*, as what have hitherto fought againſt his *Right*, and kept out his *Perſon*.

I have not Time now to expatiate. I will ſhew You, in my next, that He hates Them All; and that, in this very Declaration, He openly profeſſes that *Hatred*. I will give You, in *His own* Words, *His own* Account of what He moſt longs, and deſires, and reſolves to effect, if ever He ſhould come hither; and from *Them* demonſtrate to You, (notwithſtanding a Word or two dropt to palliate it) not only that He *muſt* deſtroy your *Civil* and *Religious* Rights, but that He plainly before-hand has here *told* You, *to your Faces*, He will do ſo. It is come to this; and with ſuch *Contempt* does He treat You, that *All*, I ſay, *All* He offers to *You*, *All* He promiſes to You, (to *You*, without whom he cannot have a Shadow of Hope) is compriſed in this, That, if You will lovingly receive Him, He will bleſs you with His *Perſon*;—That, if You will merit it by your Zeal for Him, He will give You His *Pardon*;—and That, as ſoon as ever You have made him powerful enough to do it, He will not only *make* you *All* of *One* Mind, but All of *His* Mind. After ſuch a Diſintereſted *Declaration*, Let Any *Proteſtant*, who is not already determined to be a *Papiſt*, truſt Him, and act for Him, if He can: and after ſuch *open Profeſſions* from their King Himſelf, Let Any *Papiſt*, if He can have the Aſſurance, deny, that it is the Cauſe of *Popiſh Bigotry* alone, which has put this Nation to ſo much Trouble, and ſo much Expence; or affirm, that it is *unjuſt* in the *Government* to charge it upon *Thoſe*, who alone can profit by the Succeſs of it.

I am, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

LET-

LETTER XIV. LONDON JOURNAL, December 15, 1722.

SIR,

IN conſidering *that* Part of the *Pretender's Declaration*, in which He applies Himſelf to *Your* Affections, [I ſpeak now, as I did in my laſt, to *Britons* worthy of that Name] it was very natural to remark *negatively* what He does *not* promiſe; what He does *not* condeſcend ſo much as to mention; before We come to what He has thought fit *poſitively* to engage for, on his own Part. Believe me, in many Caſes, there is *as much* to be collected from the *former*, as from the *latter:* And if I had ſaid, *More*; I ſhould not have ſaid what is altogether raſh, or groundleſs. For, in the Choice of *Words* to expreſs what is thought fit to be dwelt upon, there may be often a great Cunning and a dextrous Artifice made uſe of, to colour over what is truly meant, or to hide it under ambiguous Expreſſions. But when You ſee a *Man*, even when the contrary would be his Intereſt, carefully guarding Himſelf from ſo much as the Sound of ſome Words, and plainly avoiding to ſpeak upon ſome Subjects; You need hardly go any farther: You may ſtop here, and conclude very ſtrongly from his *Silence* what his determined *Reſolution* is.—*He*, who, whilſt He is addreſſing Himſelf to Your *Affections*, refuſes to give you the Satisfaction due to your *Judgement*, or juſt *Expectation*, little deſerves any farther Attention from Men of Common Senſe—*He*, who will not *Now*, whilſt He is ſeeking after *Power*, ſo much as name the *Name* of your *Church*, is determined *Hereafter* to deſtroy that *Name* from under Heaven, as ſoon as Power is given Him—*He*, who can, in the midſt of his Flattery to a *Free People*, ſcorn to mention to Them thoſe *Laws* upon which their Pride and their Glory are built, is much more diſpoſed to *overturn* them, than to *govern* by them, if ever he ſhould prevail. And *He*, who can ſpeak to Men of *Property*, and caſt behind his Back all Remembrance of *Parliamentary Funds*, in which ſo much of it is bound up, breaths, in that wilful *Silence*, as much *Deſtruction* to Them, as if He had pronounced their *Doom* with a loud Voice. The *Concluſion* is plain: and you need have no Fear of injuring Him by drawing it from ſuch *Premiſſes*.

But theſe are not the only *Words* He carefully avoids, *Church*, *Laws*, *Funds*; but *All* thoſe others alſo, that uſed to be the *Darling Sounds* in the Ears of Free-born *Men*, with Free-born *Souls*. *Liberty*, *Property*, *Legal Conſtitution*, *Liberty of Conſcience*, *Proteſtant Religion*; — All theſe are paſſed over unremembered. TOLERATION, bare *Toleration*, under His own *Church*, whenever She ſhall raiſe her lofty Head above the *Higheſt* of all Yours, — the Comfort of even this *Low* Word is denied to You All, and to *Any* of You, in the *Repreſentation* He makes to your Affections, of his own Benevolent Diſpoſition towards You; And in the *Picture* He draws for You of your *Utopian* State under *Him*, you ſee Yourſelves, add your ſeveral *Churches*, from the *Higheſt* to the *Loweſt*, All placed in the ſame *Point* of Dark and Deadly Shade, and All, upon the ſame *Level Plain*, equally humbled under the Terror of a *Church* to be exalted *then* above the Clouds; and *now*, it ſeems, exalted enough, to allow Him to ſpeak Nothing to All or to Any of *You*, but (what ought to ſet on Fire every Spark of Reſentment within You) *Undiſtinguiſhed Deſpair*.

Thus far You may go upon the Conſideration of what is *not* profeſſed, or ſo much as *mentioned*, by the *Pretender* in his Application to *You*. I will now, as I promiſed, give You *his own* Account, of what He *does engage* for, in *his own*, ever memorable, and by Me never-to-be-forgotten, Words: "Our Deſire" *(ſays He)*

He) " is to embrace the whole Body of our People, *Without* any Diſtinction or " Reſerve, to ROOT UP the very SEEDS of PREJUDICE and DIVISION, " That all NOTES of Diſcord, SEPARATION, or Difference of *Parties*, and " all reproachful Denominations, may be FOR EVER EXTINGUISHED; " and that the KING and his PEOPLE may have but One MIND, One Heart, " and One INTEREST." Words, too plain, I ſhould hope, to need a *Comment!* But yet, I cannot let them paſs without the *Comment* which they call for, and will juſtify.

If you conſider them as a *Prediction* from a *Viſionary* Prince, of the Glories to break forth upon *You* in *His* Times; thus ſtands the Prophetick Page in *His* Book of *Fate*. " The happy Days of the *Church*, ſo much ſpoken of, are now beginning to *dawn* upon You. A *Popiſh Bigot* ſhall come, and incircle You all in " the Arms of his Paternal Love. And theſe are the *Marks* and Glories of his " Reign. His affectionate Heart will beat with the Impatience of *Deſire*, to embrace you *All, without any Diſtinction*; and, in order to that, He will give *Himſelf* no Reſt, till He has deſtroyed *All Diſtinction* from amongſt You. No longer " ſhall You bewilder Yourſelves in the Labyrinths of *different* Perſuaſions. But " in *His* Days, You ſhall *All* be of One Profeſſion. Your *Prejudices* againſt *His* " *own* Religion He will cure.—Your *Diviſions* amongſt *Yourſelves* He will heal.— " And, leſt they ſhould ever break out again, the *very Seeds* of thoſe Evils He will " *root up*. No *Separation* ſhall then tear the *Church* to Pieces. Every *Note* of " *Separation*, every outward Mark of *Diſcord*, every Difference even of *Denomination*, ſhall *then* be *extinguiſhed*. And, to deſcribe the Happineſs of Thoſe Days " in one Word, a *Bigoted Popiſh King*, and *You* all, *without Diſtinction*, ſhall then " have but One MIND, One Heart, and One INTEREST." At this joyful News of the Return of the *Golden Age*, and the *Saturnian Reign*, methinks I hear the Voices of Many bidding the Sun mend his Pace, and the Hours fly ſwiftly on, to haſten the Mighty Bleſſing. But they are the *Voices* of Thoſe, who are already of the ſame *Mind*, the ſame *Heart*, the ſame *Religion*, the ſame *Intereſt*, with Himſelf; mixt with the *Voices* of *ſome* Others, who are *already* prepared and determined to be ſo. Theſe Men know what He means, and what alone He can mean; a dreadful Doom againſt *All* others; and a *Sentence* paſſed againſt the very *Appearance* of *All* that is valuable in *Civil Life*, or *Religion*. But *You*, who have any Concern yet left for what Many have trampled under Foot; who ſtill *feel* what the Bleſſing is, of being *Freemen* and *Proteſtants*—What can *You* think of all *this?* To call upon You to have *Patience Now*, under a Treatment, which leaves You nothing but *Patience* in view *Hereafter*, would be to join in the *Inſult*; and to ſanctify a Low Baſeneſs of Soul, and Servitude of Spirit, with the Name of a *Vertue*, which diſdains every Thing mean and unmanly.

For, I pray, Conſider all This in the plain natural View of the Thing. A *Popiſh Bigot* at *Lucca* is very fond of you, and *deſires to embrace you all*. But that He may do it more to his Satisfaction, He is reſolved it ſhall be *without Diſtinction*. And that it may be *without Diſtinction*, He will *deſtroy* All Ground of Diſtinction; He will *root up* the *very Seeds* of your *Prejudices*, which can be nothing but your *Principles*, and your *Liberty*—And He will for ever *extinguiſh All* NOTES of SEPARATION, that *He* and *You* may be of One MIND and One INTEREST. *Separation* is, in this Place, an unlucky Word, as it has been long appropriated to *Churches* and *Religion*. And He muſt know very little of *Proteſtants*, if He does not know, that, amidſt their many Differences, They *All* agree in this, That from *His Church*, where-ever it is, *Separation* is not only allowable, but praiſeworthy. But it is *Policy*, it ſeems, in *Him*, to tell *You* Proteſtants before-hand, That, if ever You receive him Here, He will *allow* of *No Separation*. This is truly what He means. For whilſt any *Separation* is tolerated, there muſt be *Notes* or Marks of *Separation* allowed. And therefore, *He*, who is to *extinguiſh for ever* all *Notes* of *Separation*, muſt *extinguiſh for ever* All *Separation*. For then only can there be no *Notes* of *Separation*, when all *Separation* itſelf is totally deſtroyed. He *deſires* that *He* and *You* may be of *One Mind*; and *He*, who deſires ſuch an *Unity*, you need not doubt, whenever He has Power, will endeavour to effect it. Now there are but two Ways, in which this *Bleſſing* can be brought about; either by *His* bringing Himſelf to agree with *You*, or bringing *You* to agree with *Him*: And of this, Be *You* Yourſelves the Judges, Whether a *Bigot*, who, in his *adverſe* Fortune, could never be prevailed upon ſo much as to liſten to *One Argument* from his *Proteſtant* Friends, (a prevailing Motive to *Proteſtants* to adhere to Him!) will, in his *Proſperity*, deſcend to conform Himſelf to Your Sentiments; or chuſe the Method, more agreeable to *Power* and *Bigotry*, of making *You* All appear and profeſs to *conform* to *His*. He, who *deſires* to extinguiſh *All Notes* of *Separation*, will certainly uſe his *Power* for what He *deſires*: And He, who *longs* that *You* and *He* ſhould All have One HEART and One INTEREST, will employ all his Strength to bring about what He *longs* for; and to make You of HIS OWN *Religion*, which alone can link *Him* and *You* together in the Bands of the ſame *Intereſt*. Join *all this* to his *ſullen Silence* upon all the Points of Value to theſe Nations; which itſelf *ſpeaks aloud* the ſame Deſigns towards You; and You have at once All the *Allurements* He lays before a *Proteſtant Free People*, now in full Poſſeſſion of their Laws, Liberties, Properties, and Religion, in order to induce Them to part with them All. And the Sum of the Whole is this—" Give up Your-" ſelves to Me. Inſtead of a *Proteſtant* King, You ſhall have a *Popiſh* One. In-" ſtead of the *Church* of *England* now ſo called, with Variety of Other *Proteſtant* " *Aſſemblies* differing from *That*, and from *One another*, You ſhall have *Unity* and " *Uniformity* with your *New King*. Inſtead of *Liberty* and *Toleration* in Your " own *Worſhip*, You ſhall ſee thoſe *Seeds* of *Prejudice* and *Diviſion* ROOTED UP; " and *All Notes* of *Separation* for ever extinguiſhed by the Methods I ſhall take " to make You *All* of *One* MIND, and *One* INTEREST with Myſelf." Theſe are His *plain Promiſes*, not ſo much as tempered with any Pretence of *doing* for You, what *He* is reſolved *not* to do; or with any Art of *Colouring* or *hiding* what *He* is determined to do.

The *Honeſter* Man *He!* may ſome ſay. And I join with Them in *This*; and for This, I own, I like Him the better—But I like *Him* the better *for it*, at a *Diſtance*; and the *better* ſtill, becauſe I am well perſuaded it will help to keep Him at a *Diſtance*. But from ſuch *Honeſty*, or *Rancour*, or *Bigotry*, (for they are the ſame;) from ſuch an avowed, determined *Rigour* of Superſtition, unrelenting, unſoftened by any Conſiderations;—from *ſuch Honeſty*, PRESENT with Us,—clothed with Power, and ruling over Us; God deliver theſe Kingdoms! There cannot be a more dreadful Idea, in the whole Compaſs of *Political Affairs*; nor a more terrible *Image*, than that of a *Bigoted*, Hardened Prince, whom no Motive can melt down even into Diſſimulation of his Deſigns for his own *Church*, and his own Syſtem of Superſtition; though at the ſame Time, He will in *Other* Things put on the *Hypocrite*, and enter into the *Arts* of *Deceit* and *Prevarication*. What can We think of this? It cannot be True *Honeſty*, becauſe *That* would run through the *Whole*, and be *equally* ſeen in every Part of His Pretenſions. It cannot be the Effect of a generous Simplicity of Spirit within. No, No. This Conduct, in a *Popiſh Bigot* towards *Us*, is either the *partial Honeſty* of a *Bigoted Mind*, which is nothing better than a *Rigour* and *Cruelty* not to be diſſembled; or elſe it proceeds from a Contempt of Us, and an Opinion that We are all ripe for *His* Religion; (if I may give that Good Name to the *Worſt Corruption* of the *Beſt Religion*;) and that We want not ſo much as the Ceremony of any deceitful Promiſes from his Mouth. But, however it be; or whatſoever the hidden Myſtery of this be; Thus it is, and Theſe are the *Declarations* of his Intention to make you happy, by making You HIS OWN in *Mind* and *Body*; by *governing* You on *Earth* by HIS OWN Will, and driving You ALL to *Heaven* in HIS OWN WAY.

Hard Interpretation! may *ſome* ſay, who wiſh Him a little more *Hypocriſy* in his *Wrath.* Does not He, in the *Paragraph* before, declare his Intention, *That every Engliſhman may hereafter live quietly under his own Shade*; *and* (does He not expreſly add?) *enjoy his Conſcience undiſturbed?*—I own it. But, Away with ſuch Pretences. The *Conſcience* He there ſpeaks of, is not the *Religious Conſcience* of his Subjects; but the *Conſcience* of having offended Him, to which He there gives Quiet, by his *Abſolution* from the paſt *Guilt* of keeping Him out. This is the *Conſcience* He there promiſes to make eaſy. But ſuppoſing it were the *Conſcience* of his imaginary *Subjects* with regard to Religion; What avails it Them, to be told, in *One* Line, that his *Intention* is, *They ſhall enjoy their Conſciences undiſturbed*; when in the *next*, He tells Them his *Deſire*, and Reſolution in Purſuance of it, to *root up* the very *Seeds* of *Diviſion*, and to *extinguiſh* all *Notes* of *Separation*; and to have Them all of *One* Mind and Intereſt with *Himſelf*; that is, that *their* Conſciences ſhall be firſt conformed to HIS OWN, and then, and not till then, *They ſhall enjoy their Conſciences undiſturbed?* Or what avails it afterwards, That He profeſſes *Humanity* and *Good-will* to *All Men, as the Rule of his Actions*; ſince He applies *This*, not to *Religion*, or *Forbearance* in it, but ſolely for his own better and eaſier coming to rule You—He does not love *Bloodſhed* in *Battle*; and therefore, He tries this way of *peaceful Accommodation*, to get *quiet Poſſeſſion* of what He aims at. This is all the Uſe He makes of his *Humanity*, and his univerſal *Good-will.* As to *Religion*, had He Power, This ſame *Humanity* and *Good-will* to your Souls, would then be urged as the great *Arguments* for Cruelty and Torments to force You into his *Church.* Thus ſtands the Caſe as to his *Humanity.* And now, at length, the *Whole* ends as it began, with a *Sacrifice*; but only plainly expreſſed at laſt. If you will receive Him, and ſacrifice *Yourſelves*, and your KING; He will SACRIFICE *all Reſentment, Paſſion, or Deſire of Revenge,—to the Publick Good*, as he expreſſes it; but, in truth, to his own *Intereſt*, his own *Ambition*, and his own Incurable *Bigotry.* This is All You are to expect on His Part.

In the *Poſtſcript*, He aſſumes the *Aire* of a *King* already upon the Throne. He lays his Commands upon All the *Great Officers* and *Magiſtrates* of the Kingdom; and betrays again the ſame abſurd Concern for *Thoſe* who are juſtly treated here as *Conſpirators* againſt your *King* and *Country*, of which I have before ſaid enough. I wiſh them Joy of this Tenderneſs, and congratulate Them upon ſuch a Proof of their Innocence, as neceſſarily follows from the *Pretender's* ſo warm Interpoſition in their Favour. But even This is not more wonderful than the finiſhing lamentable *Complaint* about *Slanders* and *Lies*, and *Aſperſions* upon his *Perſon*, from *One*, the whole Strength of whoſe Cauſe is a LIE; and the main Zeal of whoſe Friends has appeared amongſt Us, in the *meaneſt*, *vileſt*, moſt *groveling*, and moſt *malicious Aſperſions* upon the *Perſon* of *Another*, who can triumph over them,—whoſe *Preſence* alone, wherever He comes, drives Them before Him, like Miſts before the *Sun*; and who wants only to be *ſeen* and *known*, to deſtroy every bad Influence from ſuch *Vile Arts.*

I will add but one Word.—*Britons*, You ſee it written in plain Characters what You have to depend upon. The *Pretender* claims and entreats your *Allegiance.*

But remember, that, ſuppoſing You ſhall ever receive Him in Time to come, (which ſurely is impoſſible) you will not, after this, receive Him blindfold, but with your Eyes open; as *One*, Not profeſſing to rule you by *Your* Laws, but by *His Own*; Not promiſing to protect or tolerate *Your* Churches, but to force you into *His Own*; Not engaging to preſerve your *Property* in the *Funds*, but to wipe it clean away. Remember, He has not now left you an *Excuſe* for your Madneſs, in accepting Him; nor, in all your future Miſery under Him, (if You ſhould be ſo *mad*) even the *Comfort* of any Complaint that he deceived You. From this Moment, if You receive Him at all, You wittingly and knowingly receive Him as a Declared, Determined, *Popiſh Bigot*, to *your own* Deſtruction; and with Him, you receive *Popery*—and *Popery*, not ſheltered or palliated under the Colourings either of *Art*, or good-natured Condeſcenſion; but Open, Bare-faced, Undiſguiſed, Undiſſembled, Cruel, Bigoted *Popery*. And, if Any of You can, even in diſtant Suppoſition, bear the Thoughts of This—All I can ſay is, *You deſerve it*. *I am*, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XV. LONDON JOURNAL, December 22, 1722.

SIR,

THE *Bill* now depending in *Parliament*, for raiſing a *Summ of Money* upon the *Eſtates* of *Engliſh Roman-Catholicks*, is the preſent Subject of *Political* Converſation; being received, like all other *Propoſals* of National Concern, according to the ſeveral Sentiments and Views of Mankind, with various and very differing Diſpoſitions and Opinions. And in obſerving the *Diſputes* ariſing upon this Matter, and *Who* They are that intereſt Themſelves in them, I ſhould not at all wonder, on *One* Side, to ſee *Papiſts* concerned to keep off any Burthen from Themſelves; or Thoſe *Proteſtants* giving Them all their Zeal and Aſſiſtance in This, who have been long enough attached to Them, to ſhew the World their Reſolution to Stand and Fall *With* Them; unleſs They firſt fall *By* Them. Nor, on the *Other* Hand, ſhould I think it much worth any Regard, if I ſhould meet with *Any* Proteſtants, who being, in the groſs, Haters of *Popery*, as a *Syſtem* merely of Superſtition and Error in *Religion*, ſhould think *That* a ſufficient Inducement, without farther Enquiries, to *leap* into Any Propoſal, that may bear hard upon Men who lie under ſo bad a *Religious Character*, as That of *Papiſts*. But *Theſe*, on *each* Side, are not the only, or, in my Opinion, the *Chief* Managers of the preſent Cauſe. That which is remarkable is, that there are, on both Parts of this Queſtion, *Men* of as much Political Prudence, as much Natural Probity, as True *Proteſtants*, in the Extended Notion of the Word, as can be found: *Men*, equally zealous for Liberty in Religion; equally Enemies to every *Degree* and every *Sort* of *Perſecution*; equally Haters of *Oppreſſion*, in every Shape and Form; equally Well-wiſhers to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and to the *Proteſtant Royal* Family; contending againſt One another, upon the preſent Occaſion. Theſe are the Perſons, whoſe Voices are of the moſt Importance, and who ſpeak moſt ſtrongly and moſt effectually upon ſuch a *Queſtion*. And upon this Account it is, I own, that I have a Mind to enter into this Matter; to *ſtate*, if I can, what is ſaid on both Sides, with Fairneſs and Impartiality; to ſet down the *Objections* againſt the *Propoſition*, and the *Anſwers* given to them, in their full Strength: and the rather, becauſe the *Incidental* Queſtions, ariſing from this Subject, upon which the Solution of all the *Difficulties* on both Parts muſt depend, are always of Importance; and may be of perpetual Advantage to the *Cauſe* of *Publick Liberty*, and our preſent happy *Eſtabliſhment*.

The *firſt* Queſtion generally aſked is, How came *This* Propoſal to be thought of, at all; and, if at all, Why *Now?* Why, at *This* Time, after a Courſe of ſo many Years, in which it has not been thought fit to attempt any Thing like it?

The *Account* given of This, by *Thoſe* who favour the *Propoſition*, and which they eſteem a ſufficient *Anſwer* to the *Queſtion*, is This. The *Repreſentatives* of the *People* in *Parliament* conſidered the *Eſtimates* of Neceſſary *Publick Expence* for this Year, upon the Foot of what They Themſelves have already voted for the Service of the Nation: and upon Conſideration, found an *Extraordinary Expence* ariſing to the Publick, of *One Hundred Thouſand Pounds*, or more. They *then* conſidered, whence came this *Neceſſity* of *Extraordinary Expence* upon the Nation; and found it, at firſt View, to ariſe ſolely from the *Conſpiracy* againſt the *King* and *Government*, detected the laſt Summer. Their next Enquiry was, *What*, and of *what Sort*, or what Tendency, was this *Conſpiracy?* The *Anſwer* was immediate, and Undeniable,—It was the *Deſign* of a *Popiſh Pretender* reſiding in *Italy*, formed and proſecuted under the Direction and Influence of the Great *Spiritual Heads* of the *Popiſh* World, actually aſſiſting in it; animated by the ſtrongeſt *Popiſh* Bigotry, and intended for the ſole Intereſt of the *Papiſts*, and *Popiſh* Religion here; without ſo much as the Pretence kept up of Support or Benefit to *Proteſtants*, who were to *gain* nothing, had it ſucceeded, but the *Puniſhment*, or at *beſt* the *Pardon* of their ſuppoſed *Paſt Guilt*. Upon this, What was fitting for our *Repreſentatives* to do? Could their *firſt* Thought be ſo hard upon their *Principals*, their faithful *Fellow-ſubjects* to the ſame *King*, as to lay upon *Them* the Burthen of an Expence, entirely owing to the *Ruinous Deſigns* of *Others*; and to force upon *Them* this hard *Determination*,—If this *Conſpiracy* of your Enemies *ſucceeds*, You will be *totally undone*; and if it does *not* ſucceed, *You* ſhall *bear* the *Expence* it occaſions? Might not *They* have juſtly expected ſuch an *Expoſtulation*,—What! Could They, whom We have choſen to repreſent Us, find *No* Way of coming at the undoubted Enemies of the *Publick*; No Way of laying the Extraordinary Burthen, brought upon Us by a *Conſpiracy*, upon *Thoſe* who *alone* would have been the *Gainers* by it; who *alone* could have no Fears from the *Succeſs* of it; to whoſe Benefit and Eſtabliſhment *alone* it was directed? *No Way* to This? But *We*, who muſt have been *undone* by it,—Muſt *We* for ever be burthened, to ſave *Others* from a little Smart, who would now have been riding in Triumph over our Heads, if their Cauſe had been followed with Succeſs? Theſe *Expoſtulations* were naturally to be expected from the *People*; and how to anſwer ſuch *Reproaches*, ſeemed hard, if not impoſſible. Their *Repreſentatives*, therefore, could not but think it right, to endeavour at laſt to find a Way of keeping off ſome Part at leaſt of the *Expence* (occaſioned by ſuch *Conſpiracies*) from the True *Friends* of the Government, and laying it upon the *Enemies*.

The next natural Step was, to look out, and enquire, Whether Any *Method* for doing This had been pointed out by our *Laws*, as a Method of Supply for the Occaſions of the *Publick*. For upon theſe *Two Points* plainly appearing, That a *Conſpiracy* truly *Popiſh*, in Favour of a *Popiſh Pretender*, for the Intereſt of *Popery* and *Papiſts* only, was the *Cauſe* of this Expence; and, That in *former Acts* of *Parliament*, a *Method* has been marked out for making *Them* and their *Eſtates* obnoxious to the *Publick*, for what their own *Cauſe* brings upon It; *They*, who repreſented the *Commons* of *Great-Britain*, could not but have ſome Fear, that it might juſtly be conſtrued as an inexcuſable Breach of *Duty* towards *Thoſe* whom they repreſent, and a ſort of ſharing in the Guilt of the preſent *Conſpiracy* itſelf; if They ſhould not ſhew a Readineſs to follow the Steps of their *Predeceſſors*; or paſs over unregarded a *Method* which foregoing *Parliaments* had chalked out too plainly to be overlooked, but either from Great *Negligence* in Themſelves, or *Want of Zeal* for the Publick Service.

The *Reaſon* therefore, given why *This* is thought of at all is, Becauſe it was not only thought of, but in a manner *preſcribed* for the Uſe of the Publick, and *appropriated* to it by *former Parliaments*. The *Reaſon* given, Why *Now* put in Execution, in any degree, is, Becauſe *Now* is the Time of providing for the Extraordinary *Expence* brought upon the Publick, by a *Conſpiracy* tending to nothing but the Eſtabliſhment of the *Popiſh* Intereſt, under a *Popiſh* King. At the ſame Time, it is aſked back again, Why *not* Now? Why not at *Any Time*, when *That* Cauſe produces an Extraordinary *Expence*, which is *Their* avowed *Cauſe* and *Our* Certain *Deſtruction*, if it ſhould ever be ſucceſsful? But *This* may come to be conſidered again under *Other* Parts of this *Diſpute*. I am now only laying before You, the Account which is given, How it came *Now* to be thought of, to put any Burthen peculiarly upon the *Roman Catholicks*. To proceed, therefore,

When our *Repreſentatives* came to conſider the *State* of *Former Laws*, with regard to *Papiſts*; What did They find? What could They find, but that, from the firſt Dawning of the *Light* of the *Reformation*, and from the firſt Appearance of any *Setlement* of the preſent Proteſtant *Church* of *England*, their own Zeal, and the Bigotry of their *Directors* abroad, made Them Determined Enemies to the *Civil Government*; That, as ſuch, They ſtirred up *Civil* Commotions; That as long ago as the glorious Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, *Severe Laws* were made againſt Them, upon the Account of their *Civil Enmity*; That in the Reign of K. *James* the *Firſt*, an *Act* paſſed for the Forfeiture of *Two Thirds* of the Eſtates of *Papiſts* convict: but None of *Theſe*, till after frequent *Conſpiracies* againſt the *Civil Government* of the Nation; till *Trial* and *Experience* had gone before, which from *Facts* convinced the *Legiſlature* of the *Incurable Enmity* of their *Principles* to the *Civil* Conſtitution of the Kingdom, whilſt under a *Proteſtant Adminiſtration*. From hence, coming down to their own Times, ſince the *Limitation* of the *Crown* to the *Proteſtant* Branches of the *Royal Family*, Our preſent *Repreſentatives* find theſe former *Laws* brought to a *Point*, and put into a *Form* ready for Uſe, by the *laſt Parliament*, in the *firſt* Year of the preſent King; and *this*, not till after an *Open*, *Avowed Rebellion* againſt *Him*, and againſt the *Setlement* in *his* Family.

Then it was that *Two Acts* paſſed with regard to the *Papiſts* amongſt Us. By the *Firſt* it was enacted that, “ *His Majeſty having ſignified by a Meſſage, that Two* “ *Thirds of the Eſtates of Popiſh Recuſants Convict*, already forfeited by the Law to “ Himſelf, *may be raiſed towards a Supply*—*to the End that Two Thirds may be aſ-* “ *certained, and the* PUBLICK *have the Benefit by Perception of the Profits, or laying* “ *ſome* TAX *in lieu thereof, or* OTHERWISE, *as ſhall be determined by Parliament* “ —*Commiſſioners be appointed to enquire of ſuch Popiſh Recuſants, and what the Two* “ *Thirds of their Eſtates amount to*, &c.” The *Other Act* goes on with this Deſign, and enlarges it, in the following Manner: “ *To the End that* (Papiſts) *by paying* “ LARGELY—*may be deterred*—*And to the End, the Two Thirds may be known,* “ *and that the* NATION *may have the* BENEFIT *of His Majeſty's giving the Two* “ *Thirds to the Publick, by ſeizing the Two Thirds, or laying a* TAX *or Charge on their* “ *Eſtates, in lieu thereof, in ſuch* PROPORTION, *and in ſuch Manner, as ſhall be de-*

" *termined to be reaſonable in Parliament.*" And not only with a View to theſe *Two Thirds*, but expreſly, " *To the End their Eſtates*, [not only of *Convicts*, *but all* " *Others*] *may be certainly known and diſcovered for the Purpoſes aforeſaid, or for* " *ſuch* OTHER *Ends as a Parliament ſhall think reaſonable*,"—It enacts, " *Every* " *Perſon (not having taken the Oath—and made and ſubſcribed the Declaration—be-* " *fore the laſt Day of Trinity Term*, 1716,)—*who is, or ſhall be a Popiſh Recuſant, or* " *Papiſt, or is or ſhall be educated in the Popiſh Religion, or whoſe Parents ſhall be* " *Papiſts, or who ſhall uſe or profeſs the Popiſh Religion, ſhall—if of the Age of* 21— " [*or within* 6 *Months after coming to ſuch Age*—] *take the Oaths, and make and* " *ſubſcribe the Declaration—on or before the* 20*th of* Jan. 1716;—*or in default thereof,* " *ſhall within* 6 *Months after that Time elapſed*, REGISTER *or procure to be Re-* " *giſtred—his or her Name, and all ſuch Lands*," &c.—Such was the *Conduct* of the *Nation* in *Parliament*, from Q. *Elizabeth's* Reign, down to the *firſt* Year of K. *George*: and that this Conduct continued to be approved of, is plain from the Confirmation given to it in an *Act* paſſed the *Seventh* Year of the *King*, for a *General Pardon*; in which there is an expreſs Clauſe to *except* theſe *Forfeitures*.

The *Immediate* View of the *Regiſtring Act*, You ſee, was That it might be known certainly, not only *What* Sum the *Two Thirds* of the Eſtates of Papiſts *Convict* amount to, but what are the whole Eſtates of All *Papiſts*, whether *Convict* or *not*. The Ultimate and *Main End* propoſed by it, was, That the *Nation* might, upon any future Occaſion of Expence, not only have the Benefit of theſe *Two Thirds* of the Eſtates of Papiſts *Convict*, or what Part of them, or what *Tax* in lieu of them, ſhould be thought fit: but alſo that the *Eſtates* of All, not *Convict* as well as *Convict*, might be the more ready, for ſuch Uſes as a *Parliament* ſhould think reaſonable.

This our *Repreſentatives* found; and that the *Reaſon*, or *Preamble* prefixed to All This, in the *Act* itſelf, is, Not, Whereas *Papiſts* are Men of a different *Religion*, or different Worſhip, from *Proteſtants*;—but plainly—" *Whereas They have, in the* " *laſt Rebellion, and on many other Occaſions, brought a* VAST *Expence upon the Na-* " *tion*."—And not only this; but, which is much more, " *Whereas it manifeſtly* " *appears by their Behaviour, that They take themſelves to be* OBLIGED, *by the* " *Principles They profeſs, to be* ENEMIES *to His Majeſty, and to the preſent happy* " *Eſtabliſhment*; *and* WATCH *for all Opportunities of fomenting and ſtirring up New* " *Rebellions and Diſturbances within the Kingdom, and of inviting Foreigners to invade* " *it*."—This is the *Ground* of that *Act*, and declared ſo to be. And the preſent *Propoſal* is exactly accommodated to this, not only with reſpect to the *Deſcription* of *Papiſts*, to be affected by it; which is the ſame: but (what is firſt and chiefly to be obſerved) in the *Ground*, or *Reaſon*, of the Whole. For being not only built upon this preceding *Act*; but indeed being nothing but the carrying this *Act* into Execution, and that in a very moderate Degree; it cannot go upon any *Other* Motives, than what this *Act* went upon; but muſt, in the Nature of the Thing, profeſs and recite the ſame *Inducement*, (and That *only*) to put this *Act* in Execution, in the Proportion intended, which was given and declared for the making it at firſt, *viz*. Not only the *Principles*, but *Behaviour* of *Papiſts*, conſtantly the ſame, upon the *ſame* Principles, always diſcovering themſelves in every Mark poſſible of certain Enmity to our *Civil* Conſtitution, and *Civil* Liberties.

I mention this the rather, becauſe *They* who favour the preſent *Propoſal*, finding it made upon the Foot of a former *Act*, and upon the ſole *Reaſon* there given for it, argue that, upon the *firſt Face* of this *Propoſed Bill*, it appears to be an Intemperate Fondneſs and Reſolution to find fault, rather than not to do it, to fix ſuch an *Abſurdity* upon our *Repreſentatives* who contend for it, as no Men in their Senſes can be guilty of; the *abſurd* Suppoſition of their putting an *Act* in *Execution* in ſome degree, and an *Act* declared to be made *only* upon a *Civil Account*; and, at the ſame time, unneceſſarily, weakly, and in Contradiction to their own Deſign, changing this *Civil Account* into a *Religious* One, contrary to the very Words of the *Act* They are inforcing. And upon this They think They have Reaſon to complain of their *hard Lot*, to find, when They had, perhaps, flattered Themſelves that They had ſome *Title* even to the Thanks of *Honeſt Britons*, for their Endeavours to eaſe *Them* of a Part of their Burthens, and throw it upon their *Civil Enemies*—To find Themſelves, I ſay, ſo mortified in what They thought their *laudable Vanity*; and treated, contrary to their own reaſonable Expectation, as Friends and Promoters of *Perſecution* on a *Religious* Account; and this, at the ſame time, that the *Ground* upon which They go is declared to be entirely the *Ground* of *Former Acts*; and recited in plain Words, To be — [Not on Account of Differences in *Religion*, but] "Becauſe the *Papiſts* have always ſhewn Them-"ſelves, and are always, by *Principle*, obliged to be, *Enemies* to our King, and the "preſent Eſtabliſhment."—This *Conſideration* alone, the *firſt* in the natural Courſe of this *Debate*, ſeems to Them to have Force enough in it, to guard their preſent *Deſign* from any the leaſt Imputation of a *Perſecuting* Bill. But of this *Imputation*, We ſhall hear more, as We proceed.

I have now opened, in *general*, Whence the preſent *Propoſal* takes its Riſe. In my *next*, I ſhall give a more particular Account of it; and go on to ſtate the differing Opinions and Arguings upon it. *I am*, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XVI. London Journal, December 29, 1722.

SIR,

BY the *Bill depending in Parliament*, which I ſpoke of in my laſt, I meant the *Bill* there *propoſed*, *argued*, and by our *Repreſentatives ordered* to be *brought in*, for the Purpoſe mentioned; the raiſing a *Summ* of Money, for the *Publick Uſe*, upon the Eſtates of Engliſh *Roman-Catholicks*. It ſeems, the *Bill* Itſelf is not yet in the *Houſe*, nor to be *brought into it*, till after the preſent *Receſs*. But that ſmall Miſtake will, I hope, be pardoned, to my Diſtance from the *Firſt Springs of Political Intelligence*: eſpecially ſince it makes no Difference in the Affair before Us; the true *Ground* of which, as it was firſt opened in the *Houſe*, is very well known to be what I have ſet forth; and the general *Nature* of which ſufficiently evident, from the *Order* for bringing in the *Bill*, to juſtify the going on with my *Deſign*: excepting in this, that I cannot now lay before the *Reader* Every particular Branch of the *Bill* Itſelf, becauſe It is not yet publick enough to come to the Knowledge of One ſo retired from the *Great World*, and ſo far removed from the *Cabinets* of *Stateſmen*, as I am. I pretend to nothing, but to judge, as well as I am able, of what appears upon the *Publick Stage* of the World; or is the Subject of *Publick* Converſation. And as it is the *General* Known Deſign of the *Bill* propoſed, which has created the preſent Diſcourſes, and Diſputes, on each Side, in our World; I ſhall now, therefore, chuſe to addreſs myſelf to my *Countrymen*, in the Way of ſuch *General Arguments*, as, by being readily and eaſily applied to the *Particular Difficulties* of the *Caſe* before Us, and of *Every Branch* of it, may help to ſhew, what is *True* or *Falſe*, in *Speculation*; what is *Juſt* or *Unjuſt*, in *Action*; and what is *Prudent* or *Imprudent*, in the *Political* Circumſtances of Affairs.

You ſay, The *Deſign* at firſt View allarms You; and that You are afraid of having a Part in the Guilt of *Perſecution*, if You join your Aſſiſtance to promote and perfect it. I am glad, Your Fears are on this Side. It pleaſes Me, beyond Expreſſion, to find your Scruples founded upon an *Abhorrence* of the moſt *Inhumane* and *Inſociable* of All Crimes. My great Wiſh is, that You may go on to improve this *Benignity* of Spirit; and that, whenever You do *err*, You may *err* rather from an Exceſs of miſtaken *Good-nature*, and *Social Humanity*; than from that *Deteſtable Principle*, which lays the Foundation of *Cruelty* and *Wickedneſs* in *Religion*. Go on in this *Track*, and cheriſh this *Good Temper*. Chuſe rather to let *Papiſts* cut *your Throats*, merely becauſe You are *Proteſtants*; than to hurt *their little Fingers*, merely becauſe They are *Papiſts*, in Religion. If *That* alone could be the Caſe, I could, for my part, be ſilent, and leave you to the Conduct of your own Choice. Embrace Them cloſely, and warm Them in your Boſoms, if You like it, till They have vital Heat and Strength enough to ſtrike You home to the Heart. *One St. Bartholmew's-day* can ſend *Thouſands* of You from a miſerable World to *Heaven*: and *Heaven* is a better Place for *Yourſelves*, than this *Earth*. And, all Conſiderations apart, but that of *Religion*, it will affect *Yourſelves only*, if You ſhould happen, at length, to receive ſuch a Benefit from the Hands of Thoſe, who ever did, and ever muſt, think your *Religion* alone Inducement enough to *Them* to ſend You from *this World*, to the Place allotted You in *Another*.

But You are not left at this Liberty in *Civil Affairs*; in which You have a *Temporal Truſt* committed to You; to be guarded by *Temporal* Sanctions; and to be tranſmitted down to your Children, and their Poſterity, ſafe and ſecure, as far as your *Prudence* can do it. Take Care, therefore, of mixing *Heaven* and *Earth* together in this Cauſe; and in avoiding *One* Extreme, Run not into *Another*, as Baſe and Inglorious to *Yourſelves*, as Ruinous to your *Country* and your *Poſterity*, as *That* would be Cruel and Inhumane to *Others*. The *Poets*, who moralized more agreeably than the *Philoſophers*, pointed out to Men the Folly and Ruine of avoiding *One Evil*, by running needleſly into *Another*, in many of their *Fictions*. Amongſt others, They fabled *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, both Monſters in the *Sea*, ſurrounded with the like devouring Whirlpools, and threatning equal Deſtruction to the Sailers. *One* of them encompaſſed with *Dogs*, inceſſantly barking to terrify the *Unwary* from too near an Approach. But it was but little Advantage to Any who was to paſs, to be warned by the Terror of that Noiſe to fly far from *This*, if in his Fright he ſuffered his Veſſel precipitately to run itſelf within the Workings of the *Other*. The only Glory, and the only Safety, was to ſteer in the Mid-way between *Both*.

This is Your Caſe, in the preſent Affair. Keep the *Golden Mean*. The Path lies ſtrait before your Eyes. On the *One* Hand, [*Indulge me a little longer* (if I do not diſpleaſe You) *in the Imagery this Poetical Fiction has raiſed in me—On the One Hand*] ſtands *Perſecution*, a *Monſter* with many Eyes, all ſparkling with Rage; and as many Hands, all armed and graſped round with *Whips*, and *Cords*, and *Scorpions*. Her *Ornaments* are, Every *Inſtrument* and *Emblem* of Cruelty; and Her *Allurement*, to entice You into Her Alliance, and into a Share of Her Guilt, is the Vain Pleaſure of Power, covered over with the Pretence of *Zeal* for *Religion only*. But the *Howlings*, on every Side around Her, pierce your Hearts. *Heu! fuge crudeles Terras*—is the Voice perpetually in your Ears: and you juſtly haſten your Flight from Her Unhealthy Borders. But let it not be too precipitate. *All Danger* does not dwell with Her. On the *Other* Hand, lies *Civil Lethargy*, a ſhapeleſs Lump, folded up in the Arms of Slumber; and hung round with every

Opiate of *Art* and *Nature*; ſtruck down into this Poſture, by the mere Panick *Dread* of bearing the leaſt Reſemblance to the *Other*: And now deſpairing and unwilling, either to ſee, or hear of, Any *Diſtinction* between Things as widely different as *Heaven* and *Earth*; dead enough, not to be awakened into Senſibility, by Any Cries of *Danger*; nor to have any *Voice* left, but the Faint Image of a Voice, well fitted to *lull* You aſleep, or to *keep* You ſo, if You come within the Reach of it; and employed only to make You believe, That there is *Nothing* in the *Middle* between *Herſelf* and the *Other*.

But it is *falſe*: and if You *Yourſelves* are yet *awake*, and have *Eyes*, and have them *open*, You will diſcover the *Dream*, and the groundleſs Pretence of it, preſently. For between Them *Both*, (though infinitely removed, in *Form*, from Them *Both*,) ſtands a *beautiful Figure*, repreſenting *True Policy*. Her *Gracefulneſs* is That of Simplicity and Proportion. Her *Form* awful, without the Frowns of *Tyranny*; and mild, without the *Inſenſibility* of *Sleep*. Her Eyes *watchful*, but not *fiery*: Her Countenance *reſolute*, but not *fierce*. In her Hands, ſhe holds *Two Scrolls*; upon *One* of which is writ, The *Safety* of *Civil Society*; and upon the *Other*, *Liberty of Conſcience*. From Her *Inſtructive Mouth* flow theſe *Leſſons*, for the perpetual Uſe of *Paſſengers*, againſt the *Perſwaſions* of the *Two* Extreme Figures.—*Fly Perſecution*: Oppreſs not *Any Men*, who profeſs and ſhew Themſelves Friends to the *Civil* Conſtitution of the Society, merely becauſe They differ from You in *Religion*, or *Religious Worſhip*. But, *Defend your Civil Society*: Guard againſt Thoſe who are Open and Certain Enemies of the *Civil Conſtitution*; and be not afraid of the Guilt of *Perſecution* in This, though they happen to have or profeſs a *Religion*, and to be made *Civil Enemies* by that *Religion* only.

If You aſk Me to ſpeak plainly, and to tell You, in more open Terms, what *Perſecution* is, and what the ſafe and ſecure Way between *That* and the oppoſite *Extream* is, I will do it, as well as I can; reſolving to rectify any Error I may commit through Inadvertency. And what I have already ſaid leads the Way to it.—In whatſoever *Men*, or Body of *Men*, there is a Friendſhip, or no Appearance of Enmity, to the CIVIL Conſtitution of a State or Country; *Perſecution*, (the *Formality* or *Eſſence* of the Evil of *Perſecution*,) conſiſts in hurting or oppreſſing Thoſe *Men*, or That *Body* of *Men*, for the Sake of their happening to *differ* from You in their *Religion*. On the *Other* Hand, In whatſoever *Men*, or *Body* of *Men*, there is an Open, Avowed, Experienced, Direct, Immediate Enmity to your CIVIL Eſtabliſhment,—It cannot be *Perſecution*, for the Sake of that CIVIL Enmity alone, to reſtrain, to guard againſt, to diſcourage Thoſe *Men*, or That *Body* of *Men*; in ſuch Meaſure, as the Security of the *Civil Conſtitution* calls for. In the former Caſe, the *Friends* to a CIVIL Conſtitution, have a *Right* to CIVIL Protection, and *Privileges*, notwithſtanding their Differing in *Religious* Matters. In the latter Caſe, the *Civil State* has a *Right* to be guarded againſt its CIVIL Enemies, whatſoever their Outward Garb or Profeſſion of *Religion* be. The particular *Religion* of a *Man* makes no Difference, as to *this* Right; any more than the Cloaths He wears; or any more than it does in all Criminal Caſes of a more private Nature.

But I cannot at preſent proceed. *This*, which I have now laid down, I ſhall fully and at large explain, as I go along; and apply it to the Caſe before Us, with a juſt Regard to all the *Difficulties* and *Objections* laid againſt it. *I am*, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

LET-

LETTER XVII. LONDON JOURNAL, January 5, 17$\frac{22}{23}$.

SIR,

I HAVE ſaid that, In whatſoever Men, or Body of Men, there is an Open, Avowed, Direct, Immediate, Experienced Enmity to the CIVIL *Conſtitution* of a Country; It is juſt and lawful, It is conſiſtent with all the Principles of True *Liberty*, It is utterly removed from the *Evil* of *Perſecution*; I will add, It is the *Duty* of Law-makers, to diſcourage, to guard againſt, ſuch Perſons, and to reſtrain their Power, as far as the Security of the *Publick* requires it, and for the Sake of their *Civil Enmity* alone: and this, whether that *Civil Enmity* proceeds from any *Religious* Notions embraced by Them; or from Any other Conſiderations of a quite different Nature. I deſign now to give *Reaſons* for every *Branch* of this *Propoſition*. And if They are ſuch, as extend their Uſe to other Caſes relating to this *Subject*; or if *Some* of them may ſeem unneceſſary to the preſent Queſtion, becauſe They guard againſt future *Wrong*, as well as juſtify what is at preſent *Right*; I would have it obſerved, That They are not now invented, or made, to flatter Any Perſons in their Deſigns, or to ſerve a preſent Turn only, but are adapted to nobler Purpoſes, and fitted for general, laſting, perpetual Uſe; as becomes Thoſe *High-born Principles*, which are the Foundation of Juſtice in Government, and Liberty in Religion.

You ſee, I put the Neceſſity or Lawfulneſs of ſuch a *Procedure* entirely upon *Enmity* to the CIVIL Eſtabliſhment; to diſtinguiſh it from that *Evil* of *Perſecution*, to which it can bear no Reſemblance, as long as this CIVIL Enmity is made the *ſole* Condition and Reaſon of it; but into which it immediately is changed, as ſoon as it is built upon any other Foundation. And I ſay this with a particular View to the great and fatal Error of Thoſe, who have imagined that, if Any particular Religion, or Religious Conſtitution, be interwoven into any *Government*, or ſo favoured by the *Civil Laws*, as that it may ſeem *Part* of the *Civil Conſtitution* itſelf to Undiſtinguiſhing Eyes; *That* then, I ſay, there is the ſame *Right* of applying *Civil Hardſhips*, and *Civil Penalties* to Thoſe who diſlike, or differ from, *this* Religion, without the Guilt of *Perſecution*. Than which nothing can be more abſurd in the Eyes of *Chriſtians* and *Proteſtants*, if They duly conſider it. For, if this be true, then, All the *Perſecutions* of the *firſt Chriſtians*, as Enemies to the *Religion* of the *Heathens*, are juſtifiable, merely becauſe that Religion of Heathens was eſtabliſhed by the *Civil Laws* of the Country. If this be true, then, All Perſecutions of *Proteſtants* as Enemies to *Popery*, is juſtified, in thoſe Countries where *Popery* is interwoven into the *State*, or eſtabliſhed by *Civil Laws*. If this be true, then, No *Heathen*, *Mahometan*, or *Popiſh* State has any thing to do, but to make their Religion a Part of their *Conſtitution*, and ſupport it by *Civil Laws*; and after that, They may ſuppreſs and deſtroy All that do not like it, by *Right*, and without the Fear of being guilty of Perſecution. Nay, if this be true, Not only *Thoſe* who diſlike the *Whole*, but All who diſlike Any Part of ſuch a Religious Conſtitution, or wiſh Any thing altered in it, may be, in ſome Meaſure, *thus* treated as *Civil Enemies*, becauſe *One* Step leads to *Another*, and They may by degrees come to be dangerous. There is a Neceſſity therefore, of ſtopping at this *Point*, unleſs We will run into the Depth of *Perſecution*, *viz*. That the *Enmity* to be guarded againſt, be *Civil* Enmity only, or *Enmity* to the *Civil* Conſtitution only, or to the *Civil* Part of a Conſtitution, properly ſo called. But for fear of any Miſtake in a Point, which concerns *Humane Society* ſo exceedingly, I ſay, this CIVIL *Enmity* muſt be *Open*, and *Avowed*; to diſtinguiſh it from what is only Suppoſed, *Hidden*, or *Suſpected*: and *This*, to guard againſt that infinite Number of Miſchiefs, which might ariſe from giving a Looſe to the Jealouſies and Surmiſes of *Governours*. For what indeed, could be more terrible, or more contrary to the Ends of *Government*, than for the Members of the Society to be laid open conſtantly to All the Effects of Endleſs, and perhaps Paſſionate or Revengeful, Suſpicions. This which I now lay down, with regard to the *general* Methods of proceeding with Men upon Account of their *Civil Principles*, does not at all hinder, but that, in the Caſe of any *particular Conſpiracy* formed againſt a *Government*, Every *Government* may have a *Right* to prevent the Ruin of a ſudden Blow, by acting, as far as preſent Neceſſity requires, againſt *Perſons* juſtly *ſuſpected* to be *Principal Agents* in it, upon the Grounds of that juſt *Suſpicion* alone. In *Arbitrary* Governments, the *Prince* Himſelf does it. In *Free* Governments, It is done by *Conſent*, under proper *Limitations*: For a *Time* only; and at the *Peril* of *Thoſe* who are intruſted with the *Power*, if they abuſe it. And the *Reaſon* is plainly the ſame, which bars Them from ſuch a *Procedure* in ordinary Caſes, and which runs through every Branch of the Argument, *viz.* The Intereſt of the Whole: Becauſe it is undoubtedly for the Intereſt of the *Society*, rather to run the *Hazard* of an *Abuſe* of *Power*, and ſuffer Inconveniencies from thence, for a Seaſon, upon ſuch extraordinary Occaſions; than to be *certainly undone*, for the want of ſuch a Power lodged ſomewhere. To return: I not only ſay, This *Civil Enmity* muſt be *Open*; but,

I add, This CIVIL *Enmity* muſt be *Direct*; to diſtinguiſh it from That which is only *Conſequential*: And this, perhaps, one of the moſt neceſſary Diſtinctions of All. For the great Evil has been, that Men have been always not only fond of drawing *Conſequences* from the *Principles* of *Others*, in which there is no Harm; but ready and reſolved to judge and deal with *Them*, according to Thoſe *Conſequences*; which, whether truly and infallibly drawn, or not, it imports nothing to the Cauſe; as long as the *Perſons*, holding thoſe *Principles*, do not ſee them; or perhaps abhor them. To ſpeak therefore *thus* to Any Men—You hold *ſuch* and *ſuch* Principles—From theſe *Principles* ſuch and ſuch *Conſequences* follow—Therefore, You may juſtly be treated as holding theſe *Conſequences*: This, I ſay, is in all Caſes highly Unjuſt; becauſe it is laying *That* upon *Men*, which They have no Part in; or, which They abhor as much as We ourſelves do. But in *Government*, This would not only be *Unjuſt*, but attended with very terrible and fatal Effects. For, if *Legiſlators* were to take upon Them to judge what *Conſequences* are to be drawn from any *Principles* of Men, and to deal with Theſe Men according to Thoſe *Conſequences*; What End of *Injuſtice* or *Perſecution* could there be? It would then ſignify nothing, what *Principles* any Perſons maintained, or what *Profeſſions* They made. Such an Exorbitant Power as This, would lodge in *Others* a *Right*, to fix upon Us what *Concluſions* They think fit, (which is the ſame thing as making our *Principles* for Us;) and then to judge Us from what *They* lay upon Us, and not what *We* ourſelves maintain: than which there cannot be greater *Tyranny*.

I go on ſtill farther, and ſay, that this *Enmity* muſt be *Immediate*; or muſt be ſuch as does, *immediately*, in the Nature and Workings of it, affect the CIVIL *State*. And this I ſay, to diſtinguiſh it from all ſuch *Diſtant*, Unmeant Enmity, or *Indirect* Hurt, as may, in a remote and improper Senſe, be ſaid to affect the *State*, and yet will by no means juſtify the leaſt of thoſe *Procedures*, which the *Other* will. And I own, I ſpeak this with ſome Concern for *Chriſtianity* itſelf, as well as the *Reformation*. For, as it cannot be denied, that all *Varieties* of Opinion, and *Differences* in Points of *Religion*, (through the Weakneſs and Paſſions of Men,) have been ſeen to create mutual Animoſities, Diſunion of Hearts, and Diviſion of Affections: And, as theſe *Animoſities*, managed by the Art of deſigning Men, may come to affect the *Peace* of the *Community:* ſo, it is as certain, and as evident, That *Good* or *Bad*, *True* or *Falſe* Religions are all alike, in this *Accidental* Bad Conſequence; which does not flow from the *Religion* itſelf, but from the Arts and Wickedneſs of Men. Where then can We ſtop, if not here? Shall We ſay, It was *juſt* in the *Civil Governours* of the World to treat *Chriſt* Himſelf, as well as his moſt peaceable Followers, with all the Severities due to *Enemies* to the *Civil Government*, contrary to all their own Profeſſions, and the Tenour of their Religion; merely for the Sake of this *Remote Accidental* Inconvenience? God forbid! If not, then let it be fixed as a Rule, That, in order to juſtify in Any *Government*, the dealing with Men as Enemies, it is abſolutely neceſſary, Their *Enmity* ſhould be ſuch, as *Immediately* affects the *State*, in diſtinction to that more *Diſtant*, *Remote*, *Accidental* Hurt, which may, through the Iniquity of Men, affect the *Peace* of the *Publick*. And let this be the *Rule* in all Caſes, becauſe, as to *this* Point, the *Beſt* and the *Worſt* Religions in the World, are alike liable to the Imputation: and becauſe, upon the contrary Bottom, there is an *End* of all Foundation for *Liberty of Conſcience*; and of all Hope of *Protection* under *Civil Government*, as long as Men differ in Religion; that is, as long as *Men* are *Men*. No one can doubt it to be Lawful for *Governours* to guard againſt, to ſuppreſs, and to puniſh, *All Civil Diſturbances*, *whenſoever*, and upon whatſoever Account, they may ariſe. But this Allowance will not at all juſtify their treating Any Perſons as *Enemies* to the *State*, who are Avowed, Direct *Friends* to the CIVIL Conſtitution; merely becauſe They maintain or practiſe ſomething as *Religion*, which may poſſibly and accidentally tend to the Diſturbance of the Commonwealth. For this is puniſhing Men, for what They do *not* maintain. It is uſing Certain *Friends* as Certain *Enemies*; and confounding all the *Diſtinctions* of Juſt and Unjuſt, upon which Human Society itſelf ſubſiſts.

There is a Word ſtill behind, in that *Deſcription* of the CIVIL *Enmity* now under Conſideration, which I made at the Beginning; the Word *Experienced.* But I have a Mind to ſtop a little here; and, ſetting apart the Conſideration of the preſent *Conſpiracy*, and putting out of the Caſe any one actual *Rebellion*, or any one *Plot* againſt the *Civil* Government, to make an Obſervation, as I paſs, upon the preſent *Propoſed* Bill, with a View ſolely to the Imputation laid upon it of a *Perſecuting Bill.* I am not going to argue now, that it would be *prudent*; I am not ſaying, it would be agreeable to the Notions of True *Civil Policy*; I do not urge that it would be in all reſpects worthy of a *Wiſe State* to make ſuch a *Law*, without the Argument of *Experience.* But, as far as the *Imputation* of *Perſecution* alone is concerned, I ſhould be unjuſt to Truth, if I did not affirm, That, even ſuppoſing the Perſons concerned never hitherto to have ſtirred one Foot againſt the *Civil Government*; yet, if They are a Body of Men, certainly *Enemies* to it, and *Friends* to Another, and Oppoſite, CIVIL Intereſt; if their Enmity be not Secret or Suſpected, but *Open*, and Acknowledged by Themſelves; if it be *Direct*, and not *Conſequential*; and ſuch as *Immediately*, not *Remotely*, affects the *State:* If This be the *Caſe*, (as They Themſelves cannot, do not, deny it to be;) *Gentlemen*, who diſlike the *Propoſal*, may call it *Hard*, *Unſeaſonable*, *Imprudent*, or what They pleaſe of that ſort, till They have thought better of it: But if They reſolve, and continue to call it *Perſecution*, I muſt either beg Pardon for believing They think as They ſpeak; or I muſt entreat Them to fix ſome New, Unheard-of, *Criterion* of that Crime. For though Too Many have, indeed, upon ſome

Occaſions,

Occaſions, maintained *That* to be *No Perſecution*, which truly and effectually is *One*; yet, till this very *Bill* was offered, I believe there never was a *Single* Perſon of Senſe who maintained it to be *Perſecution*, to guard againſt, or puniſh, or reſtrain, by CIVIL Methods, the Open, Avowed, Direct Enemies to the *Civil Eſtabliſhment* of a *Country*, upon the Account of that *Civil Enmity* alone.

And that *This* is the *Caſe*, is too evident. The *Voice* of the *Papiſts*; the Loud, Undiſguiſed, *Voice* of that *Body* of Men, is this. "The *Pretender* is our Rightful "KING; and not King *GEORGE*. We are His Subjects. We are obliged in "Conſcience, to *watch* all Opportunities of bringing Him hither. It is our indiſpenſable Duty, to ſupport Him with our Money, and to *act* for Him with all "our Strength." Theſe are not only their *Secret*, but *Open* Maxims. They are not *Concluſions* drawn from their *Poſitions*, by Others; but they are their very Poſitions themſelves. They are not Points of *Speculation*, but *Practical* and Operative *Principles*. Their Influence upon the preſent *Civil Setlement*, is not *Remote* or *Accidental*, but *Immediate* and *Neceſſary*. Did ever *Papiſt*, (I mean One truly ſuch,) deny This? Can ever *Proteſtant* doubt it?

After I have remarked this, let me now add the Word *Experienced* to their *Civil Enmity*; and let me have Leave then more ſtrongly to affirm, That where there are ſuch *Principles* directly threatning the *State*; and where *Experience* has, upon every *Poſſible* Occaſion, ſhewn the Certain Activity and Operation of them: *There*, upon this View, of all Imputations, ſurely That of *Perſecution* is the moſt groundleſs, to be caſt upon any Law, that is deſigned to abate and damp the *Force* and *Energy* of ſuch Principles; or to leſſen the *Power*, and reſtrain the Hands of Thoſe, who have been ſeen, and felt, to be conſtantly actuated by them. It is not therefore, becauſe *Papiſts* maintain *Principles* pernicious, in the *Opinion* of *Others*, to our preſent Eſtabliſhment, that ſuch a Law is juſtified; but becauſe They are owned and acknowledged as ſuch by Themſelves: It is not, becauſe *Others* imagine Them to have ſuch *Principles* lodged within them; but becauſe They know it Themſelves; not only becauſe They know it Themſelves, but becauſe They always have been influenced by them, as Principles of *Action*; becauſe, (unlike many other ſorts of Men, who let their profeſt Principles lie idly dormant within,) They think Themſelves under the ſtricteſt Obligation to *Act* by them; and do, in fact, conſtantly *Act* agreeably to them.

Here I muſt ſtop for the preſent. In my next, I ſhall proceed to conſider the *Objections* againſt what I have laid down.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XVIII. LONDON JOURNAL, January 12, 17$\frac{22}{23}$.

THE main Difficulty in the *Queſtion* now before Us, as far as the Imputation of *Perſecution* is concerned, ſeems to proceed, in great Meaſure, from the Confuſion in Men's Heads, ariſing from the cloſe Connection between the *Religion* of *Papiſts*, (conſtantly adhering to them under the Character of *Papiſts*,) and their *Civil Enmity* occaſioned or heightened by their *Religion*. And this Confuſion it is, which makes it appear to Many very hard to diſtinguiſh between their *Civil Enmity*, and their *Religion*, ſo as to deal with them in the Manner *propoſed* in the preſent *Bill*, without the Guilt of *Perſecution*.

But I truly think, We need not be at any Loſs for a clear Solution of this *Difficulty*. Nor are They, who make the *Objection*, at all at a Loſs, in Caſes of a vaſtly inferior Nature. Suppoſe a *Papiſt*, or One of any other *Religion*, to rob, or murther a Man: and ſuppoſe Him to do it, at the Inſtigation of his *Religion*, ſo as that it flows immediately from the Influence of his *Religion* itſelf: Does not the moſt vulgar Capacity preſently ſee here the *Diſtinction* between puniſhing Him for the *Murther*, and puniſhing Him for being of ſuch or ſuch a *Religion?* And do You not preſently ſay, This cannot be *Perſecution*, becauſe He is executed for a *Civil Crime*, and not for his *Religion* which prompted Him to it? I know, You will ſay, This is an *Overt-act*; and that You allow, and contend, The *Papiſts* ought to be puniſhed for *Overt-acts* againſt the *State*, whenever They are apprehended in Them, notwithſtanding their being led to them by their *Religion*. But by your ſaying this, I have my End. For I am not, by this Inſtance, proving to You the Rightfulneſs of the preſent *Propoſal*; but ſhewing You, from your own way of judging, that You *can* and do conſtantly *diſtinguiſh* clearly between puniſhing a *Man* for his *Civil Crime*, and puniſhing Him for his *Religion*, even where That was the *ſole Principle* of his committing it; and that, therefore, as to the preſent Caſe, You can as eaſily and clearly *diſtinguiſh* between putting *Civil Reſtraints* upon *Men*, for the Sake of their Conſtant, Immediate, *Civil Enmity*; and putting the ſame Reſtraints upon Them, for the Sake of that *Religion* which occaſions their *Civil Enmity*. And ſince You yourſelves allow that, in Caſe of *Overt-acts*, Theſe very *Papiſts* may lawfully be puniſhed, without the Guilt of puniſhing Them for their *Religion*, which led Them to theſe *Acts:* You muſt own it to be as eaſy to *diſtinguiſh* between puniſhing Them for their *Avowed Readineſs* to theſe *Acts*, and puniſhing Them for their *Religion*, which is the Ground of it; as it is, in the other Caſe, to diſtinguiſh between Any of thoſe *Overt-acts* themſelves, and their *Religion* leading to them.

Having gained thus much, I will go on to the *Objection*, founded upon the *Diſtinction* between *Overt-acts* and *Avowed Deſigns*; and ſhew the ſame Juſtice and Right, (free from the Guilt of *Perſecution*,) to guard againſt, or reſtrain, the *One*, as the *Other*. Suppoſing any *Set* of Men ſhould be induced, by Any Notions embraced by Them as *Religion*, to profeſs Themſelves, in cold Blood, and without Variation, your Perſonal Enemies; conſtantly aſſerting that They have a Right to your Lives; that They are obliged in Duty to *watch* all Opportunities of deſtroying You; and accordingly, Suppoſe They have heretofore attempted it, more than once, though without Succeſs; and have not at all altered their Principles or Diſpoſitions: Will You not own, that You may ſwear the Peace againſt this *Set* of Men? And not only this, but that They ought to be effectually reſtrained from their Deſigns, by a *New Law*, if the Old Ones be not ſufficient? and may juſtly have *Penalties* laid upon Them, for the Sake of ſuch Acknowledged, Determined *Enmity?* And do You not, in this Caſe, ſee that ſuch Reſtraints or *Puniſhments* are purely upon a *Civil Account*; upon Account of the *Immediate Civil Effects* of ſuch Principles, ſo made known; and not on Account of their *Religion*, which is the primary Occaſion of theſe *Evil* Effects to Humane Society? Here is an *Inſtance* of this *Diſtinction*, as plain and as unavoidable, even at the Time when the *Overt-act* is not actually attempted; and the Reaſon why ſuch a *Procedure* is not *Perſecution*, is, becauſe it is entirely fixed to the *Immediate Civil* Influences, or *Civil* Effects of theſe Mens Principles, conſidered as *Civil* only.

But it may be ſaid by ſome, Do You not here plainly *puniſh* Men for the Sake of their *Religion*, ſince it is *That* which influences Them to ſuch Actions? If You will have it ſo, it will come to the ſame thing. For then it follows evidently,

dently, that it is *Lawful*, *Juſtifiable*, *Neceſſary*, ſo to do; and wholly free from the Guilt of *Perſecution*, in thoſe Caſes, in which that *Religion* is inſeparably accompanied with ſuch *Civil Bad* Conſequences, immediately affecting the *Society*. And ſo the like, in the Caſe of the *Papiſts* under Conſideration. And then, It makes no Difference at all in the Argument now before Us, whether You have a Right to defend Yourſelves againſt a *Religion*, ſo certainly productive of *Civil* Miſchief; or to puniſh that *Civil Miſchief*, or *Reſolution* of *Civil Miſchief*, ſo certainly cauſed by ſuch a *Religion*. But the *Truth* is, that You puniſh, and guard againſt, thoſe *Civil* Bad Effects only; and it is wholly unneceſſary for You ſo much as to know from what *Principles* they proceed; becauſe the *Guard* and the *Puniſhment* muſt and ought to be the ſame, whether You know the *Original*, or not.

But now, in the Caſe I have mentioned, I will ſuppoſe it to be ſo, that You cannot help knowing that this *Civil Enmity*, or *Civil Miſchief*, proceeds from ſuch or ſuch a *Religion*. In puniſhing therefore, the Guilty, You do, it is true, puniſh Men who have ſuch or ſuch a *Religion*: and You cannot help it. But You do it not, *for That*. No. You puniſh Men indeed who are of ſuch or ſuch a *Religion*; but You puniſh Them for *Murther*, or for the acknowledged *Deſign* of *Murther*. This *One Diſtinction* ſeems enough in the Great Point before Us. You reſtrain, and guard againſt, and fine, (or puniſh, if You pleaſe,) Men of the *Popiſh Religion*; but not *becauſe* They are of That *Religion*, or conſidered as ſuch; but becauſe it is beyond all Diſpute, that They are determined Enemies to the *Civil* Eſtabliſhment. And that it is upon *This* Account only, and no other, is evident from hence, That if *Papiſts* were not *Open*, *Determined* Enemies to our *Civil* Eſtabliſhment; if this *Civil Enmity* could be ſeparated from the Body of Them, there could have been no Thought, no Tendency, towards Any ſuch Reſtraints or Puniſhments. Here then ſtands the Caſe. Suppoſe Any *Set* of Perſons to be *Civil* Enemies. *Civil* Enemies may juſtly be guarded againſt, as ſuch. Suppoſe Them to have a *Religion*: They are ſtill *Civil* Enemies, and may *therefore* be guarded againſt. Suppoſe Them to have no *Religion*; it makes no Difference, as to this *Right*. Again, Suppoſe any *Set* of Perſons to be of the *Popiſh* Religion. Add then, the Suppoſition of their being *Civil* Enemies; and it is not *Perſecution*, nor *Unlawful*, to guard againſt Them by *Civil* Methods. Take away this Suppoſition, and it is *Unlawful* to uſe Them in the ſame Manner. Turn it which way You will, It is *Civil* Enmity alone which is the Foundation of the *Procedure*: and put *That* into the Caſe, Let the *Procedure* be judged *Imprudent*, *Unpolitick*, or what elſe You pleaſe; yet, it is impoſſible to fix the Guilt of *Perſecution* upon it, without confounding all Notions of *Civil* and *Religious* Affairs together.

I will now put *Another* Caſe, which may help to clear up the *propoſed* Difficulty. Suppoſing a Number of Men to be ſo weak, (ſuch a thing has been,) as to make it a Branch of their Religion, That the Eſtates of all Chriſtians are Common. If this Principle only remained within Them, as a Matter of *Speculation*, or ſhewed itſelf but *Feeble* in its Operation; Or, if it were ſeen to act only upon Themſelves ſo far, as to induce Them in a peaceable Manner to divide their own Eſtates amongſt One another equally: a *Wiſe State* would bear with it, and not Enact any thing againſt ſuch Perſons, for the ſake of the *Conſequences*, which are juſtly perhaps chargeable upon it; becauſe it is not always that *Men* are ſenſible of, or act up to, the Conſequences of their own Principles. But ſuppoſing this Body of Men to increaſe in Number greatly, and to proceed to convince Themſelves by *Argumentation*, that They have a Right in common to *All* the *Eſtates* of the *Kingdom*; and that, ſince They cannot come at that Right by *Perſwaſion*, it is lawful for Them to uſe the Methods of *Force* and *Violence*, and *Robbery*, and *Murther*, if neceſſary: The *Principle* then is changed into an *Operative* Principle, *directly* and *immediately* affecting the *Civil* Intereſt of the *Society*; and yet it is their *Religion*, which directs and engages them to this *Criminal Proceeding*. Suppoſing Theſe Perſons openly and conſtantly to *avow* their Practiſing according to this *Principle*, as their *Duty*; and ſuppoſing Them to have made frequent Attempts and Attacks, in purſuance of this *Principle*: In this Caſe, Could You poſſibly doubt the Juſtifiableneſs, or the Expediency, of framing Laws of *Reſtraint*, or *Civil* Penalties, upon ſuch a *Body* of Men, not merely to affect them if They ſhould be apprehended in the *Fact*, (ſuppoſing That to be very difficult, and ſometimes impoſſible,) but in order to damp, and abate, and reſtrain, the Operation of ſo pernicious a *Principle*, in a large and powerful Body of Men? Or, at leaſt, Is it not evident that ſuch *Reſtraints* would be ſolely upon a *Civil* Account; and that it could not come under the Imputation of *Perſecution*, to curb and puniſh *Thoſe*, who thus profeſs Themſelves *Civil* Enemies, reſolved and determined to be ſo, upon every Occaſion that offers; and that it is ridiculous to imagine, that their making an Avowed *Reſolution* of *Robbery* a Principle of *Religion*, can be an Argument to any *State* againſt guarding the *Society* from all the future Effects of a *Reſolution* ſo pernicious to the *Civil Intereſts* of it?

The like may be ſaid in the Caſe of the *Papiſts* amongſt Us. Were it ſo, that the *Principle* of *Civil Enmity* within Them were a latent, *feeble* Principle; the natural Conſequences of which did not ſeem to be known, or much felt, by Themſelves; Nay, Were it only the *Principle* of *Abſolute Obedience* to the *Pope*, whenever He ſhould command Them from their Subjection to the *Civil Powers* of their Country: It might, perhaps, be borne with by a *Wiſe State*, perpetually watchful of its Operations. The only Doubt I have of this in *Britain*, is, That *This* was the Main *Principle*, which was experienced to be ſo dangerous in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and ſo productive of *Plots* and *Conſpiracies*, that it occaſioned the *Penal Laws* againſt the *Papiſts* in thoſe early Days. But when This is not the only *Principle* within; but there is, beſides, added to the Weight of This, a *Direct Allegiance* avowed to a *Popiſh Pretender*, and a *Practice* agreeable to It acknowledged as a Neceſſary Duty, and many Inſtances of *Attempts* in Conſequence of *Theſe*; This becomes ſuch a *Civil Enmity*, though proceeding from *Religion*, as calls for *Actual Reſtraints*, and *Actual Penalties*, to prevent the *Publick Ruin*, to which, otherwiſe, it muſt haſten with a much quicker Pace, for being actuated by the Zeal of *Religious Bigotry*.

All theſe *Inſtances* and *Obſervations* plainly ſhew, That, with regard to the preſent *Queſtion*, it is an *accidental* Thing from whence the *Civil Enmity* of Any Perſons proceeds. And therefore, In guarding your *Civil Conſtitution*, againſt Its *Enemies*, You need not ſo much as enquire of what *Religion* Theſe Enemies are, any more, than of what *Trade*, of what *Sex*, of what *Colour*. But I will now add, that, if You will enquire, You will find in the Caſe of the *Papiſts*, what will heighten your Obligation to guard againſt Them; though ſtill upon a *Civil* Account only. You will find, It is their *Religion*, which is the *Chief* Reaſon of their *Civil Enmity*: That it is a *Religion*, which does not reſtrain, but heighten, that *Civil Enmity*; which does not keep it under, as a Faulty, or Vicious Inclination, but ſanctify it into a Work of Piety and Zeal, meritorious of God's Favour; which does not mollify, but inflame it; not abate, but enrage it; and in a Word, which not only feeds and nurſes it, with the View of all the good Things of *this* World, but like *Prometheus*, fetches *Fire* from *Heaven*, (I may ſay, from *Hell* too,) to animate and heat it; and adds double and treble Life and Vigour to it, by the Incitements of *future* Happineſs and Miſery applied to it. When I have ſaid this, what need I obſerve, That there is not an higher *Abſurdity* in the whole *Heap* of Abſurdities, than to affirm, or imagine, that the very Thing which makes Perſons *Civil Enemies*, can poſſibly be any *Reaſon* againſt treating Them as ſuch; or that their *Religion*, which is the great (though accidental) Ground of their *Enmity* to our *Civil Conſtitution*, is an Argument why They cannot be guarded againſt juſtly, as *Civil* Enemies? On the contrary: There is not a more certain Truth than This, That the *Civil Enmity* of Thoſe, who are made and kept *Civil Enemies*, by ſo ACTIVE and Vigorous a *Principle* as *That* of *Bigotry* in *Religion*, is *much more* to be *guarded* againſt, upon that very Account, than the *Enmity* of *Thoſe* who are *Civil Enemies* upon any *leſs active*, or more feeble *Principle*.

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER XIX. LONDON JOURNAL, January 19, 17$\frac{22}{23}$.

AFTER having ſhewn that the *Bill*, now propoſed, relating to the *Eſtates* of *Papiſts*, is entirely founded upon their Open, Direct, Avowed *Enmity* to our CIVIL Eſtabliſhment, and is upon *that* Account perfectly free from all Guilt of *Perſecution*; it is Time now to conſider the *Other* particular *Objections* made againſt it, as far as I can come to the Knowledge of them; as well *ſuch* as ſtill tend towards that *firſt* Imputation, as Thoſe of any other ſort.

I hear it urged by Some, If this *Bill* be propoſed againſt a Set of *Perſons* as *Civil* Enemies only, Why is their *Religion* to be mentioned at all in it? Why are They to be characterized, and deſcribed, (as They are in the *Regiſtring Act*, upon which This is formed,) as *Papiſts*,—Perſons *educated in the Popiſh Religion*;—*uſing or profeſſing the Popiſh Religion*; which are plainly, *Deſcriptions* of Them in their *Religious* Capacity? And for this indeed, I know no other Reaſon, but becauſe, in the preſent Caſe, it is *impoſſible* to find out any *other* Method; becauſe this is not only the *moſt proper*, but, I may ſay, the *only* Way of *deſcribing* Them, for the Purpoſe intended. For this is the Caſe. It is, I think, as *Evident* a *Propoſition*, That *Papiſts*, as *Papiſts*, are direct *Enemies* to our preſent CIVIL *Eſtabliſhment*; as, That it is Light, when the Sun ſhines. It is as juſt to infer, *Papiſts*, truly ſuch, are *Civil* Enemies to this Eſtabliſhment, *becauſe* They are *Papiſts*; as it is to infer, It is Light, *becauſe* the Sun ſhines. And therefore, As by being *Papiſts*, They are *Civil Enemies*; and as by being *Avowed*, Profeſt *Papiſts*, They become *Avowed*, Profeſt *Civil* Enemies; ſo, there cannot be a more proper *Deſcription* of Thoſe, who are to be guarded againſt as *Civil* Enemies, than *One* taken from *That*, whatever it be, which is the Great Spring and Life of their *Civil Enmity*; and to which that *Civil Enmity* conſtantly adheres.

Give me Leave, in order to clear up this, to ſuppoſe Any one Set of Perſons All to wear a particular *Habit*, or never to come abroad without a particular *Ribon*, which none but Themſelves ever appear with; and to ſuppoſe, merely for Argument's ſake, This *Habit* or *Ribon* to have that ſame Effect upon *Theſe* Men, in their *Civil* Capacity, which *Popery* has upon *Others*; and to remain as conſtantly their Badge, and Diſtinguiſhing Mark. Upon theſe Suppoſitions, They might *properly* be *deſcribed* by that peculiar *Garb* or *Ribon*, in any *Law*, which laid *Penalties* upon Them merely for their *Civil* Enmity. And He, who ſhould argue from hence, that They were puniſhed, or had Hardſhips laid upon Them, for wearing ſuch a *Garb*, or ſuch a *Ribon*, would only bring into Queſtion his own Underſtanding. So, in the Caſe of the *Papiſts*, Their Religion, as *Papiſts*, conſtantly adhering to Them; and this *Religion* cauſing and heightning their *Civil* Enmity; or at leaſt, this *Civil* Enmity as conſtantly adhering to That *Religion*; They are therefore, properly *deſcribed* by their being *Papiſts:* and without any Danger of the preſent *Imputation*; becauſe, though ſo *deſcribed*, They are no more puniſhed *for* That, than the Others, in the Caſe before-mentioned, could be ſaid to be puniſhed *for* their Garb. The *Foundation* of the *Bill* is not, "Whereas *Papiſts* are *Papiſts* "in *Religion*; Therefore, &c." But, "Whereas Thoſe who are *Papiſts* in *Religion*, are *Avowed Enemies* to our preſent CIVIL Conſtitution—Therefore, &c." This *Deſcription* therefore, though taken from their *Religion*, (which is an accidental Point in this Caſe) is no more than a *Deſcription* of *Thoſe*, who are ſuch CIVIL Enemies, as this *Bill* propoſes to mulct and diſcourage.

One thing, indeed, were to be wiſhed, That the *Teſt*, taken from a *Religious* Opinion about *Tranſubſtantiation*, could be ſafely laid aſide in *this* Caſe; and that *Teſts* merely *Civil* (in Expreſſion, as well as Reality,) might ſuffice in a *Point* where the *Civil* Part of our *Conſtitution* alone is concerned. But, as the *preſent* Bill is only an *Execution* of a *Former* Law, in which that *Teſt* is inſerted; and as that *Teſt* itſelf was pitched upon *originally*, as the moſt ſure Method of excluding *Papiſts*, as *Civil* Enemies, from *Offices*; (but not with any Thought of founding that *Excluſion* upon their particular *Sacramental* Doctrine, which is in itſelf very conſiſtent with Affection to any Government;) it is the proper Buſineſs of the *Legiſlature* to conſider, Whether it be *prudent*, upon the *preſent* Occaſion, to alter a *Teſt*, which has been found effectual to the Purpoſe intended by it; and to run the Hazard of *Another*, which may perhaps be more eaſily evaded. The *End* propoſed was, to diſcover who were *Papiſts*. The Reaſon for This was, The Certainty that *Papiſts* were *Civil* Enemies, and not fit to be admitted to *Civil* Poſts. Though this *Teſt* be indeed a *Religious* Opinion; yet the *Reaſon* for this *Teſt*, You ſee, is taken entirely from a *Civil* Conſideration. That *Reaſon* ſtill remains; only with greater Evidence ſince the *Revolution*, *viz.* That *Papiſts*, by being *Papiſts*, are *Certain Enemies* to the CIVIL *Intereſts* of theſe Kingdoms. This *Teſt* therefore may remain, till ſome Other, of *equal* Force and Security, can be thought of; becauſe the *End* of it is purely *Civil*, to diſcover Thoſe, who ought to be guarded againſt as CIVIL Enemies.

The next *Objection* We often meet with, is this, Why do We hear of None, but *Papiſts* in this Caſe? Why not of *Proteſtant Nonjurors*, who are, generally ſpeaking, as *certainly* Avowed *Civil* Enemies as the *Papiſts?* Is not this ſome Proof, that *Religion* is in the Caſe, when, as to *Civil* Enmity, there is no Difference between theſe Two Bodies of Men; and yet the *Papiſts* are made the Objects of this *Bill*, and Thoſe *Civil* Enemies who are *Proteſtants* are entirely left out of it? At leaſt, Is not here plainly, *Inequality* and *Partiality* in this Proceeding? Whether Theſe Perſons are to be left out of it, or not, I cannot yet judge. That will depend entirely upon the Sentiments of the Members of Both Houſes; every One of which has a Right to propoſe any *Clauſe* of *Amendment* to it: though I am apt to think, They who make moſt Noiſe with this *Objection*, will be the *Laſt* Perſons to propoſe or approve the *Clauſe*. But to come to the Point,

I do, and muſt, acknowledge, that the *Proteſtant Nonjurors* (conſidered as a *Body*) are *Avowed*, *Direct*, *Enemies* to our preſent *Civil* Setlement. I own that, as *Such*, They may *juſtly* be guarded againſt; and that They may juſtly have ſuch a *Mulct*, as is now propoſed, laid upon Them. But I muſt deny, that the doing it in this *Bill*, would at all help to vindicate the *Bill* from the *Charge* of *Perſecution*. This, I deſire, I deſire, may be conſidered; and that We may not dwell upon *Words*, but upon *Things*. I would aſk therefore, *Why*, and upon *What* Ground, are Theſe Perſons *Nonjurors?* We muſt take Men according to their conſtant *Profeſſions*, and ſuppoſe Them in general ſincere, as We cannot doubt but Many of this Body are. And if You aſk Them themſelves, They profeſs ſolemnly, That it is the Fear of God, and the Conſcience of Duty to Him, which make Them ſo: That their *Non-allegiance* to the Preſent *Civil* Eſtabliſhment, is a Principle of *Conſcience* and *Religion*, not a Point of Worldly *Politicks*, or a Punctilio of *Honour* only; and founded upon a *Principle*, which, however groundleſs and weak beyond Expreſſion, is interwoven into their Syſtem of *Religion* and *Worſhip*. Now then, Put theſe Perſons into the *Bill:* And what follows? Why, You fine and puniſh Perſons, who, out of a Conſcientious Fear of God, are *Civil Enemies*; whoſe Inward *Principle* of Religion makes Them *Enemies*; and whoſe *Civil Enmity* reſults from their *Conſcience*. Does not the *Objection* then, ſtill remain, that This is *Perſecution?* if it be *Perſecution* for a *State* to guard againſt *Conſcientious* Perſons, who, *as ſuch*, are Enemies to it. But I hope, You ſee plainly, by this very *Inſtance*, which comes from Yourſelves, that You have a *Right* to guard againſt Thoſe *Civil* Enemies, who are ſo from an Inward Principle of *Religion*, as well as any *Others*; and that, if this can be ſo, in the *Caſe* of the *Body* of *Nonjurors*; (as your preſent *Objection* ſuppoſes;) it may as truly be ſo, in the *Caſe* of *Papiſts:* the Argument of *Perſecution* being equally to be applied to Both.

But there is another Part of the preſent *Objection*—That this *Differing* Treatment of *Civil* Enemies, of whoſe *Enmity* We are equally certain, if it be not a Proof of the *perſecuting* Spirit of this *Bill*; yet it may be a good *Proof* of its *Partiality*; and conſequently, of its *Injuſtice*, in ſome degree. I have already acknowledged, that the *Proteſtant Nonjurors* are *certainly* Enemies to our *Civil* Setlement. They do not pretend to deny it. They pay *double Taxes*, for the Sake of it. They have their Religious Meetings, in which either the *Pretender* is expreſly prayed for; or at leaſt, K. *George* and his *Family* wholly left out. They *talk*, and *write*, and *publiſh* what They write, (as far, and in ſuch Manner, as is conſiſtent with their own Safety,) in Defence of the *Pretender's* Right, and in Support of his Cauſe. Theſe Things are Notorious. And I mention theſe Particulars, as ſuch *Proofs* of an *Avowed Civil* Enmity, as belong to *Them*, as well as the *Papiſts*; and as *Proofs* ſufficient to remove all Doubt, if any can be, of an *Avowed*, *Civil Enmity* in Both. But then, We muſt be ſo *juſt*, as to own ſome Difference in the *Nature* of this *Enmity*; and that, if there be the ſame *Certainty* of that *Enmity* for the preſent, yet there is not ſuch an Inveteracy, ſuch a Rancour, ſuch a Deſperateneſs of Cure, belonging to it. Could You but convince a *Proteſtant Nonjuror*, of the Weakneſs and Groundleſſneſs of that one Principle, That God has abſolutely appointed ſuch a particular Form and Succeſſion of Civil Government, from which, upon no Account, there may be a Departure; generally ſpeaking, You have little elſe to do. As far as his *Worſhip*, or his *Form* of *Church-Government*, is concerned, He will not much demurr. He cannot but allow that, whatever Jealouſies He may have of ANY *Proteſtant* King, He muſt have many more, and ſtronger, concerning EVERY *Popiſh* One. But in a *Papiſt*, You have not only to combat and overcome that ſame *Principle*, or ſomething of the ſame Tendency; but You have the unrelenting Force of *Bigotry*, the unyielding Zeal for a different *Church*, the unmoveable Devotion to a differing *Worſhip*, to fight againſt. For all Theſe He has, added to what Other *Nonjurors* have; and all backed with the flattering Hope of meriting Reward, by his Conſtancy; and with the Fear of all the Threatnings of his *Superiors*, if He draws back. Theſe Differences in the *Two* ſorts of

Men may furniſh a *plauſible* Argument, Why it may not be Unequal, Imprudent, or Impolitick, at leaſt to begin *firſt* with *That* ſort, who are the more determined, the more rancorous, and the more *deſperate* Civil Enemies of the *Two*. But however this be, it is no Argument againſt doing *One* Thing, that *Another*, which might as *juſtly* be done, is not likewiſe propoſed; no Manner of Proof, that it is wrong to mulct the *Papiſts*, becauſe You do not at the ſame mulct the *Proteſtant Nonjurors*. On the contrary, If it be *right* to do *Both*; it is *right*, at leaſt, to do *One*. And as every *State* is Maſter of its own Favours; and No *Government* ſtrictly obliged to be equally ſevere to *Every* Perſon, to whom it may, of *Right*, be ſo; it may neither be Unjuſt, nor Unpolitick, to make ſo much Diſtinction, as to *begin* with *One* ſort of *Civil* Enemies: Nay, I will add, till I ſee the Wiſdom of the *Nation* determine otherwiſe, that it may be a great Inſtance of Political Prudence; and poſſibly be of Uſe to the Publick, by the Effect it may have upon ſome of the *Other* ſort of *Civil Enemies*, who are thus ſpared in it.

I ſhall only add, that Our *Legiſlators* knew that *Nonjurors*, as well as *Papiſts*, were in the laſt *Rebellion*. Yet in this *Act* for *Regiſtring Eſtates*, occaſioned by that *Rebellion*, They thought fit, firſt and immediately, to take Notice of *Papiſts* only; and to lay open *Their* Eſtates only to the *Knowledge*, and for the Uſe of the *Publick*. Now, the preſent *Bill* is nothing, but the *Execution* (in a very moderate degree) of the Expreſs Deſign of *that Act*; and therefore, in the Nature of it, could at firſt include no Perſons but what were included in *That*. But if it be thought Wiſe and Reaſonable to go farther, the *Silence* of the *Bill*, in its *firſt* Propoſal, as to any *Others*, does not at all hinder but that *Others* may be thought of, either *Now*, or at a more proper Time.

But it is again urged, That ſuppoſing this *Bill* to be proved wholly innocent of the great Guilt of *Perſecution*; yet it may be *Oppreſſion*; it may be *Hardſhip*, thus to take away any Part of the *Eſtates* of *Papiſts*: and upon this Account, be very juſtly oppoſed and condemned. And here I could join with my whole Heart, in this Allegation, and rejoice to join in it, if I did not bring it carefully to the *Touchſtone* of the *Civil* Intereſt of the whole Society. I am ſo ſincere in *This*, that I cannot forbear to take this Opportunity to profeſs, That, Were their *Religion*, and their *Religious* Conduct, *only* concerned, and our preſent *Civil Eſtabliſhment* not *immediately* affected by it; All the *Errors* and *Abſurdities* which, in my Apprehenſion, hang like an inſupportable Load both upon their *Principles* and *Worſhip*, ſhould not hinder Me from acknowledging, and pleading, as far as My Abilities would extend, their *Right* to all *Protection* in the free Exerciſe of what They themſelves account *Religion*: Let Them, upon this *Suppoſition*, enjoy the Benefit of a *Toleration*, as extended as They could wiſh; and let *All*, who would refuſe, or envy, it to Them, be *for Me* eſteemed in Themſelves unworthy of the ſame Happineſs. And, as to their *Eſtates*, were it poſſible that their *Popery*, ſincerely embraced by Them, could by any Means be deveſted of its *Civil* Poyſon, and *Civil* Enmity; Let Them, with my Conſent, keep all their Riches to Themſelves; or enjoy their *Souls* in diſtributing them, as They think fit. Let their *Treaſures* be untouched by *Any*, but their *own Hands*; and let them be waſted, if They ſo pleaſe, in all the Magnificence of Expence, an Imagination heated by a ſacred Fire can invent. Let Them ſquander their Gold away, in the Wanton Luxury and Luſt of Superſtition; and devote it all to that Idol, which knows how to devour it. Let Them ſend it abroad, to adorn the *Shrines* and *Images* of their Favourite Dead Saints; or to *pamper* ſtill more the *pampered* Idleneſs of their *Cloyſtered* Living Ones; or to nurſe up an Eternal Succeſſion of the ſame *Devoted Bigots* in their

Colleges abroad. Be *This* the *Caſe*—for Me, They ſhould reſt in quiet; their Perſons unmoleſted, and their Treaſures untouched.

But, on the contrary, If the *Caſe* be quite otherwiſe, not only with Regard to that *Civil* Enmity which can never be ſeparated from *Popery*, in our preſent Condition; but even with Regard to the Actual *Diſtributions* of *Money* from the *Papiſts* amongſt Us: If it be *Notorious*, that there is no *Body* of *Men*, to whom this Money is *ſent* out, but what is itſelf a *Body* of *Civil* Enmity to our preſent Conſtitution; that their own *Sons* and *Daughters*, educated by it, are taught to pray and act againſt our *Civil* Intereſt; and that there is abroad a *Pretender* to the *Crown*, to whoſe Support great Sums of it are immediately appropriated: It becomes a *Civil Queſtion* entirely, and appears, upon this firſt ſhort View, not only No *Oppreſſion*, but a reaſonable Thing, that of That *Treaſure* which is ſo liberally deſtined to be ſent out for our *Civil* Deſtruction, ſome Part ſhould be ſeized for our *Civil* Security; and that They, who are perpetuating and keeping up our *Fears* by their *Money*, (even when They appear moſt *Quiet*, and Every other Inſtrument of their Enmity is at Reſt,) ſhould ſuffer Something in that very *Article*, which is an *Engine* of ſo great Danger to our *Civil* Eſtabliſhment; if it were only for *this* Reaſon, that They may have ſo much the *leſs* left, to *negotiate* the Total Ruin of our CIVIL *Conſtitution*. This alone is ſufficient to take off the Force of the *Objection*, though it be a *Conſideration* which offered itſelf only *en paſſant*. But, as *ſeveral Inſtances* are given, of the *Hardſhip* of the preſent *Propoſal*, by Thoſe who make the *Objection*; I muſt only now promiſe to *ſtate* Them All, as I proceed; and to weigh Them carefully againſt the *Hardſhips*, on the other Side, which the *Whole Community*, and the *Civil Eſtabliſhment*, may complain of. For I know of no *Better*, nor indeed, any other *Rule* than *This*, to go by, in *Queſtions* of this Nature.

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER XX. London Journal, January 26, $17\frac{22}{23}$.

THE *Objection*, I am now conſidering, againſt the *Bill* for raiſing a Sum of Money upon the *Eſtates* of *Papiſts* amongſt Us, is this, That, though it may not be *Perſecution*, yet it may be an *Oppreſſive*, *Hard*, and *Unjuſt* Bill. For Inſtance, It is aſked, Is it not *Hard* and *Unjuſt*, to deal thus with a Body of Men, upon Occaſion of a *Conſpiracy*, in which They do not ſeem to be perſonally concerned; which is not *Their* Conſpiracy in the Formation or Execution of it; or in which They appear to bear no Part? As to this Point, How far *Any* of that *Body* are known to be actually engaged in the late Deſign, I will not *yet* enter into it. Nor indeed, can I forbear to acknowledge it to be a Circumſtance of very ſmall Conſideration, upon the preſent Subject, in my Opinion: And I will give my Reaſons for what I ſay. When I conſider this Deſign, I cannot think it juſt to confine my Thoughts to the *Perſons* here in *England*, actually known and diſcovered to be engaged in it. Such a *Procedure* would be but of little Conſequence to the *Intereſt* of our Civil Conſtitution; becauſe it is as certain that *Many* are engaged in it, who are not publickly *known*, and cannot legally be called upon to anſwer for it, as it is that *Thoſe* are engaged in it, who can be proved to all Mankind ſo to be. Much leſs can I think it juſt to my Country, to confine my Thoughts, upon this Occaſion, to ſuch as can be *legally* convicted of this Guilt, becauſe This would ſtill more diſappoint all the Hopes of ever putting ourſelves into a ſecure Condition. And what weighs ſo powerfully with Me, againſt confining our Thoughts after this Manner, is the Difference of *This* Caſe from other *Criminal* Caſes; not only in the immediate Importance of it to the *Whole* Community, but in the Nature of the *Thing* itſelf.

For what is *This* We are ſpeaking of? Is it a ſingle *Act* only; a ſudden Inſtance of Wrong or Violence, like the *Crimes* of One *Subject* againſt *Another?* Is it a *Deſign* of *Yeſterday*, formed, taken up, and attempted to be executed, juſt *Now* only? No. If it were, I would *allow*, I would *contend*, that it was *Unjuſt*, in the higheſt Degree, to touch the Hair of the Head, or ſo much as *One Farthing*, belonging to Any one not *perſonally* proved to be engaged in it. But when I weigh the *Hardſhip* complained of, upon *ſome* Perſons, againſt the *Hardſhips* a *Whole Country* complains of, at *their* Hands; I find it thus. This is an *Inveterate* Sore; a *Deſign* againſt our very *Being*, as a Free Nation; and a *Deſign*, that never yet was aſleep ſince the *Excluſion* of the *Popiſh* Line; and a *Plot*, every Moment in Agitation, (to look no higher) from the *Revolution* to this Hour. I look upon every individual *Attempt*, or *Tendency* towards it, not as a *Diſtinct* Deſign, but only as a Branch of That One Continued Conſpiracy; and as a *Diſcovery* of That One Never-ceaſing, Uninterrupted, Sworn Purpoſe of reſtoring that Line. I conſider it, as I would One of the Eruptions of *Fire* from *Veſuvio* or *Etna*. It is itſelf very terrible, and may prove fatal to all around it. But if it does not; or if the Country be not *wholly* laid waſte by what breaks looſe; yet it is an Indication of Something ſtill more terrible under Ground. If the *Inhabitants* are guarded againſt this *Eruption*, yet They have the uncomfortable Knowledge that there is a *Maſs* of Deſtruction, compacted and pent up for Them in the Bowels of the Earth. *There* the *Magazine* ſtill lies, inceſſantly heaving and labouring for Vent, and contriving (if I may ſo ſpeak) certain Ruin, far and wide, whenever all its Force ſhall be collected and ripe for Execution. If it were a thing poſſible in Nature, who can doubt but that All the Care of the *Inhabitants* of thoſe Parts would be turned ſolely to the Cure of the *Grand Evil* within; without which, Security from any particular *Eruption*, is only a little *Delay* or *Reſpite* of their Total Ruin. And ſo it muſt, and ought to be, in the *Political* Caſe; which the *Other*, terrible as it is, does but *faintly* repreſent. For in *This*, All *Poſterity* is intereſted, and the *Happineſs* of Generations yet unborn infinitely concerned. You guard againſt a particular *Attempt:* and ſo far, You do well. But if You go no farther, and neglect that *Conſtant Conſpiracy*, which is as evident as this *Attempt*, and to which this *Attempt* itſelf was only a Machine, or Experiment of *Execution*; You had almoſt as good fold your Arms to ſleep again. All your *Guarding* can come to no more than a ſhort *Reprieve* from *Death*; a ſhort Delay only of that *Civil Death*, which is as inevitable, without farther Care, as *Natural Death* itſelf. To proceed,

This *General*, *Uninterrupted Deſign*, what is it? You force me to repeat,—It is a *Deſign* of extirpating the preſent *Proteſtant* Poſſeſſors of the *Throne*. This *Anſwer* preſently raiſes another Enquiry: *Whoſe* Affair is this Grand Deſign? Who is *He* that is to be placed upon it? A *Pretender*—A *Papiſt*—Not only a *Papiſt*, but a *Bigoted Papiſt*; devoted to *Popery*, in Oppoſition to *Proteſtantiſm*; and a *Bigot* out of the Reach even of the *Politicks* of this World to hide, or colour over. Who are *They* who encourage *Him* abroad? The Great Eccleſiaſtical *Father*, and *Head* of the *POPISH* Religion, and his Eccleſiaſtical *Council*; by their Advice, by their Money, and by their Intereſt. Whoſe great Concern, Deſire, and Endeavour, muſt this Work be? It is impoſſible, in the Nature of the Thing itſelf, but that the Body of the *Papiſts* muſt have their *Hearts*, and their *Purſes*, and their whole *Strength*, dedicated to it. Nay I will venture to affirm, This never was denied by Themſelves, or ever doubted of by Others, till this *Bill* made it worth

Colleges abroad. Be *This* the *Caſe*—for Me, They ſhould reſt in quiet; their Perſons unmoleſted, and their Treaſures untouched.

But, on the contrary, If the *Caſe* be quite otherwiſe, not only with Regard to that *Civil* Enmity which can never be ſeparated from *Popery*, in our preſent Condition; but even with Regard to the Actual *Diſtributions* of *Money* from the *Papiſts* amongſt Us: If it be *Notorious*, that there is no *Body* of *Men*, to whom this Money is *ſent* out, but what is itſelf a *Body* of *Civil* Enmity to our preſent Conſtitution; that their own *Sons* and *Daughters*, educated by it, are taught to pray and act againſt our *Civil* Intereſt; and that there is abroad a *Pretender* to the *Crown*, to whoſe Support great Sums of it are immediately appropriated: It becomes a *Civil Queſtion* entirely, and appears, upon this firſt ſhort View, not only No *Oppreſſion*, but a reaſonable Thing, that of That *Treaſure* which is ſo liberally deſtined to be ſent out for our *Civil* Deſtruction, ſome Part ſhould be ſeized for our *Civil* Security; and that They, who are perpetuating and keeping up our *Fears* by their *Money*, (even when They appear moſt *Quiet*, and Every other Inſtrument of their Enmity is at Reſt,) ſhould ſuffer Something in that very *Article*, which is an *Engine* of ſo great Danger to our *Civil* Eſtabliſhment; if it were only for *this* Reaſon, that They may have ſo much the *leſs* left, to *negotiate* the Total Ruin of our CIVIL *Conſtitution*. This alone is ſufficient to take off the Force of the *Objection*, though it be a *Conſideration* which offered itſelf only *en paſſant*. But, as *ſeveral Inſtances* are given, of the *Hardſhip* of the preſent *Propoſal*, by Thoſe who make the *Objection*; I muſt only now promiſe to *ſtate* Them All, as I proceed; and to weigh Them carefully againſt the *Hardſhips*, on the other Side, which the *Whole Community*, and the *Civil Eſtabliſhment*, may complain of. For I know of no *Better*, nor indeed, any other *Rule* than *This*, to go by, in *Queſtions* of this Nature.

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LETTER XX. LONDON JOURNAL, January 26, 17$\frac{22}{23}$.

THE *Objection*, I am now conſidering, againſt the *Bill* for raiſing a Sum of Money upon the *Eſtates* of *Papiſts* amongſt Us, is this, That, though it may not be *Perſecution*, yet it may be an *Oppreſſive*, *Hard*, and *Unjuſt* Bill. For Inſtance, It is aſked, Is it not *Hard* and *Unjuſt*, to deal thus with a Body of Men, upon Occaſion of a *Conſpiracy*, in which They do not ſeem to be perſonally concerned; which is not *Their* Conſpiracy in the Formation or Execution of it; or in which They appear to bear no Part? As to this Point, How far *Any* of that *Body* are known to be actually engaged in the late Deſign, I will not *yet* enter into it. Nor indeed, can I forbear to acknowledge it to be a Circumſtance of very ſmall Conſideration, upon the preſent Subject, in my Opinion: And I will give my Reaſons for what I ſay. When I conſider this Deſign, I cannot think it juſt to confine my Thoughts to the *Perſons* here in *England*, actually known and diſcovered to be engaged in it. Such a *Procedure* would be but of little Conſequence to the *Intereſt* of our Civil Conſtitution; becauſe it is as certain that *Many* are engaged in it, who are not publickly *known*, and cannot legally be called upon to anſwer for it, as it is that *Thoſe* are engaged in it, who can be proved to all Mankind ſo to be. Much leſs can I think it juſt to my Country, to confine my Thoughts, upon this Occaſion, to ſuch as can be *legally* convicted of this Guilt, becauſe This would ſtill more diſappoint all the Hopes of ever putting ourſelves into a ſecure Condition. And what weighs ſo powerfully with Me, againſt confining our Thoughts after this Manner, is the Difference of *This* Caſe from other *Criminal* Caſes; not only in the immediate Importance of it to the *Whole* Community, but in the Nature of the *Thing* itſelf.

For what is *This* We are ſpeaking of? Is it a ſingle *Act* only; a ſudden Inſtance of Wrong or Violence, like the *Crimes* of One *Subject* againſt *Another?* Is it a *Deſign* of *Yeſterday*, formed, taken up, and attempted to be executed, juſt *Now* only? No. If it were, I would *allow*, I would *contend*, that it was *Unjuſt*, in the higheſt Degree, to touch the Hair of the Head, or ſo much as *One Farthing*, belonging to Any one not *perſonally* proved to be engaged in it. But when I weigh the *Hardſhip* complained of, upon *ſome* Perſons, againſt the *Hardſhips* a *Whole Country* complains of, at *their* Hands; I find it thus. This is an *Inveterate* Sore; a *Deſign* againſt our very *Being*, as a Free Nation; and a *Deſign*, that never yet was aſleep ſince the *Excluſion* of the *Popiſh* Line; and a *Plot*, every Moment in Agitation, (to look no higher) from the *Revolution* to this Hour. I look upon every individual *Attempt*, or *Tendency* towards it, not as a *Diſtinct* Deſign, but only as a Branch of That One Continued Conſpiracy; and as a *Diſcovery* of That One Never-ceaſing, Uninterrupted, Sworn Purpoſe of reſtoring that Line. I conſider it, as I would One of the Eruptions of *Fire* from *Veſuvio* or *Etna*. It is itſelf very terrible, and may prove fatal to all around it. But if it does not; or if the Country be not *wholly* laid waſte by what breaks looſe; yet it is an Indication of Something ſtill more terrible under Ground. If the *Inhabitants* are guarded againſt this *Eruption*, yet They have the uncomfortable Knowledge that there is a *Maſs* of Deſtruction, compacted and pent up for Them in the Bowels of the Earth. *There* the *Magazine* ſtill lies, inceſſantly heaving and labouring for Vent, and contriving (if I may ſo ſpeak) certain Ruin, far and wide, whenever all its Force ſhall be collected and ripe for Execution. If it were a thing poſſible in Nature, who can doubt but that All the Care of the *Inhabitants* of thoſe Parts would be turned ſolely to the Cure of the *Grand Evil* within; without which, Security from any particular *Eruption*, is only a little *Delay* or *Reſpite* of their Total Ruin. And ſo it muſt, and ought to be, in the *Political* Caſe; which the *Other*, terrible as it is, does but *faintly* repreſent. For in *This*, All *Poſterity* is intereſted, and the *Happineſs* of Generations yet unborn infinitely concerned. You guard againſt a particular *Attempt:* and ſo far, You do well. But if You go no farther, and neglect that *Conſtant Conſpiracy*, which is as evident as this *Attempt*, and to which this *Attempt* itſelf was only a Machine, or Experiment of *Execution*; You had almoſt as good fold your Arms to ſleep again. All your *Guarding* can come to no more than a ſhort *Reprieve* from *Death*; a ſhort Delay only of that *Civil Death*, which is as inevitable, without farther Care, as *Natural Death* itſelf. To proceed,

This *General*, *Uninterrupted Deſign*, what is it? You force me to repeat,—It is a *Deſign* of extirpating the preſent *Proteſtant* Poſſeſſors of the *Throne*. This *Anſwer* preſently raiſes another Enquiry: *Whoſe* Affair is this Grand Deſign? Who is *He* that is to be placed upon it? A *Pretender*—A *Papiſt*—Not only a *Papiſt*, but a *Bigoted Papiſt*; devoted to *Popery*, in Oppoſition to *Proteſtantiſm*; and a *Bigot* out of the Reach even of the *Politicks* of this World to hide, or colour over. Who are *They* who encourage *Him* abroad? The Great Eccleſiaſtical *Father*, and *Head* of the *POPISH* Religion, and his Eccleſiaſtical *Council*; by their Advice, by their Money, and by their Intereſt. Whoſe great Concern, Deſire, and Endeavour, muſt this Work be? It is impoſſible, in the Nature of the Thing itſelf, but that the Body of the *Papiſts* muſt have their *Hearts*, and their *Purſes*, and their whole *Strength*, dedicated to it. Nay I will venture to affirm, This never was denied by Themſelves, or ever doubted of by Others, till this *Bill* made it worth while to raiſe the Doubt. If You aſk, How comes This about? What are the *Motives* and *Incentives* to it, proper to the *Papiſts?* I have told You before, The *Motives* are, All that is dear to Them in this World and the next; The *Incentives* are, The *Knowledge* that They ſhall reap from it all the Bleſſings of this Earth; and the *Belief*, that in Heaven their Salvation depends upon their *Zeal* for it. When *All* this is evident, and that *They* only can be the Gainers by the *Succeſs* of this *Deſign*; What is it that can ſupport the *Doubt* any longer? Or, Can it poſſibly be a Reaſon why *This* may not juſtly be called a *Popiſh* Deſign, and charged to *Their Account*, whoſe Cauſe, and whoſe Concern it is; merely becauſe *Some* named *Proteſtants* are miſtaken, and wicked enough to appear as *Agents* and *Counſellers* in it? No. It is ſtill equally, and certainly, a *Branch* of the One Conſtant Uninterrupted Conſpiracy againſt the preſent *Civil Eſtabliſhment*, carried on by the *Papiſts*, and tending to their Advantage only.

I ſay not any thing of this ſort, becauſe it is true that No *Papiſts* were actually engaged in this particular Branch of their General Deſign lately diſcovered. For as They are determined in the general Continued *Conſpiracy*, ſo are They in *Every* Inſtance of putting it in Execution. And in *This*, We know, there are both Great and Small; and of the latter Sort, One *particularly*, who breathes the old Spirit of *Popery*, and whoſe Correſpondencies run high upon *Aſſaſſinations* or *Poyſonings*, where other Methods might be unſucceſsful: Beſides ſeveral of the *Subjects* of this *Crown* abroad, of the ſame *Religion*, who are known to aſſiſt in it, both in the Way of *Arms* and *Counſels*. But I muſt ſtill profeſs for myſelf, that I am much more moved to think the preſent *Propoſal* reaſonable, upon the *Conſtant*, *Uninterrupted*, *Determined* Reſolution and Deſign of that Body of Men ever ſince the *Revolution*, than upon the apprehending of a *Few* of Them in any particular Branch of the Execution of it. Nor do I think it would be at all juſtifiable to deal in the Manner propoſed, with the *Body* of Them, upon the Account of a *Few* actually engaged, were it not for *That* Conſideration, that it is in Concurrence with the known, general, never-ceaſing *Deſign* of that *Body*.

The ſame Principle makes Me the leſs moved, when it is farther urged, Is it not *Hard* and *Unjuſt* that Perſons ſhould ſuffer in any degree, who are not known to have been *actually* engaged, becauſe *Some* Others of the *Same* Body may have been guilty? And, Is it not enough for all the Purpoſes of Society, that *Men* ſuffer for *Overt-Acts*, legally proved againſt Them? and the like. This *Objection*, I ſhall juſt obſerve, is inconſiſtent with the *Former*. In That it is pretended and profeſt, that if *They* who have been apprehended in the late *Treaſon* were *Papiſts*, or the Moſt of them; *that then*, indeed, it might be reaſonable to deal with that Body of Men in the Manner propoſed: But, in This, it is alledged that, ſuppoſing Every One of Theſe apprehended, to be *Papiſts*; yet even *then*, it would be *Hard* and *Unjuſt*, upon *that* Account, to lay Difficulties upon *Others* of that Body, who were *perſonally* innocent, or at leaſt not known to be otherwiſe. And here, if I may ſpeak my Sentiments freely, I cannot help joining with the *Objectors* in *This*, that if Every Man apprehended were a *Papiſt*, this would not be in itſelf a ſufficient Reaſon for laying Difficulties upon *Other Papiſts*, not engaged. But then, I can by no means ſtop here, as They do. I muſt go on to argue, that it may be, and is, ſtill *Juſt*, notwithſtanding This, to lay Diſcouragements upon a *Body* of Men, who avow That *Pretender*, for whoſe Sake the *Attempt* is made; and who profeſs thoſe *Principles*, which are the *Foundation* of the *Treaſon*, or rather the *Direct Treaſon* itſelf.

It is very true, that the General Rule, in all the Common Caſes of *Civil Judgements*, ought to be founded upon *Overt-Acts*. And the Reaſon is, becauſe Overt-

Acts are the only *Indications* of what deſerves Puniſhment, in all thoſe *Ordinary Caſes.* But where there are *Other Indications* of *Civil* Enmity, as ſtrong and convincing as what We ſtrictly call *Overt-Acts*, there the Supreme Power of a Nation has the ſame Right of guarding againſt, or ſuppreſſing, or curbing that *Enmity*, in the proportion which *Prudence* directs. And, I pray, Why are the *Overt-Acts* of any *particular* Perſon puniſhed? For no other Reaſon, but becauſe the *Civil Community* is concerned in, and affected by, Them. For the *ſame* Reaſon therefore, the *Avowed Adherence* to an *Oppoſite Civil* Intereſt may juſtly be reſtrained and curbed in Any *Body* of Men; and much more indeed, becauſe it is of much greater Conſequence and more immediate Danger, than any One *Overt-Act* of any particular Perſon; as it is a *Combination* of Many to exert Themſelves, and all their Strength, upon every probable Opportunity, in all deſtructive *Overt-Acts.* And then, there is this to be added, that this *Combination* is of that Nature in its Tendency and Deſign, that if it be not looked after, and quelled and guarded againſt, as a *Combination*, it may very probably be too late to do it at all. The *Overt-Acts* it aims at, are of that Moment, that if They ſucceed, the *Whole Government* is deſtroyed; and if They do not ſucceed, yet vaſt Miſchief is done, and a terrible Shock given to every thing valuable in Society.

Again, It is very true that, (in the Caſe of *Treaſon* itſelf,) as to *Thoſe*, who have given the Security required to a *Government*, there can be no judging concerning Them but by *Overt-Acts* properly ſo called, becauſe They have publickly diſowned all *Diſaffection.* But with regard to Thoſe who have not only refuſed to diſown all *Diſaffection*, but are without Reſerve profeſſedly attached to an oppoſite *Civil* Intereſt, there is other Ground to go upon. And *Overt-Acts*, in the *Legal* Senſe, not being at all neceſſary to prove their *Civil Enmity*, the Reaſon wholly ceaſes as to Them; and it becomes not only Juſt, but reaſonable, to guard, in all prudent and neceſſary Degrees, againſt the Effects of that *Enmity*, by damping the Spirit, and abating the Strength of Thoſe who harbour it, with the ſole Deſign of bringing it out into *Action*, upon every Opportunity.

And upon this Bottom You have always proceeded. In *Reigns* long ſince paſt, as ſoon as this *Civil* Enmity appeared beyond Denial, the Legiſlature thought it neceſſary to reſtrain it, by the *Terror* of *Penalties* upon that whole *Body*, ſome particular Members of which only had been apprehended in *Overt-Acts.* Upon the ſame Ground, You excluded the *Popiſh* Line from the *Throne*; and, in this Line, *Many* who never *perſonally* broke in upon your *Civil Rights.* You did not ſtay to *try* Every Individual Branch of it, becauſe the Experiment muſt have been fatal. But You conſidered Them as having an Avowed, Determined Enmity to your *Conſtitution*; and an Incapacity of preſerving it. And upon this Account, (the Safety of the Publick Society only,) the *Sentence* juſtly falls upon the *Untried*, and even upon the *Children* unborn. And yet the *Crown* is an *Inheritance*, limitable only by the *Legiſlature*; and an Affair of much greater Importance and Nicety to touch, than private *Property:* Which is as much alſo under the Inſpection and Limitation of the *Legiſlature*, for the Purpoſes of *Humane Society*, as the *Other.* And accordingly, upon the ſame Bottom, *You* of this Age have proceeded to *Acts* which affect the *Whole Body* of *Papiſts.* You have laid upon Them *Double Taxes*, without pretending that They were all perſonally apprehended in Any *Overt-Act* of Treaſon. You have, after that, ordered a *Regiſter* of their *Eſtates*, with a View of what is now propoſed; and that View in ſo many Words aſſerted in the *Act:* and this, not under pretence that *Every* One of Them had been *perſonally* apprehended and proved guilty of *Rebellion*; but expreſly, upon their *Known*, *Avowed*, CIVIL *Enmity.* This ſhews what the *Senſe* of the *Nation* all along has been , That in your *Dealings* with ſuch a *Body* of Men, You are not to confine Yourſelves to the *Overt-Acts* of Every *Individual* Perſon amongſt Them; and cannot indeed, without hazarding the *Whole* for the Sake of an Inſignificant Circumſtance.

But I do not argue from the *Authority* either of your *Fathers* in former Ages, or of *Yourſelves* of the preſent: But from the *Reaſon* of the Thing, which cannot fail. And I contend, that, as *Overt-Acts* themſelves of *particular* Perſons are only puniſhed, becauſe they tend to the Injury and Deſtruction of the *Society*; ſo, the *Avowed*, *Certain*, *Civil Enmity* of a *Great Body* of Men ought, upon the ſame Account, *much more* to be guarded againſt, and reſtrained, before its *Overt-Acts* bring *Total Ruin*; becauſe it is of infinitely more Importance. It is the ſame *Indication* of *Danger* to the State; and tends to a much more irrecoverable, irretrievable Damage.

And all this being ſo, let the *Hardſhip* or *Injuſtice* of the preſent Propoſal be judged of, as it ought to be, from the *Good* or *Evil* accruing to the Whole Society. *Hard and Unjuſt Treatment!* You ſay. And is it, indeed, *Hard*, that a *Body* of *Known Enemies*, enjoying Protection under a *Government* which They are determined to deſtroy;—that a *Body* of Men, for whoſe Sake, and for whoſe Intereſt only, Attempts are made againſt it, ſhould once in *Thirty-four Years*, beſides *Double Taxes*, (which are light enough in thoſe Parts of the Country where *Papiſts* abound,) be obliged to pay a *Moderate Summ* towards the Expence of *Millions*, which *Their* Cauſe, and the Cauſe of *Their* King, has brought upon that *Nation* which protects Them? But how much *Harder* ſtill upon your *Country*, (and think a little upon the Condition of *That* ſometimes,) if ſuch a *Thing* be thought too Great to attempt, or execute, for the Security of it? And if You can come to judge and declare it to be *Unrighteous*, to put ſuch a *Reſtraint* upon that *Spirit* of Open Diſaffection to *Your* Common *Civil* Intereſt, and Avowed Affection to your greateſt *Enemies*; Who will have any thing to ſay, when the Seaſon for *Overt-Acts* is come, and the *Fatal Stroke* is ſtruck, but That it falls *deſervedly* upon *Thoſe* who *foreſaw* it, and *refuſed* to prevent it? Such a *Tenderneſs* to a *Body* of Determined CIVIL *Enemies*, as will give Them a Licence to *wanton* in Treaſon, and Leiſure to make Themſelves perfect Maſters in the Art of *Rebelling*, without Fear of the Succeſs!—What is it, but the moſt pungent *Cruelty* to your *Country?* For, whilſt the *Condition* of its *Known* Enemies is thus made *ſecure*, the *Condition* of your *Country* is, by your own Procedure, rendered doubly Uncertain and Unhappy.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XXI. LONDON JOURNAL, February 2, 17$\frac{22}{23}$.

ONE of the moſt plauſible *Arguments*, upon the Subject now before Us, is drawn from the *Neighbouring Government* of *Holland*; which, though extending farther indeed, than to the *Bill* now depending, yet having been induſtriouſly and zealouſly urged upon the *preſent* Occaſion, ought therefore, not to paſs without a particular Notice. “*That* Government, (it is urged,) though *Proteſtant*, has always treated *Papiſts* after *another* Manner, than what *Britain* has “done; and has found no Inconvenience from it: Which is an Argument that there “is no Neceſſity for treating Them, as They are treated in *Britain*; and particu-

" larly, that ſuch *Propoſals* as *That* now on Foot, are not founded upon True " *Political Wiſdom.*" But *They* who make this *Objection*, unhappily forget, or willingly refuſe, to take the leaſt Notice of the *Difference* in the Condition of the *Two Nations*, and of the Behaviour of *Papiſts* in *Both*. I will mention now a few *particular* Inſtances of this great Difference. And, as *We* in *Britain* had a *Revolution*, to free Us from the *Arbitrary Power* of a *Popiſh King*; and, *They* in *Holland* made a *Revolt* from the *Tyranny* of the Duke *d'Alva*, and the Government of *Spain*: This will help us to judge of the *Difference* the better. In *Holland*, the *Papiſts*, who were Inhabitants, did *not* encourage, or ſupport, the *Tyranny* of the Crown of *Spain*. In *Britain*, the *Papiſts* encouraged and ſupported *That* of K. *James* the *Second*. In *Holland*, the *Papiſts* joined WITH the *Proteſtants*, AGAINST the *Crown* of *Spain*, to bring about the *Revolt*. In *Britain*, the *Papiſts* joined WITH the *Crown*, AGAINST the *Proteſtants*, to hinder the *Revolution*. In *Holland*, All *Popiſh* Claims to the *Allegiance* of the *Subject*, are laid aſide: *Spain* itſelf having firſt made a *Truce* with the *Republick*; and ſome Time afterwards ſolemnly renounced All Title to the Government, and acknowledged It as a Free State, and entered into Publick Alliances with It, as ſuch. In *Britain*, the *Popiſh* Claim is ſtill kept up in an open, viſible and zealous Manner, to draw aſide the Affections of *Popiſh Subjects*. In *Holland*, the *Papiſts* are under the Guidance of the Beſt and moſt peaceable *Directors* of that *Religion*; the Magiſtracy having, with a high Hand, exerted their *Authority* to order it ſo, and, upon one Occaſion, having by a Decree ſhut up all the *Popiſh* Churches, till a Biſhop agreeable to the *State* was ſent from amongſt the *Janſeniſts*, who are neither ſuch Rigid *Bigots*, nor ſuch Looſe *Caſuiſts*, as the *Jeſuits* and their *Favourers*. But in *Britain*, the *Papiſts* are under the very *Worſt* Teachers, generally ſpeaking: and taught the very Worſt Leſſons of Inflexible Diſaffection to the Government. Accordingly, In *Holland*, the Papiſts have been Peaceable and Quiet; In *Britain*, Rancorous and Unquiet Diſturbers of the *Government*. In *that* Republick, the *Papiſts* firſt ſhewed Themſelves *Friends* to the *Civil* Intereſts of it, *before* the Government treated Them as *Friends*: In *Our* Kingdom, the *Papiſts* firſt ſhewed Themſelves *Civil Enemies*, not only in profeſt *Principles*, but actual *Conſpiracies*, *before* Our *Laws* treated Them as *Enemies*; and have gone on ever ſince in the ſame Way. I will now only add, That in *Holland*, the Body of *Them* are *Boors*, or *Farmers* of the loweſt ſort, little capable of entering into formidable *Cabals*, or of ſupporting one Another in Them: In *Britain*, They are *Nobility* and *Gentry*, who have a great Landed *Intereſt*, and conſequently, a great Strength: and Part of this often, (in Caſes of *Minorities*) under the Conduct of Such, as are moſt apt to be devoted to the *Popiſh* Civil Intereſt, out of flaming Zeal to the *Popiſh* Superſtition.

How it comes to paſs that *Papiſts* There, are in their Civil Capacity better than *Papiſts* Here, it is not of Importance to this *Queſtion* to enquire. The *Fact* is *plainly* ſo; and was ſo, *before* this *Good Treatment*, and *before*, as well as *ſince*, the *Setlement* of the *Republick*. But had They at *firſt* adhered to the Tyranny of *Spain*, or had They *afterwards* come to ſet up the Claim of that *Popiſh Crown* to the Government; to profeſs Subjection to any *Pretender*; to ſupport Him and aſſiſt Him; or ſhould They ever come but to *appear* to be ready to deſtroy the preſent Conſtitution of their Country: I allow, indeed, that *That* State would not follow our *Methods*. I cannot believe that *Holland* would *then* be content with laying a *Double* Tax upon Them in our Manner; or, after repeated Attempts of their *Civil* Enmity, at the End of a Multitude of Years, be ſatisfied with adding to *That*, the Demand of a *ſmall* Summ of *Money*. I rather conclude, that As, on *one* Hand, That *Republick* could not at the Beginning reproach Them, or treat Them, as a Body of *Civil Enemies*; and, on the *other* Hand, has been too jealous of the Spirit of *Popery*, to grant Them any *Toleration* by a ſetled Law, or any otherwiſe than by *Connivance* only; not leaving to *Themſelves*, nor their *Chief Head*, the *Choice* of their own Spiritual *Directors* and Leaders, but keeping Them under the *Kurb* and *Awe* of *Arbitrary Power*, properly ſo called: So, upon Suppoſition of their *Avowed Civil Enmity*, That Government would long ago have ſhewn another ſort of a *Reſentment* againſt Them, than what They have felt *Here*. What is of immediate Concern to the preſent Queſtion, and what I am *Now* juſtified in concluding, is this, That the *Conduct* of *Holland* towards the *Papiſts* There, being founded entirely upon the *good* Behaviour of their *Popiſh* Subjects, juſt *before*, *at*, and *ſince* their Revolt from *Spain*, will furniſh rather the contrary Argument than what the *preſent Objection* urges, *viz.* That, in *Our* Nation, *where* the *Behaviour* of the *Papiſts* has been and is quite the contrary, long *before*, *at*, and *ſince* our *Revolt* from the *Popiſh* Line, the *Conduct* of the *State* to Them ought to be quite the contrary likewiſe; there being nothing, amongſt all the *Maxims* of *Political Wiſdom*, (which conducts all Things by the *Rule* of *Proportion)* more certain than *This*, That a *Difference* of *Civil* Principles and *Civil* Behaviour in *Subjects*, requires and juſtifies a *Difference* in the *Behaviour* of a *Government* towards Them.

I would fain do Juſtice, before I leave this Subject, to *Thoſe*, who, upon any Principle, or Pretence, of *Policy*, or *Humanity*, oppoſe the preſent *Propoſal*; and therefore muſt mention Another plauſible Argument made uſe of againſt it: *viz.* That *this Procedure* may probably have a Bad Influence upon the Behaviour of *Popiſh Princes* and *States* towards their *Proteſtant* Subjects *Abroad*; Or, may naturally, at length, lead to ſomething very Uneaſy to *Proteſtant* Subjects *at Home*, diſſenting from the *Eſtabliſhed Church*. It may be ſaid *Abroad*, when You plead for the Rights of *Proteſtant Subjects*, that You are not to expect Succeſs, becauſe You treat your *Popiſh* Subjects *Here*, more hardly than You uſed to do: and it may, on a proper Opportunity, be urged by *Some* at *Home*, That this *Procedure* againſt *Popiſh* Diſſenters, is an Argument, or a *Precedent*, for the like againſt *Proteſtant* Diſſenters.

The *Anſwer* I ſhall give to this in *general*, is, that *They*, who, either *Abroad* or at *Home*, will make uſe of the preſent *Procedure* to ſo bad a Purpoſe, are *Such*, as will certainly attempt to compaſs the *ſame* Purpoſe, and act the *ſame* Part, ſuppoſing no ſuch *Procedure* as This againſt the *Papiſts* here. The Truth of this will more evidently appear from what I have ſtill to *anſwer* more *particularly*.

1. As to *Proteſtants*, under *Popiſh Princes* Abroad, if They have ever given the leaſt Evidence of *Civil* Diſaffection, whether by *Avowed* Principles, or any Inſtance of *Bad* Conduct, *This Procedure* Here will certainly juſtify the ſame Treatment of Them, in proportion to their *Civil Diſaffection*. Accordingly, Whenever any *Interpoſition* is made by *Proteſtant Powers*, in their Favour, the *Plea* made uſe of is, Their Certain Undoubted *Affection* to the *Civil* Government of their *Popiſh* Princes: And it is always declared, That Protection is deſired upon no other Terms: and that, if They have, in any degree, ſhewn Themſelves *Civil Enemies*, No *Interpoſition* would be made in their Behalf. If any *Popiſh Prince* ſhould, upon *This*, make Reply, "It is true, indeed, They have given all Proofs "of their *Civil Affection*, and are undoubtedly Good Subjects: But, *becauſe* You "have laid Difficulties upon *Papiſts*, merely upon Account of their *Civil Diſaf-* "*fection*, and Continued Enmity to your *Civil Government*; I will therefore lay "the Same, or More, upon my *Proteſtant* Subjects, who are *Not Civil Enemies*,

" merely *becauſe* They are *Proteſtants* in *Religion*:"—This would only ſhew, that He was reſolved and determined to do the Thing, againſt all Right, becauſe He makes uſe of an *Argument*, which in itſelf leads to the very contrary. For this is likewiſe to be taken in to the Account, that this *Procedure* againſt *Papiſts*, upon a *Civil* Account only, is itſelf ſo far from leading to ſuch a Treatment of *Proteſtants*, that it naturally leads to the very contrary, upon the ſame *Civil* Reaſons; the *Difference* of *Behaviour* due to *Civil* Friends and *Civil* Enemies, being the Foundation of this whole *Procedure*. If any *Popiſh* Prince ſhould go farther, and ſay, " Since You make uſe of a *Religious Teſt*, a Declaration againſt *Tranſubſtan-* " *tiation*, to bring Difficulties upon your *Popiſh Subjects*; I will uſe the ſame Me- " thod, and oblige my *Proteſtant Subjects* to declare *for Tranſubſtantiation*, under " the ſame Penalties:" The *Anſwer* is, That the *Argument* is certainly right, if your *Proteſtant* Subjects have given You Proofs of their *Civil* Diſaffection; and if This be the propereſt *Teſt* to diſcover who are *Proteſtants*, in order to guard againſt Them, as *Civil* Enemies only. If this be the Caſe, We muſt allow it, and interpoſe no farther. But, No ſuch Thing. The *Popiſh* Princes never lay this to their Charge. On the contrary, They allow Them to be *Good* (unſuſpectedly *Good*) Subjects; and therefore cannot draw ſuch an Argument from a *Procedure* Here; which itſelf would teach Them, not *This*, but *Another Leſſon*, of a very different Sort. Let me now add, That, Contrary to what is pretended in this *Objection*, it rather ſeems probable, that This *Procedure* will have a good Effect upon the *Popiſh Princes* Abroad; and, by ſhewing Them You are in earneſt, will render effectual Thoſe Sollicitations, for the *Common Rights* of their *Proteſtant Subjects*, which, hitherto, for want of ſuch an Argument, have proved very weak and ineffectual. If the *Tenderneſs* ſhewn to *Papiſts* Here has hitherto had no Effect, even to procure Juſtice to *Proteſtants* Abroad, but has rather been imputed to our own Fears and Weakneſs; *Then*, to ſhew Them by this Beginning, that We are not afraid to treat Them as *Civil* Enemies, will naturally work a different Effect.

2. As to *Proteſtant Diſſenters* at Home, the ſame *Anſwer* is ſufficient. If *Proteſtant Diſſenters* come to be *Enemies* to the *Civil* Conſtitution; that *Civil* Conſtitution has a Right to act againſt Them, as ſuch. But as long as They are Avowed Friends to the preſent *Civil* Eſtabliſhment; ſhould any Man ſtand up and ſay, Your having laid a Burthen *Heretofore* upon *Papiſts*, only becauſe They are *Civil* Enemies, is a *Reaſon* or *Precedent* for your laying *Now* the ſame upon *Proteſtants*, who are zealous Friends to the ſame *Civil* Eſtabliſhment, to which the *Others* are puniſhed for being Enemies; I ſay, He would ſhew both the *Strength* of his *Reſolution* to oppreſs, and the *Weakneſs* of his *Skill* in *Argument*, at the ſame time. For, I muſt repeat it, That the *Argument* from this *Precedent* leads quite another Way. The dealing thus with ſome Men becauſe They are *Enemies*, is a Reaſon for dealing (not *Thus*, but quite *Otherwiſe*) with *Other* Men, who are *Friends*: Enmity and Friendſhip being the Foundation of *Different* Treatment, and not of the *Same*.

Nor would it be at all to the Purpoſe to ſay, (if it could be certainly proved,) that *They*, or their *Forefathers*, were HERETOFORE *Enemies* to the *Civil* Government, whilſt it remained undoubted that They had a true Affection for the PRESENT *Civil* Setlement; which is the great Concern of a *Nation*. It would be no better than the *Hungry Malice* of the *Wolf*, who, when He could not charge the *Lamb* with any Injury done by *Himſelf*, had Recourſe to this *Retroſpect Diſaffection*, and *eat him up*, becauſe *He* and the *Lamb's Father* had had a *Quarrel* long before the *Lamb* was born.

But if Any will ſtill urge, that this *Procedure* will furniſh a *Pretence*; and it is upon *Pretences* that the Worſt of Evils are founded: For Inſtance, *You* ſay, *This Body* of Men are *Civil* Enemies, and *Others* will ſay the ſame of *Another*: and *Iniquity* will be multiplied: I anſwer, There is an End of all *Proceedings*, if this Way of Arguing be once allowed. For, ſee the Conſequence—You muſt not throw off the Power of a *Prince*, who is a *Real* Tyrant, or who ſets his own Will above all your *Laws*; becauſe *Others*, ſome time or other, may pretend *This* of a *Prince*, who is far from it, and throw *Him* off likewiſe. You muſt not *defend* yourſelves againſt *Murtherers*, or *Certain* Enemies of any ſort; becauſe *Some* may miſtake, and at another time eſteem *Them* to be Such *Enemies*, who are *Not* ſo, and wrongfully moleſt Them. Need I ſpend a Word to ſhew the *Weakneſs* of ſuch *Allegations*; or to prove that Every thing Fitting, Reaſonable, Juſt, Equitable, is to be done by Us; notwithſtanding many things of the very contrary ſort may be done by *Others*, under the *Pretence* of the ſame *Juſtice* and *Equity*; and that ſuch Conſequential *Miſchiefs*, ariſing from the *Malignity* of *Wicked*, or the *Miſtakes* of *Weak*, Men, cannot be guarded againſt, and ought not to be the *Meaſure* of *Political* Proceedings?

I have wearied You and Myſelf upon this Subject: But I have ſtill a Word or two to add. The *End* of the preſent propoſed *Bill* is not to provoke or irritate ſuch a *Body* of *Men*, as the *Papiſts* are. It is not the *Intereſt* of the *Government*, nor of any true *Proteſtant*, to do *That*, for the Sake of raiſing an inconſiderable Summ of Money. And that it is not the *Deſign* will more appear, when it comes to be ſeen that This *Propoſal* is far from taking from Them what the *Rigour* of former *Laws* allows to be demanded; and at the ſame time, is tempered with a *Benignity*, which does, in ſeveral Inſtances, give *Eaſe* and *Security* to Many of this Body of Men. But the *End*, and *Uſe*, appear to be, That, from ſuch a Beginning, *They*, and their *Allies*, and *Friends*, at *Home* and *Abroad*, may ſee, *We* are in earneſt; That all future Attempts, both *Here*, and from *Foreign* Parts, of diſturbing and ruining our preſent Setlement, may be diſcouraged, by the *Aſſurance* given by this *Procedure*, that an *Account* will be required of *Thoſe*, whoſe *Cauſe* is the Occaſion of them, and whoſe *Pretender* is to gain by them: and that, if *They* pleaſe, This may open a Way to Them, (if ſuch a Way there be in Nature) to obtain and ſhew a *Better Spirit*, and to propoſe a *Method* of *Security*, on *their* Part, to a *Nation*, which has given Them repeated and long-ſtanding Proofs of *Good-nature* and *Temper*. Till ſuch a *Method* can be found, I am obliged, for the *Safety* of my *Country*, to argue as I have done through this *Subject*: But if ſuch a *Method* can be fixed, I am ſure I ſhall be ready to contend for it, with a *Pleaſure*, which will more than make Amends for the *Uneaſineſs* I have felt, in pleading for what is in any Degree *grievous* to any Man, or *Body* of Men: To which nothing indeed could have reconciled Me, but that *Maxim*, (*Supreme* above *All* in *Policy*,) That True *Good-nature* and *Univerſal Tenderneſs* to our Country, is not to yield to a Falſe *Good-nature*, and a *Partial Tenderneſs* to any *Members* of it; but to overrule, and govern our ſtrongeſt *Inclinations* to Them. I live in Hopes; but I am not yet able to ſee ſuch a *Method*. The *Inſtance* of *Holland* may certainly direct our *Papiſts* to lay a *Foundation* for *This*, in their own *Conduct*; but *otherwiſe*, cannot at all help Us towards the *Remedy* We are ſeeking. And till *That* is found, *Thoſe Gentlemen*, who are, and have ever been, truly zealous for the *Excluſion* of the *Whole* Line of *Popiſh* Princes from the *Inheritance* to the *Throne*, not becauſe Every One had been tried, but becauſe that *Tryal* would probably be the Ruin of our *Community*; muſt ſurely allow the ſame *Right* and *Prudence*, in ſhewing Ourſelves determined to diminiſh the *Power* of *Popiſh* Subjects, (attached to the ſame Intereſt,)

Intereſt,) in Proportion to the Danger and Miſchief ſuch Subjects, in their Station, may probably, or do certainly, bring upon the *ſame Community:* The Ground of Both being juſt the ſame, in *proportion* to their Stations and Conditions.

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER XXII*. London Journal, February 9, 17$\frac{22}{23}$.

I HAVE learnt, from a Careful Obſervation of the *Conduct* of Some Men amongſt Us, to make as great a Difference between the *Liberty* of *finding Fault*, and the *Art* of *finding Fault*; as there is between the *Uſe* of a *Right*, and the *Abuſe* of it. The *Former* is the *Privilege* of Every *Freeman*, in a *Free Country:* The *Latter* is the Reſult of a *Diſpoſition*, determined to ſerve its own private Purpoſes by the Help of this Noble *Privilege*, and joined with a Capacity of doing it in the moſt dextrous Manner. In our own Country, All *Civil Freedom* itſelf ſubſiſts in the higheſt Degree, by that very *Freedom* of *Speech*, which often, through Miſtake or Malice, attacks Thoſe who protect it. *Liberty* of *finding Fault*, is in a peculiar Senſe the *Birthright* of *Britiſh* Freeborn Subjects. Nor ſhall it ever be any Argument with *Me*, to oppreſs or ſtifle this *Liberty*, that it is *abuſed*. Nay, If it ſometimes becomes *Exorbitant Licentiouſneſs*; I will no more admit *This* Exorbitance to be a Reaſon for taking it away, when it happens not to pleaſe or ſerve the *Perſons*, or the *Cauſe*, to which I wiſh well; than I will plead for cutting out *Men's Tongues*, becauſe They talk too freely of what They underſtand nothing of. If any thing be found fault with, let it be defended, if it can. If it cannot be defended, let it go on to be found fault with. The Cure of what is *Evil* in all this, (except in *Caſes* of the higheſt *Immediate* Malignity to the *State*), is only to lie in every Man's own Breaſt. And if he has Conſcience, or Honour, or Innate *Probity*, He will naturally govern his *Liberty* by that *Common Good* which ought to be his Aim. If He has neither Conſcience, nor *Probity*, nor Underſtanding; Yet, let not a *Common Right* ſuffer, through the Ungovernable Iniquity, or Undiſtinguiſhing Weakneſs, of Particular Perſons. *Freedom* of *Speech*, or the *Liberty* of the *Preſs*, (which is only a Conveyance of that *Speech* to Multitudes whom the *Voice* cannot reach) often does Miſchief. This is certain. But let It be once taken away, under what Pretence ſoever; and how much greater *Miſchiefs* muſt follow? All the *Miſchiefs*, of *Darkneſs* in the *Intellectual* World, of *Baſeneſs* in the *Moral* World, and of *Slavery* in the *Political* World. Where-ever this *Liberty* has been wholly oppreſſed; in *thoſe* Countries, Every *Species* of True Freedom has been oppreſſed, and lies buried in the ſame Grave with it. Where-ever It has been *touched*, the *Evils* I have now named have in proportion advanced nearer and nearer: and whenever it ſhall again be touched, *They* will again *advance*; and with Them the Hazard of Every thing valuable in the *Rational* or *Civil* Life of Man. And methinks, Thoſe who are unwilling this Noble *Privilege* of finding fault ſhould be loſt from the Earth, ſhould, for the ſake of their *Darling Right* itſelf, keep Themſelves within ſuch Bounds, and under ſuch Reſtrictions, as that there may be ſome *Appearance* of *Decency*, and now and then ſome little *Tokens* given of a *Publick* (more than a *Private*) Spirit, in what they do; leſt *Continued Provocations*, and Mutual Exaſperations, ſhould end, at laſt, in what will equally hurt every Member of the Commonwealth.

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* This Letter was the *Introduction* to An Abſtract of Mr. Layer's Trial; which was given by *Britannicus* in this and ſome following Numbers of The London Journal.

When this *Freedom* becomes the Spirit of *Finding fault*; and this *Spirit* ſo indulged, that *Not One* thing done by an *Adminiſtration* is allowed to be *Good*; What can be the *Concluſion*, but that This is not the *Generous Liberty* of *Free* Subjects, but the *Narrow Licentiouſneſs* (for nothing is more *Narrow* than *Licentiouſneſs*) of *Contracted* Souls? Becauſe, as there is *No Adminiſtration* upon Earth ſo perfect, as to commit *No Faults*; ſo there is *No Adminiſtration* ſo abſolutely *Bad*, as not to do *Some Good Things*. When Every *Trivial* Occurrence, Every *Ordinary* Matter, or *Accidental* Event, is made the Subject of the ſame *Outcries*, purſued with the ſame *Warmth*, and handled with the ſame *Impetuoſity* of *Zeal*, as if they were the moſt *Extraordinary* and *Terrible* Appearances; What can *We* think, who hear of This at a diſtance, but that This is the *Humour* and *Peeviſhneſs*, and not the *Privilege*, of *Finding fault*? Who could have thought it poſſible, that the *Non-publication* of Mr. *Layer's Trial* before *Tueſday*, *Jan.* 29, could have furniſhed out Matter for this *Spirit* to eaſe itſelf upon? And yet, *Without Doors*, the Converſation of *Men* has entertained itſelf, with as great *Heat* and *Paſſion* upon this Head, as upon *Any* whatſoever. It has been aſked a Thouſand times, *Why* is it not publiſhed, for Our Satisfaction? And (if it were not a little like the *Ill-nature* of the *Spirit* I am ſpeaking of, I would add), *Chiefly* by Such, as appeared already reſolved *Not* to be ſatisfied with it, when it ſhould come out. Nay, it has been urged by Some of our *Coffee-houſe Debaters*, as I have been informed, That *This* ought to be enquired into, in a *Higher* Place;—That there was ſome latent *Trick*, or *Deſign*, in this *Delay*;—That there are *Ugly* Suſpicions of its being an Affected, as well as an *Unneceſſary*, Delay. When They are told, that by the *Law*, it was wholly in the Breaſt of the *Lord Chief Juſtice*, whether Any *Notes* could be taken of it, or whether Any *Publication* of it ſhould ever be made; that however, It was ordered as faſt as it could; that ſome Time was taken up in the tranſcribing it from the *Short-hand Minutes*, which could be done only by the *Writer* himſelf; that after *That*, it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſend it to All the *Judges* concerned; and after *Them*, to the *King's* Counſel; and after *Them*, to the *Priſoner's* Counſel, that *They* might ſee that Nothing was inſerted but what truly paſſed; and chiefly, that it came out, in as *ſhort* a *Time* from the *Conviction* of the *Priſoner*, as Any *Tryal* of a like Length ever did; and in a *ſhorter* Time than Any that could be named: All This does not ſatisfy Them, becauſe it may be ſtill true, that it might *poſſibly* have come out *before*; that is, if the *Short-hand Writer*, and *Judges*, and *Counſel* on both Sides, and *Miniſters* interpoſing, had had nothing elſe but this ſingle Affair before Them, and had ſet Themſelves *Day* and *Night* to labour in it, without any Neceſſity or good End, there was certainly a *Natural Poſſibility* of its being publiſhed *ſooner*. But, What *End* of *Fault-finding*, if *This* be the *Method*? And this, in a *Caſe*, which never yet, I believe, *once*, in the moſt important *Tryals* in our World, (as far as the Memory of Man can reach back), was made the *Subject* of any ſuch Concern at all: and in which *None* in the *Adminiſtration* had the leaſt *Argument*, from *Uſage* or *Reaſon*, to intereſt Themſelves ſo much as it appears They have done, for the quick Satisfaction of the World.

The *Reader* will have before Him, in *This* and ſome following *Papers*, a *Faithful* and *Full* Account of Every thing *Material* which paſſed on *Both Sides*, at the forementioned *Tryal*, diveſted of all Unneceſſary *Intricacies*, and laid open to the Capacities of *All* who have *Common Senſe*. And as it is too probable, that the *ſame Spirit*, which has already diſcovered ſo much of a Reſolution of *Cavilling*, will go on to make a farther *Uſe* of what is now publiſhed, to the Purpoſes of *Diſſatisfaction* in *Some*, and *Diſaffection* in *Others*; I deſign, as ſoon as this *Account* is compleated, in the Courſe of theſe *Papers*, freely and impartially to ſpeak my

Thoughts concerning All the *Objections* or *Difficulties* ariſing upon any Part of it, as far as I can become acquainted with them; and to make, as far as I am able, the *proper Reflections* upon the moſt material Circumſtances of the *Whole.*

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER XXIII. LONDON JOURNAL, March 2, 17$\frac{22}{23}$.

IN my laſt, I laid myſelf under a Promiſe[a], That, if any material *Objections*, or *Diſſatisfactions*, ſhould ariſe upon the *Subject* of Mr. *Layer's Tryal*, I would give them a fair and full Conſideration. But I muſt do that *Juſtice* to the *World*, as well as to the *Court* which tried Him, that ſince the *Publication* of that *Tryal*, I have not been able to hear of one ſingle *Inſinuation* againſt the *Guilt* of the *Priſoner*, or the *Impartiality* of his *Judges*, or *Proſecutors*. Even that firſt Old *Imputation*, that his *own Confeſſion* was produced to condemn Him, *againſt* all Faith and Promiſe, ſeems to have died away by degrees; and to have been dropt by all Perſons of *Common Senſe*, who have had Time to be ſatisfied that it was, at firſt, in *Fact*, a mere invented *Calumny*: and to reflect, and conclude, that it could not be otherwiſe than an *Invention*, from the Nature of the *Thing* itſelf. All who know any Thing of the *Affairs* of *Government*, muſt judge it impoſſible that Such a *Promiſe* could be made, in a *Caſe*, in which the great Concern of Thoſe, who are the Guardians of the Publick, is not to know the particular Story of an *Under-workman*, dreſſed up by Himſelf, which is of no Importance towards the preventing the Effects of the Whole *Conſpiracy*, or the puniſhing the *Chief Leaders* of it; but to diſcover the *Depths* of it, and to trace out the *Superior Springs* of *Action*, which ſet the *Lower Wheels* to work, and directed all the particular Undermotions of the Whole Machine.

It is univerſally therefore allowed, that Mr. *Layer* was fairly and equitably tried, and juſtly condemned. No One *Now* ſays otherwiſe. He was guilty undoubtedly. But then, *it is added*, It does not appear from *this Tryal*, but that He ſtood alone by Himſelf, and was deſtitute of proper *Aſſociates*; and that nothing of the *Conſpiracy*, ſo much talked of, is made evident from it; unleſs you will take a *Wild* Impracticable *Scheme*, fit only for a *Madman's* Brain, for a well-formed, dangerous *Conſpiracy*. To *This* I ſhall only ſay at preſent, That no reaſonable Man could ever expect that Any Thing could be, or ought to be, laid open at that *Tryal*, but what particularly concerned Mr. *Layer* himſelf: Whether his *Scheme* (as it is called) be *Wild*, or not, taking into the Account all *Circumſtances*, may perhaps be worth conſidering at a proper Time. As to the *Conſpiracy* itſelf; the Opening of *That* was reſerved for another Place. And as it is now coming before the World, as far as the ſtricteſt Examinations, which conſiſt with the happy Nature of our *Conſtitution*, can bring it to Light; It is abſolutely neceſſary to wait for this *Diſcovery*, before We can pretend to determine, Whether this or that particular *Scheme* were a *Branch* of it, or not; or to compare the *ſeveral* Parts of it together; or to judge as becomes Us of the *Whole*. And this makes me the more willing, that *Political Remarks* of this ſort ſhould give Place To-day to the following *Letter*, the *Important* Subject of which certainly may demand a Place in the Attention of All who are but ſuppoſed to be capable of *Reaſon* and *Religion*.

BRITANNICUS.

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[a] This Promiſe, made in Letter XXII, refers to ſome Conſiderations on Mr. Layer's Trial, and ſeems merely to be conditional—in caſe any material Objections, &c. ſhould ariſe. This Paper takes Notice, that the World was in general ſo ſatisfied with only the Publication of ſome *Extracts* of that Trial, that the Neceſſity of ſuch Remarks was ſuperſeded; and that is the Reaſon why theſe Extracts were not preſerved by Bp. Hoadly.

To BRITANNICUS[b].

SIR,

AS you have, in ſeveral of your *Papers*, attempted in ſome degree to regulate the *Spirit* of *Oppoſition*; and to *mediate* a little between the *Exorbitancies* of *Power*, and the *Exorbitancies* of *Diſcontent*; and particularly, in your laſt, have entered into the juſt Diſtinction between the *Privilege* of *Finding Fault*, and the *Art* of doing it: I cannot forbear to inform you, that We have very lately received *New Light* upon this Subject, from a *Modern Patriot*[c]; who, after having ſpent a Multitude of Years in Uninterrupted Labours for the *Publick*, and filled the Air around him with daily Murmurs, and waſted his Spirits and his Health in *Vocal* Complaints, and at length tranſcribed his Griefs into whole *Reams* of *Paper*, which may juſtly paſs for a compleat *Syſtem* of *Finding Fault*: Who, I ſay, *after all this*, has taken Occaſion to aſſure the World, that there is neither *Privilege*, nor *Art*, neither *Merit*, nor *Virtue*, nor *Willing Deſign*, in all this; but *Clock-work*, —*pure Clock-work*, only. He has indeed attacked *Monſters* in all the Fierceneſs of their *Power*, and *Giants* in their ſtrongeſt Caſtles. He has deſcribed thoſe He has attacked, in the blackeſt Colours, as Perſons *deſerving* all the Evils of Diſgrace and Puniſhment; and *Himſelf*, as *Virtue's* Heroe, and his Country's Champion. But all this is nothing but the *Fiction* and *Clothing* of *Words*. For He now contends, that in *reality* neither do the *Political Monſters* He has deſcribed, *deſerve* any thing worſe than Himſelf; nor does *He* himſelf at all *act* from *Choice*, or any Principle of *Freedom*: but that both *They* and *Himſelf* do what They do, (or rather, *ſeem* to do what They do *not* do,) with equal Honour, and equal Diſhonour; are equally Virtuous, and equally Vicious; equally *deſerving* either Reward or Puniſhment. He claims Commendation, and hunts after Applauſe, by objecting *Others* to *Rage* and *Infamy*: and then tells You, It is all Grimace; for *They* are, truly ſpeaking, as *Virtuous* as *Himſelf*; and *He* as Bad as the *Worſt* of *Them*. They are both *Machines*, that have no real *Power* of *acting* themſelves; but are only acted upon by *Weights*, and ſtrike and are moved juſt as thoſe *Weights* make it *neceſſary*. The only Difference between *Them* is, that the Work of *One* Clock is ſo framed, and the *Weights* ſo adjuſted, as to make it ſtrike, and go, quite differently from the *Other*. A *Court-clock* does not go ſo well, in his Opinion, as a *Country-clock*. But what then? They are both ſtill but *Clocks*: And the *Country-clock* cannot reproach the *Court-clock*, or vaunt its own Perfections; becauſe the *Court-clock* is governed by *Neceſſity* in going *amiſs*, and therefore can be guilty of no *Crime*; and the *Country-clock* is governed by the ſame *Neceſſity* in going *better*, and therefore can boaſt of no *Virtue*.

And what is the Occaſion of all this? Why, it ſeems, One of the greateſt *Philoſophers* the preſent Age can boaſt of, had been ſome Years ago ſo weak as to contend that We are *Free* Creatures properly ſpeaking; capable of *acting*, and not merely of *being acted upon*; that *This* was the true operative Principle of *Virtue*, becauſe it might guide Men to *deſerve* Reward, if They were ſenſible They were *capable* of it; and that *This* led to a much better *Scheme* of *Political* as well as *Moral* Happineſs, than the contrary. This ſeems at leaſt innocent and pardonable. But it is a ſort of a Wonder I cannot account for, (unleſs from that *Fatality* which is contended for,) that a Great *Politician*, in the midſt of his long-continued Labours to *mend* our World, and particularly the *great Maſters* of it, ſhould be ſo ſtruck with Terror at the very Remembrance of a *Scheme* long ago publiſhed, which *might* poſſibly *help*, but could not poſſibly *hurt*, the Cauſe of *Virtue*; and be ſo afraid that the *Clearneſs* and *Strength* with which it was ſupported, might revive it with new Vigour; as on a ſudden, and without Provocation, to iſſue forth againſt it in all his Strength, and to leave even *Miniſters* unreviled and untaught, that He might purſue this *New Adventure*; and deſtroy a *Monſter* as dangerous to his World of *Machinery*, as All that He has yet diſcomfited were to His World of *Politicks*: and This, at the Expence of all his own former Atchievements. What? for *Him*, after He has ſpent ſo much Breath in inveighing againſt ſome *Stateſmen*, as Perſons far eſtranged from all *Virtue* and *Merit*, and *deſerving* all Indignation and Puniſhment—for *Him* at laſt in effect to whiſper into the Ears of theſe ſame *Stateſmen*, that All things are alike;—that there is in Truth no ſuch Thing in Nature as *Virtue*, or *Merit*, or *Choice*;—that, be They *Bad*, or be They *Good*, it is the Neceſſity of *Clock-work* that makes them ſo;—and that *He* himſelf never inveighed againſt Them out of *Choice*, but becauſe He could not help it; not becauſe They are *Worſe* than Himſelf, in the Senſe of *Deſerving* worſe, but becauſe All-powerful *Neceſſity* had ſo ordained it, that *They* could not *chuſe* but act amiſs, and *He* could not *chuſe* but ſtrike his *Allarm* againſt Them.

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[b] The Reader will take Notice, that this and a few other Letters, either introduced by thoſe ſigned *Britannicus*, or thought worthy to accompany them, are reprinted in the preſent Collection, though not of the Biſhop's own Pen.

[c] *Vide* Britiſh Journal, N° XVII. and XXII.

Is it then come to this at laſt, that what *Brutus* ſaid of *Virtue*, in his melancholy Dejection of Soul, is to be advanced as *ſtrict Truth* in *Philoſophy*? and that the *Virtue* of this *Brutus* himſelf, and of his Friend *Cato*, is found at length to be only a *Name*? And ſhall this Reproach be ſtampt upon their *Memories*, that *Cæſar* and *Catiline* were as truly praiſe-worthy as *Brutus* and *Cato*; differing in *Nothing*, but in what was neither the *Praiſe* of the *Latter*, nor the *Blame* of the *Former*? For *Catiline* is now acquitted of bearing any Part in what has been falſly called his *Wickedneſs*; and *Cato* for ever cleared of what has been weakly aſcribed to *Him* as *Virtue*. It was *Matter* and *Motion*, and Unalterable *Neceſſity* in *Both*: no *Choice*, or *Freedom*, or *Action*. The Modern *Patriot* has now finiſhed his *Predeceſſor's Character*, and put Him upon the Level with *Catiline* himſelf: And as to *Thoſe* of his own Times, whom He has ſometimes compared to the *ſame Catiline*, He has at laſt placed *Them* in his own Rank of *Virtue*. For, after much Breath ſpent upon Them, as the Worſt and moſt Inexcuſable of Men; We ſee the Reſult is this. "You have nothing to anſwer for. You are only *Machines*, of one *particular* Frame, called the *Miniſterial*, who *muſt* be *acted* upon in the Manner "You are; and *I Myſelf* do not find Fault, becauſe there can be *Blame* in You, "but becauſe, as I am a *Machine* of another particular Frame, called the *Patriotical*, I cannot help it. I do aſſure You, as it is with *You*, and all the World, ſo it "is with *Me*. I neither *move*, nor *act*; but am *moved*, and acted *upon*, without any "*Will* or *Choice* of my own; and therefore, truly and *philoſophically* ſpeaking, have "no *Virtue*, and can neither deſerve, nor expect, the *Praiſe* of good Actions." And thus ends the glorious *Scheme* of making *Miniſters* VIRTUOUS, and the World UNCORRUPT, in a *Lecture* of the moſt determined —— which baniſhes all Free *Intelligence*, and all Praiſe-worthy *Action*, and every Principle of Difference between Moral *Good* and *Evil*, from the *Univerſe*.

Rouſe Yourſelf, *Britannicus*, and help to reſcue All that is *valuable* from ſuch an Attack. Remember, there is more *Corruption* in this *one* Principle, (more Certain, Univerſal, Extended *Corruption*,) than in *All* that has been of late ſo loudly complained of, though every Inſtance of it ſhould be collected into One Heap: and this *Corruption* propagated by the *Prince* of *Complainers* againſt *Corruption*. If You have any Love to Virtue, which *This* deſtroys; any Regard to the Dignity of Humane Nature, which *This* lays low to the Earth; any Senſe of the Difference between *Reaſon*, and a *Clock-weight*; or between the *Operation* of the *Motives* of True *Religion*, and the *Winding-up* of a *Jack:* If You have any true Deſire that *Miniſters* ſhould be left *inexcuſable*, in all pernicious Attempts; and that Every Good *Action* ſhould have the Encouragement of well-deſerved Applauſe, and ſome Hope of *Reward*;—Exert Yourſelf in *this* Cauſe, if there be any farther Occaſion. It is not the Cauſe of *One* Party; It is not the *Affair* of One *Church* or *Sect*; It is not the *Concern* of the *Flatterers* of Thoſe in *Power*, or of their Determined Enemies: It is the Equal Concern of *All Parties*, and *All Sects*. And I will add, Every Thing good in all the Religions of the World; Every Thing that can ſupport the beſt of Religions; Every Thing to be wiſhed for, in *Private* Life, in *Publick* Life, in *Social* Life, in *Political* Life, is at once deſtroyed, without Hope of a Reſurrection, by this *Fatal Scheme*. And if *This* be not *Corruption*, —*Corruption* of all *Principles*; *Corruption* of the very *Soul*; *Corruption* without Remedy, leading from *Natural Neceſſity*, (inconſiſtent with all *Freedom* or Power of *Action*, and conſequently with all Hope of *Reward*,) to all *Moral* Turpitude, and all *Political* Slavery; I know not what is.—*Cato* will neither *take* Money, nor *give* Money. The *Former* of theſe *Corruptions* He is above the Want of; the *Latter*, his Soul abhors. But, notwithſtanding this, the ſame *Cato* may be the *Corrupteſt* Man living, if He ſcatters ſuch *Poiſon* around Him, that All that ſuck it in find their whole Maſs of *Vital Blood corrupted* by it. For, if *They* are *Corrupt*, who either *give* or *take:* What is *He*, who is the *Corrupter* of the *Corrupt*; and teaches both the *Givers* and *Takers*, That *Corrupt* and *Uncorrupt*, *Innocent* and *Guilty*, are only *different Words* to repreſent *different* Sorts of *Clock-work*, and bare Denominations of different *Species* of *Puppets* and *Machines*. *I am, Sir, Yours*, &c.

PHILARETUS.

LETTER XXIV. LONDON JOURNAL, March 9, 17$\frac{22}{23}$.

THE *Report* of the *Committee* appointed by the *Houſe* of *Commons* to enquire into the preſent *Conſpiracy* againſt our *King*, and our whole *Conſtitution*, having fixt the Thoughts and Attentions of Men upon that Subject, I ſhall take the Liberty, before I can come to more particular *Obſervations*, to look back a little upon what has appeared of the *Tempers* and *Diſpoſitions* of Many amongſt Us, from the *Beginning* of the Allarm, to the *preſent* Opening of the Whole Affair.

The *firſt* Step was a Reſolution not to believe it Themſelves, nor to ſuffer any Others to believe it. "What? *(ſaid They)* Are *Miniſters* ſo little known, and "have You ſo little Experience, that You can be ignorant that there are Times "and Seaſons when *They* have a Neceſſity for a *Plot*; that *One* Conſpiracy, and "the Noiſe of it, does Them more Service, than many waking Nights and care-"ful Days ſpent in their Counſels *without* One? And can You ever ceaſe to be "jealous of *Power* in a free Nation; or ever doubt to expoſe, as much as You "can, every ſuch *Allarm*, as only a Pretence for *adding Power* to *Power?* A "*Plot* is, in its Conſequences, a Vote of Supply, big with *Money* and *Armed* Men: "and, no doubt, this is the End propoſed by the Outcry of Danger." This was the *firſt* Step, in order to argue Themſelves and Others out of all *Belief* of the Thing.

I will here be ſo free as to own, that there is ſome Truth in what is the Ground of ſuch ſort of Arguments. I will acknowledge, that *Power* naturally begets the

Love of *Power*; and that the *Love* of *Power* is as fruitful in its *Inventions*, and as reſtleſs in its *Operations*, as Any other *Paſſion* of Mankind. Be as *jealous* therefore, of the *Engines* of Power and Policy, as You pleaſe; or as You can. *Suſpect* Thoſe, you have any Reaſon to ſuſpect. Stand upon your Guard againſt *Servile Credulity*; and *believe* nothing *implicitly*; that is, without ſome Evidence that You ought to believe it. Μέμνησο ἀπιϛεῖν. Let this, if You think fit, be your Maxim in *Political* Life, as well as in *Social*; *Remember to be diffident and diſtruſtful.* But then, do not let this *Maxim*, which was well framed to teach You *Caution*, be the very *Maxim* by which You teach Yourſelves to be as Poſitive and as Active and as Determined *One* Way, as You declare it unjuſtifiable to be, in *Another*.

This I add, becauſe the *next* Step to be called to mind is this, that from *Not believing* what was given out from Above, the ſame Perſons proceeded to *believing*, or *profeſſing* to believe, the very contrary. For Inſtance,—I muſt be *Cautious* of believing there is a *Plot*, merely becauſe *They* ſay it, who only can *know* it, and who may have *private* Ends in ſaying it: and therefore, I will be ſo far from *believing* it, that I will confidently *believe*, there is *none*.—Some *Miniſters* have ſometimes Occaſion for a *Plot:* Therefore, the Preſent *may now* have Occaſion for One: Therefore, They *certainly* have: Therefore, They are, *without doubt*, at this Time, dreſſing up ſome Common Ordinary Events, (which will never be wanting) in the Shape and Form of a *Plot*, and are putting them upon Us for One.—This, I ſay, was running very much too faſt for their *Strength*. But yet, This was evidently the Way of Arguing. Many Men of ſtronger Imaginations than Judgement, and mightier in *Paſſion* than in *Reaſoning*, preſt on to this *Concluſion*, before They had rightly prepared their Steps: and plainly were ſo miſtaken, as to think that the Maxims of *Jealouſy*, and *Diffidence*, would juſtify Them in being *Confident* and *Poſitive* on the Negative Side of the *Queſtion*, on which They could have *no Proof* at all: falling into an *Extream* of the *ſame* Sort with what They *profeſt* to avoid; and an *Extream*, neither conſiſtent with their own Principle, nor reaſonable in itſelf. When Thoſe in *Power* give any *Allarm* of a deſperate *Conſpiracy*, I grant, it is not at all improper or unreaſonable to call to mind that there *have been*, and *may be*, Private Unworthy Arts and Views in doing it. But it is at the ſame Time proper and reaſonable to conſider the *Circumſtances*, and prudential Conſiderations, which accompany it; and to determine from *Them*, whether it be a *Time* for *Fiction*; a *Seaſon* for *Invention*, or not; and whether it is probable, that Men of Experience and Common Senſe will venture, where an Inevitable *Detection* at laſt muſt ſink them into an *Incapacity* of ever acting to purpoſe again. Even *Implicit Faith*, in this Caſe, when Circumſtances aſſure Us that it is not *fit* for Us to *know* more, and that it is not the Intereſt of Thoſe in *Power* to attempt a Deceit: Even an *Implicitneſs* of *Believing*, I ſay, in ſuch Caſe, carries more Reaſon along with it, than a confident *Aſſurance* on the contrary Part, more truly *implicit*, as well as void of all Evidence.

But this is not all. The *ſame Perſons* went on ſtill farther. From *not believing*, They proceeded to *not acting* in Defence of the *Publick*; and not only to this, but to a *vigorous Oppoſition* againſt all ſuch Aſſiſtance as was deſired. Now here perhaps, What I am going to advance may appear a Great *Paradox*. But I cannot help thinking, and ſaying, that ſuppoſing no ſuch *Evidence* given on the *poſitive* Side, as can create a certain Aſſurance of the Thing; and on the *Negative* Side, neither *Evidence* nor *Authority*: That in this Caſe, I ſay, a Man ſhews *Himſelf* a better Member of the *Society*, who, even with his Diffidencies and Jealouſies about Him, ſupports and aſſiſts Thoſe at the Helm, when, at their own Peril, They openly declare their Want of ſuch Support, and the hazardous Exigence of Affairs, than *One*, who acts the *Part* of abſolute *Refuſal*, or *Oppoſition*; becauſe there is no Compariſon, with regard to the Safety of the Publick, between the *Hazard* run of leaving Them unaſſiſted, when They call ſo loudly for Help; and the ſpending ſome of the Nation's Money *unneceſſarily*: (for which, if it be found true, there may be a *Remedy*:) and becauſe nothing can juſtify the *Oppoſition* to ſuch Aſſiſtance in Caſes of this Nature, but the Certainty that there is no ſuch preſſing Neceſſity, (which is not poſſible to be obtained;) and becauſe, whatever the inward Opinion or Belief is, the *Ends* of *Society* cannot be anſwered without ſuch an *Implicitneſs* of *Conduct*, upon great and hazardous Emergencies.

But if this be thought too large a Step *forwards*, let not Thoſe who would not make it, think They have done better by making a much larger Step on the contrary Part; but reflect a little upon the *Point* where They ought at leaſt to have ſtopt, even upon their own *Maxims*. He that in Common Life takes the Maxim of *Diffidence* and *Diſtruſt* for his *Rule*, will make but little Progreſs in the World, if He applies it equally to every Man, and every Inſtance of Buſineſs: And *That* which was given only to direct Him to a *ſecure* Way of Acting, will prove a *Snare*, and an Hindrance to his acting at all. For if in his Dealings with Men, He argues Himſelf, from that Maxim, That They *may be* Knaves, into the Belief that therefore They certainly *are* ſo; He will come not to regard Them, when They tell Him his Houſe is on Fire; and to look upon it only as an *Artifice* to get Poſſeſſion of his Riches and Goods in the Fright. Who cannot ſee the Abſurdity of this Extream in the *private* Caſe; and the equal Abſurdity of it in the more *publick* One? Whoever therefore, had found himſelf prepoſſeſt and determined *not to believe* the Aſſurances ſolemnly given at firſt of a *Matter* of *Fact*, of the utmoſt Conſequence to the *Publick*, ſhould at leaſt have ſtopt *there*, and contented Himſelf with the *Suſpenſion* of his *Faith* and *Action*.

To act, always implies ſome Ground, ſome Reaſon for *Action*, preceding it. Why therefore, will You not *aſſiſt* and *ſupport* the *Government*, in what is affirmed to be neceſſary in a *Critical Juncture*? Becauſe We have no Evidence ſufficient to create a Belief in Us, that it is *neceſſary*; or that This is ſuch a *Critical Juncture*. Is it then, always fitting, nay, may it not be infinitely miſchievous, to produce this *Evidence* at firſt? We allow, it may: but though an *Implicit Compliance* with *Some* Adminiſtrations may be reaſonable; and has been practiſed, and muſt be practiſed, by *All* upon great Occaſions; yet We do not think fit to practiſe it now—*His Temporibus, & His Conſulibus.*—Well, but let me aſk, Why do You *act* at all? If not in *Compliance*, Why do You perform an *active* Part, in *Oppoſition* to the Deſires and Demands of the *Government?* I aſk this, becauſe here is the *Point* to have ſtopt at, upon your own Principles. You will not *act* in Compliance with Some Perſons, becauſe You have not *Evidence* that the *Caſe* is what They affirm it to be. Be it ſo. But if You reſolve to ſtick to this *Cautious Diffident* Maxim uniformly, your Part can be, at moſt, only *Indolence*, and *Suſpenſion* of all Action. But on the contrary, You act vigorouſly on the *Other* Side.—Say any Thing, therefore, and give any Reaſon for *This* Procedure, but *Want* of *Evidence*: For this diſproves itſelf. For, If *Want* of *Evidence* were the true *Reaſon*, why do You *act* a Part, on the contrary Side, which nothing can juſtify but *Demonſtration* of *Evidence*; and yet for which You can have no *Evidence* at all? This is what I will repeat. Upon ſuch a great Emergency, Nothing can excuſe a zealous Oppoſition to what is aſked, as neceſſary for the publick Defence, but *Evidence* that the *State* of Affairs requires no ſuch thing. There can be no *Evidence* of *this*; nor is any *Evidence* pretended; but only a Want of Evidence on the *Other* Side is urged. On the contrary, It is a full *Juſtification* of Compliance,

pliance, that, if I am miſled, I am miſled by an *Authority*, and an *Aſſurance*, which *ever was* ſufficient in ſuch *Caſes*, and which *ever ought to be* ſufficient, in imminent Diſtreſſes, upon all the Principles of *Society* and *Government*. From this *Procedure*, upon the preſent Occaſion, No Evil could have come to the *Publick*, but what is ſmall, and curable. From the contrary *Procedure*, a Great and Remedileſs Evil *might have* come to the whole *Publick* at preſent, as well as very ill Conſequences naturally flow from it, which will be laſting in *future* Times. The preſent *Evil*, I mean, is that of a Guardleſs, Defenceleſs Condition, inviting *Treaſons* and *Rebellions*, with the Promiſe of Certain Succeſs; expoſing to View, and glorying in, your own Naked Weakneſs; and encouraging your Enemies to proceed, by your own apparent Want of *Zeal*. This is the *Immediate Effect* of ſuch a Conduct, and ſuch a One as naturally tends to *Total* Ruin. The *Other* ill Conſequences I will not now particularly mention. What I aim at, is to ſhew the Unreaſonableneſs of that *Procedure*, which from *not believing* without *Evidence*, proceeded to *believe* confidently on the *Other* Side, where there could be *None* at all; and from hence, to a Reſolution of *not aſſiſting* the *Publick*; and from hence, to a reſolute *Endeavour* to oppoſe and hinder all *Aſſiſtance* and Support of it, in the moſt critical Conjuncture.

But ſtill, I would not have *Good Principles* ſuffer, for the Sake of *Unjuſtifiable Concluſions* and *Practices* built upon them. You might have effectually guarded againſt *believing* too much; without denying that *Help* to your Country, the Want of which might, for aught You knew, or had any Reaſon to think, have been the Ruin of it. And You cannot *ſuſpect* Power, or be upon the Watch againſt it, too much; provided You guard your *Suſpicion*, as you would have *Power* itſelf guarded, from breaking out improperly, out of Seaſon, and to the producing Effects as deſtructive to the *Publick*, in *ſome* Circumſtances, as *Power* itſelf can produce, in *Others*.

BRITANNICUS.

P. S. Since the Writing of this, the *Report* above-mentioned is printed. Every true *Lover* of the *Publick* will now have an Opportunity of conſidering it, in all its Circumſtances, and of judging of it with all the Regard that his *Country* demands of Him. And every ſuch *Perſon*, whatever his Prejudices or Prepoſſeſſions (ariſing from an honeſt Warmth of Heart,) may have been, will certainly with Willingneſs yield them up to *Evidence*, and not be aſhamed, on ſuch an Occaſion, to own his *Conviction*. I, for my Part, ſhall, in the *Papers* now to follow, ſpeak with Freedom of *Perſons* and *Facts*, ſince I have ſo good *Authority* for it; and ſhall, without Scruple, endeavour, as ſtrongly as I can, to recommend to All who are concerned, the Tendereſt *Compaſſion* to their *Country*, and the Heartieſt *Zeal* againſt its *Enemies*.

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LETTER XXV. LONDON JOURNAL, March 16, 17$\frac{22}{23}$.

IN reading the *Report* of the *Committee* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, relating to the *Conſpiracy* againſt the *King* and *Government*, it has happened to Me, as it uſually does to Thoſe who look upon an *Hiſtorical Painting*, with any Attention. In all *Pieces* of that ſort, (whether the *Subject* be ſuch as gives *Pleaſure*, or creates *Horrour*,) there is ſome *One Principal* Figure, placed in ſuch a Point of *View*, with ſuch Circumſtances of *Action*, *Situation*, and *Poſture*, as to ſtrike upon the *Eye* and the *Imagination*, ſo much beyond all the *Other* Figures ſurrounding it, as to make *Them* but little taken Notice of, at firſt View, but as They ſerve to *ſet off* that *Principal* One, and to make it more remarkable. They add, Every one of Them, ſomething to the *Effect* which the *Whole* has; and are entertaining or moving in their ſeveral degrees: but the *Impreſſion* which remains deepeſt, and operates the longeſt, is That which ariſes from the *Main Figure*, placed in the ſtrongeſt Point of Light. And I dare ſay, I am not ſingular in This, but that the *ſame* has happened to Every Man who has read the *Report*; and that Every One who now reads this Paper, is before-hand with me in his Thoughts, and knows *What* and *Whom* I point at, as well as if I had uſed the plaineſt Words.

When we ſee *Men*, forgetting the Intereſt of *Mankind*, and of Humane Society—*Britons*, trampling upon the Happineſs of their Native Country, and embarking in Projects of its Ruin—*Proteſtants*, contriving Night and Day how to bring in a *Popiſh Pretender*, and to extinguiſh every Hope of Support, or even *Toleration*, to their own *Religion*—*Churchmen*, ſolemnly devoting the *Church*, of which They boaſt to be Members, to utter inevitable Deſtruction—*Freemen*, who actually enjoy all the *Rights* and *Privileges* of *Laws*, all the Happineſs of *Liberty* and *Property*, (without the Pretence of any one Act of Arbitrary Power in the *Crown*) plotting and conſpiring how to bind *Themſelves*, and all their *Countrymen*, in the *Chains* of *Slavery*; and inviting an *Armed Force* of Foreigners to aſſiſt Them in this *Self-murther*, and this Extenſive Deſtruction—This is ſurely enough to raiſe a warm Concern in our Breaſts, and to make the Spirits move and boil with the Commotion within Us.

But when this is found to be but a ſmall Part of the Whole, and we proceed farther, and ſee Men (not *Men* of low Degree, and meaner Education, but *Men*) of *Diſtinction* and high *Quality*, upon whoſe Lips the Word *Honour* has uſed to dwell, and at the Point of whoſe Swords every *Affront* to it has demanded and expected Satisfaction, upon any the leaſt Imputation of *Falſhood*, or *Unfaithfulneſs* to their *Words* or *Promiſes*—To ſee ſuch Perſons, not only *ſaying*, but publickly *promiſing*; not only *promiſing*, but *ſolemnly ſwearing*, One Thing; and determinately purſuing Another: vowing Allegiance to K. *GEORGE*, diſclaiming and *abjuring* all Title in the *Pretender*, and all Regard to Him, and Correſpondence with Him; and at the ſame time, not from any ſudden Paſſion, not from any Heat of Provocation, (which might alleviate the Crime,) but coolly and deliberately and continually paying that Allegiance to the *Pretender*, which They ſwore to K. *GEORGE*; and applying that *Renunciation* and *Abjuration* to K. *GEORGE*, which They vowed before God and the World, They meant to the *Pretender*, without any *Prevarication* or *mental Reſervation*—To ſee all the Maxims of *Honour*, (for I will not *here* ſpeak of *Religion*,) thus ſet at nought by the Profeſſors of *Honour*; and Thoſe, who would perhaps hazard their *Lives* to vindicate their *Reputation* from the Suſpicion of *Treachery* and *Unfaithfulneſs* in *Common* Life, greedily ſnatching at the *Guilt* and *Imputation* of it in *Publick* Life; and Themſelves proſtituting their *Words* and *Honours*, and *Vows* and *Oaths*: firſt readily *pledging* Them all, as the ſtrongeſt Ties and Cords of *Fidelity* within; and then *breaking* them *All* like ſo many Threads, which They had bound upon Themſelves only in Sport.——This is a Step higher, and raiſes the former *Commotion* into ſome Degree of *Horrour*.

But there is ſomething ſtill higher than this. The *Principal Figure* is yet unſpoken of. And how ſhall I deſcribe it?—Happy would it be for the Intereſts of *Religion*, and happy upon many other Accounts, if the thickeſt *Veil* of Darkneſs

neſs could be drawn over it; or if it could be removed backwards into the obſcureſt Corner of the *Piece*. But it cannot be. The *thickeſt Veil* that *Art* and *Tenderneſs* together can contrive, cannot poſſibly *hide* it, even from the moſt undiſtinguiſhing Eye. It is the *Figure* of *One*, who has himſelf puſhed it ſo *forward*, and placed it before the World in ſo *glaring* a Light, that no Skill can cover it. The *Safety* of the *Publick* has demanded, that the *Character* He has willingly and eagerly aſſumed ſhould be expoſed to View: and when That is the Caſe, nothing can excuſe the not entring into it, with all the Freedom which the Nature of the Thing requires.

I am not now concerning myſelf with the Nature of Convictive Evidence in Courts, whether the *Supreme* or *Inferior*; nor with the Reaſonableneſs and Juſtice of the Interpoſition of the Whole *Legiſlature*, in Caſes of Declared Crimes, which affect the Safety of All that is committed to their Care; or with the *Puniſhment* due to the *Criminals*. I may have Occaſion to ſay ſomething upon ſuch Subjects, in the Sequel of the *Argument*. Every One who has Eyes, (whatever his Opinion may be about *theſe* Points,) cannot but ſee enough in the *Report*, to put it *beyond doubt*, within *his own* Breaſt, *Who* are the *Perſons* as truly and as certainly *Guilty*, as They could be proved to be by a *Hundred* Oral Witneſſes. And, whatever becomes of *Them*; whether They ſhall be permitted to ride over the Heads of their *Injured Countrymen* in Pomp and Eaſe; or ſhall receive any due Marks of publick Diſpleaſure: I am not at preſent troubling Myſelf with this: but I am ſpeaking of the *private Sentiments* which the View of the *Crime*, and of the *Perſons* guilty of it, muſt raiſe in every Breaſt: and will now therefore, go on from *Thoſe* I have mentioned, to a yet higher Degree.

The manly Paſſions within Us have already found enough to rouſe and animate Them againſt *Thoſe*, who have been ſo far from Regard to their *Country*, or to their own *Honour*, that They have, by Falſhood to *God* and *Man*, proſtituted the *latter*, in order more effectually to ruin the *former*. But when We not only ſee *This*, but find placed before our Eyes a *Perſon*, whoſe *Character* is ſacred; whoſe *Profeſſion* is the Immediate Service of God; whoſe peculiar *Buſineſs*, (to which He has ſolemnly dedicated Himſelf,) is to preach the Laws of the *Goſpel*; to inculcate the great Duties of *Truth* and *Fidelity*, with regard to our *Words*, and much more to our *Oaths*; and to pronounce God's Judgements againſt *Wicked Falſhood* and *Impious Perjury*—When We imagine to Ourſelves this Perſon, lifting up his pliable Hands and Eyes to Heaven; calling the Great God, who dwells there, to Witneſs, that He does, *without any Prevarication or Mental Reſervation*, ſwear to be *Faithful and bear true Allegiance* to K. GEORGE, and *abjure* the *Pretender*, and *vow* to oppoſe His *Pretenſions*, to *diſcover* all Conſpiracies in his Favour, and to ſupport the preſent Government; imprecating upon Himſelf the Vengeance of the ſame God, if this be Hypocriſy; and praying and wiſhing to be treated by his Great Judge, according to the Sincerity of theſe *Oaths*, in the true natural Meaning of the Words—When We trace his Steps even into the Court of the ſame *King*, and view Him *there* humbly accepting a Favour at his Royal Hands, paying Him his *Thanks* in an obſequious Manner, and giving Him all private Aſſurances, from *His own* Mouth, of Conſtant Reſpect for his Perſon, and all Proteſtations againſt Every Inſtance, at leaſt, of Unfaithfulneſs to HIM—When We then enlarge our View, and find this *ſame Perſon*, inſtead of *Allegiance* to K. GEORGE, practiſing *Himſelf*, and encouraging in *Others*, the higheſt Treaſon againſt him; inſtead of *oppoſing* the *Pretender's* Cauſe, *contriving* his Succeſs, and furniſhing Him towards it, with his own Advice, and the Money of Others; inſtead of *diſcovering* Conſpiracies againſt the preſent Eſtabliſhment, *Himſelf* framing and conducting

One of the moſt dangerous that ever yet was known; in the *Pulpit*, praying for K. *GEORGE*, and in publick *Courts* binding Himſelf to *Him* by all *Sacred Ties*; but in his *Cloſet*, laying *Schemes* of dethroning Him, and in his *private* Conduct ſetting all within his Verge at work to compaſs the extenſive Ruin—What ſhall I ſay?—When We ſee this; there are no Colours either to hide it, or to deſcribe it, or to aggravate it. Nothing can be added to the *Character*—Nothing, to the ſeveral various *Commotions* the View of this muſt raiſe within—*Enmity* to his *Native Country*, under the *Guiſe* of *Friendſhip!*—Determined *Ruin* to a Proteſtant *Church*, under the Maſk of *Zeal* exceeding the Meaſure of it in Others!—*Words* and *Promiſes* and *Oaths* trampled under Foot, as the Dirt of the Street; or ſhaken off as *Trifles*, fit only to be regarded by the lower Tribe of *Hearers* and *Diſciples!* —*Faithleſſneſs* added to *Inſenſibility*; *Diſhonour* crowned by *Impiety*; and *Impiety* rendered conſpicuous by *Perjury!*—A *Behaviour*, on *One* Side, threatning nothing but Deſtruction to All that is valuable in *Civil Society*; on the *Other* Side, big with infinite Miſchief to the *Honour* and *Influence* of All that is properly called *Religion*. For thus it is, and thus it ever will be. If a *Layman* tranſgreſſes the Bounds and Fences of *Good*, We of the *Laity*, though We may feel a little Partiality and Indulgence within Us, yet cannot help looking upon it, with Indignation, according to its aggravating Circumſtances, as a *Scandal* upon Humane Nature: but We are not apt to think the Honour of Religion much concerned in it. But if a *Clergyman*, a *Preacher*, One of the *Higheſt Order*, is diſcovered to exalt Himſelf againſt all the Powers of Religion, and to practiſe all Perfidy and Iniquity, in the Face of Heaven and Earth—This is ſuch an Appearance, as ſhocks the Frame of Good Spirits; and creates a *Triumph* in *Others*, hardly to be reſtrained, and never to be quite extinguiſhed: And throws a *Scandal* in the Way of *Religion*, which nothing can make *Greater*, but the *Zeal* of *Any* of the ſame *Character*, to *palliate* and *defend* it.

Whatever *Reflections* are made upon this Whole Procedure, *Within Doors*, in a *political* View; *Without Doors*, I am ſure, the firſt *Reflections*, and Thoſe which lie heavieſt upon every well-formed Mind, are—*How is the Love of our Country extinguiſhed! How low is Honour ſunk!* and principally, *How deep a Wound is here given to Religion!* and *Who ſhall cure it?*—*Who ſhall cure it*, I cannot ſay: but, *Who ſhall anſwer for it*, and anſwer for it ſeverely, *That* I can certainly ſay. In the mean while, it becomes *All*, who wiſh well to Every Good Principle, to do what They can to ſtop the Progreſs of ſuch *Scandals* beyond their due Bounds. And therefore, Whilſt *They*, whoſe proper Affair it is, are conſidering how beſt to guard a *Brave People* from the *Civil Effects* of ſuch *Perjury* and *Impiety*; give me leave to look upon it in another Light, and to ſpeak to my *Countrymen* at preſent, upon another View of the *Subject*—If You have any degree of Senſe left of what is good or valuable, Mourn over the *Diſcovery*, to which You are now Witneſſes. Mourn for the Loſs of all Love to your *Country* in *Thoſe*, who have combined to ſacrifice it to its implacable Enemies. Mourn for the *Devaſtation* of all *Principles* of Gratitude and Juſtice, in *Thoſe*, who have trampled under foot all *Obligations* from *Others*, and all *Promiſes* from *Themſelves*. Mourn for the laying waſte all the Influences of *Nobility* of Spirit, and Inbred *Honour*, amongſt *Thoſe*, whoſe Education in *Honour*'s School, might, one would hope, have elevated their Minds far above All that Mean and Groveling Spirits alone are capable of.—But, in the higheſt degree, Mourn for *Religion*, *wounded deep in the Houſe of its* pretended *Friends*. Lament the Motives of *Chriſtianity* vilified and caſt aſide; the Ties of Conſcience diſregarded; the *Bonds* of Sacred *Oaths* and *ſolemn Imprecations* broke through, by *One*, who—It is a Pain to ſay what—Your own Thoughts will ſupply it. And as You lament; at the ſame time *deteſt* the *Diſhonour*, and the *Impiety* of the Whole. But carry not This into Unjuſtifiable Surmiſes. Do not think that, becauſe there are *Some* dead to the Intereſt of their Country, there are not *Numbers* alive to it, and ſtill ready to hazard *Life*, to ſave All that makes *Life* worth enjoying. Do not imagine, becauſe *Some* of high *Diſtinction* have forgot the Leſſons of true Greatneſs and Honour, that therefore there are not *Many* ſtill left, whoſe *Nobility* and Diſtinction is only the Mark and Motive of their untainted Honour. Do not think You have a Right, from the Example of *Some Churchmen*, unmindful of their *Country*, and faithleſs to their ſolemn *Oaths*, to collect that there are not *Numbers* of the ſame Body, true to the Intereſt of the *Publick*, faithful to their *Vows*, and Deteſters of all perfidious *Impiety*. And above All, Remember that *Religion* is itſelf all unſpotted pure and white, though *Some* may be *black* within, who cloath Themſelves with it; nay, that They *therefore* cloath Themſelves with it, becauſe it is itſelf the moſt excellent and lovely of all Things. Guard your *Reflections* within theſe Bounds; and the Warmth of your *Deteſtations* and *Reſentments* can hardly carry You too far.

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER XXVI. London Journal, March 23, 17$\frac{22}{23}$.

THE following *Letter*, I could not but think proper to publiſh, upon the *Subject* now chiefly in the Converſation of the World. For though it may ſeem to *repeat* ſome Obſervations which were made in the *laſt* Paper; yet, as the *Writer* of it has ſet them in a different and ſtronger Light, and treated them in a Manner, which may raiſe a quicker Attention in ſome Readers; I cannot but hope it may have its Uſe. **BRITANNICUS.**

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

THE *Civil Puniſhment* of *Crimes*, which threaten Deſtruction to the *Political State* of a *Nation*, belongs to Thoſe in ſuperior *Authority*. But the *Guardianſhip* (if I may ſo ſpeak) of all the Natural Principles of *Probity*, and of all the *Common Obligations* of *Religion*, belongs in ſome Senſe to every *private* Man; as He has a Concern in their Honour, and an Intereſt in keeping alive the Senſe of them, and may juſtly fear a Miſchief to Himſelf and his Poſterity from every Wound They receive; let the Hand it comes from, be what it will. This ſeems unavoidably neceſſary from the Nature of the Thing. At leaſt, for Myſelf, I always have found it ſo; and ſtill do. To come particularly to what I have now in View: Upon the Conſideration of the *Facts* in the *Report* of the *Committee*, relating to the late *Conſpiracy*; and of the *Vote* of the *Houſe* of *Commons* concerning the *Guilt* of *One* of a *Sacred* Character; and the reading attentively the *Reflections* in your laſt *Paper*; I found my Mind put into a very unuſual Commotion, full of inward Diſtreſs, and fruitful of very different and very uneaſy Sentiments. My Thoughts, upon this Occaſion, were very tumultuous. They roved backwards and forwards, and wearied themſelves with ſo many *Images*, that the *Scene* within became at length little better than a *Waking Dream*, or a *Sleeping Viſion*, ſet to work by the *Enthuſiaſm* and *Fire* of a heated *Imagination*.

In this State of *Rêverie*, my Mind firſt went back into the *Store-houſe* of Remembrance; and in *that*, there preſently aroſe a Scene of a Venerable *Gothick* Building, and a Crowd of Attentive Hearers; and in the midſt, a Place decently exalted above the reſt; and in this Place, a Perſon ſpeaking with *Authority*; and from the Mouth of this Perſon came a Voice full of Devotion, and accompanied with all *pathetick* Movingneſs. The Words were plain, and the Whole ſo impreſſed upon my Imagination, that I cannot forget it, if I would. The gaping Multitude ſeemed to ſwallow every Syllable with an honeſt Greedineſs: and He taught them Probity and Faithfulneſs; Truth and Juſtice; the Wickedneſs of *Falſhood*, and the Guilt of *Perjury*; and He backed his powerful Rhetorick with the Judgements of God never failing to purſue the *Falſe* and *Perjured* with All the Inſtruments of his Wrath.

As I pleaſed my Eyes and Ears with This, the Whole *Scene* changed; and in its ſtead aroſe *Another*, in Situation almoſt contiguous to the *Venerable Dome*: And in this, *Imagination* had in a Moment formed a *Court* of *Judicature*, with all the Enſigns of Solemnity belonging to it; and preſently diſcovered to Me the ſame *Perſonage*, recording before *Heaven* and *Earth* his *Faithfulneſs* to K. *GEORGE*, and his *Renunciation* and Deteſtation of all his Enemies, and in particular of the preſent *Pretender* to his Crown; and begging of *God* to purſue Him with Vindictive Juſtice, if theſe *Proteſtations* were not the ſincere Dictates of his Heart. When this Ceremony was hurried over, He left the Place with a great deal of Haſte, and almoſt Precipitancy: and *Fancy* (as buſy and as quick as *Treachery* itſelf,) with the ſame Swiftneſs left it too; and following cloſe, dreſſed up *Another* Scene, in which I found Him, in a Moment, and yet *hot* from the Pronunciation of the ſacred Words, ſeated in the inmoſt Receſs of an Ancient Houſe, near adjoining to the forementioned *Court*. And looking intently, I obſerved Him, as ſoon as He entered, buſying Himſelf in untying ſome *Knots* in a *Cord* which He held in his Hand; and then throwing it from Him, with a ſmiling Aire, I heard him ſay in a diſtinct Voice to Himſelf, after the Manner of the Ancient Incantations, "As eaſily as *theſe* are looſed by Slight of Hand; ſo eaſily let all the "Ties of *Oaths* and *Vows* lie cancelled and annulled."—And ſo it was. For immediately there entered *One* to Him, in Appearance of the ſame Profeſſion, though by his *ſubmiſſive Poſtures* plainly of an inferior Rank. As ſoon as this Man was ſeated at a *Table* properly furniſhed, no Time was loſt; but immediately the Inſtruments of peaceful Study and Humane Literature, were turned into Inſtruments of tumultuous Treaſon and deadly Horrour. To *Him* the *Maſter* dictated, without Delay, *Deſtruction* to the *King*, to whom He had ſworn; and all the Warmeſt Wiſhes of his Heart to *Another*, whom the Hour before He had abjured and renounced. And, furniſhed with ſuch *Diſpatches*, writ in the Cyphers of *Secreſy* and *Guilt*, the *Amanuenſis* left the Room, with the utmoſt Caution and Haſte in his Steps.

The Countenance of the *Great Man*, I remarked, was *Now* changed to that of a ſetled, plotting Penſiveneſs; his *Brows* were knit into a careful Sollicitude; and his *Forehead* (the natural Seat of Shame,) ſeemed altering apace from *Fleſh* to *Braſs*. I muſed upon this, and aſked myſelf, with ſome Doubt, Can this be the ſame *Venerable* Perſon, whom I heard juſt now, with ſo much Vehemence, threatening the Eternal Anger of God againſt *Falſhood* and *Perjury*? And before I could anſwer Myſelf, I ſaw Him ſtand up, and ſtep forward; and in a diſturbed manner, with a ſcornful Diſdain of the ſlow Steps of ſome of the Conſpirators, and of All Sinners of a lower Order, I heard Him ſay with ſome *Paſſion*, as if *Conſcience* within had put Him in mind of Something uneaſy to his Soul—*To*

Hell, Allegiance—Vows to the blackeſt Devil—Conſcience and Grace to the profoundeſt Pit—I dare Damnation—The Words, exceeding harſh and ſhocking from *that* Mouth, which had taught *Others* to tremble at ſuch Sounds, perhaps were the readier to offer Themſelves to my Mind, becauſe I had heard them often at the *Theatre*, from the Mouth of *Laertes*, in *Shakeſpear's Hamlet*; which is One of the *Few* Entertainments of that kind, I always think it worth while to attend. But then it preſently came into my Thoughts, that *Laertes* had *Youth* and *Paſſion*, and the ſudden *Provocation* of a *Father's* Murther, to excuſe a little the Strength of the Expreſſion, and Madneſs of the Reſolution. And in recollecting, I could not help making one Remark more, That the Hot Young Man did not meanly give up *One* World for *Another*, but reſolved to ſacrifice Them Both to his preſent Reſentment. But, I obſerved, the *Voice* of the *Conſpirator* did not go ſo far as—*BOTH Worlds I give to Negligence*—No. It was but ONE World, He deſigned to part with; and of the *Two*, He reſolved to chuſe *That* for his ALL, of which He had certain Poſſeſſion; and to his *Ambition* in the *preſent*, He was ready to ſacrifice his *Expectations* in *That to come*.

At this I was altogether confounded and aſtoniſhed; and as I ſtood gazing and wondring how *This* could be, which ſeemed to tranſcend the Common Pitch of Man's Wickedneſs; I ſaw a ſudden Paleneſs, (the Colour of Guilt and Fear) ſpread itſelf over the lower Part of his Face; and immediately this Scene changed, and Imagination as quick followed the Change, and the ſame *Figure*, into a wide Place, encompaſſed with a *Ditch*, and ſurrounded with *Barriers* and *Gates* and *Walls*, forming all together the Reſemblance of a Regular *Garriſon*. As I caſt my Eyes around, the *ſame Face* preſented itſelf to me, looking out at a Window into a ſpacious Court, in which I ſaw a *Throng* of People, of various *Countenances*, and various *Expreſſions* in thoſe *Countenances*, crowding and preſſing one another to *Death*; ſome out of *Curioſity*, ſome out of *Deteſtation*, ſome out of *Love* to the *Cauſe*; but All ſtriving who ſhould come neareſt to the Place where the *Face* appeared. That which ſtruck Me moſt was, a *Groupe* of *Figures*, who, approaching as near as They could, had thrown Themſelves into the Poſture of *Worſhippers*. And as I believe it has happened to Every Body in dreaming, to have *Inconſiſtencies* roam before their Fancies, ſo it was now with *Me*. For, as I leaned forward, in a Poſture of liſtening Attention, expecting to *hear*, for *What*, and to *Whom*, They were going to *pray*; I *ſaw* with my *Eyes*, as diſtinctly, to my thinking, as I ever ſaw any thing in my Life, a large *Label* come out of the *Mouth* of Every Man and Woman kneeling, (as I remember to have ſeen in many *Common* Pictures,) and in every *Label*, I read plainly theſe Words—“ O Thou, “ who haſt affronted the Great Judge of the World, by *Impious Perjury*, pray for “ Us to that God, whom Thou haſt ſo affronted; and, by thy Prayers, draw “ down Bleſſings upon Us.” At the ſame time, *their* Eyes directing *mine* up to the Window, towards which They worſhipped, I ſaw the *Figure* there, pleaſed with the Addreſs, put on the long-uſed *Mien* of Piety; and, after his *Eyes* and *Hands* were turned up in the Poſture of Devotion, I as plainly ſaw a *Label* come forth from his Mouth, and theſe Words in it,—“ I do. *I*, who have affronted “ the Great God of Heaven and Earth by *Impious Perjury*, pray for You to that “ God whom I have affronted, and beg of Him to bleſs You.”

My Spirits were all in an Uproar, at this *Scene* of *Impiety*: and as it ſometimes happens in Dreams, that We hold long *Diſcourſes* and *Arguments*, little differing from the *Regularity* of Thoſe when We are quite awake; ſo, I remember, I could not reſt till I had ſpoke to *One* of this Company, who was now riſing from the Ground with a Countenance diſcovering the utmoſt Satisfaction in the heavenly

Boon He had obtained; and who ſeemed by his Looks to be a Man of Thought and Seriouſneſs. I told Him of the Words which I *ſaw* come out of *his own* Mouth, and out of *That* which anſwered Him. He appeared not to *know* it, and to be a little ſtartled at it. I then aſked Him, Whether He himſelf had ever taken thoſe *Oaths* which the *Venerable Perſon* at the Window had taken? He anſwered, *No*; his Conſcience would not let Him. I aſked Him, ſuppoſing Him to be inwardly determined to ſerve the *Pretender*, whether it would not be the Heighth of *Impiety* to abjure *Him*, and ſwear to *Another*, with dreadful *Imprecations* upon *Himſelf?* He anſwered, He always thought ſo: Or, whether He could go directly from ſo dreadful a Solemnity, into a *Cloſe Conſpiracy* againſt *Him* He had *ſworn* to ſupport? He replied, He *abhorred* it.—Do You think then, ſaid I, after ſuch a deliberate Wickedneſs, your *Prayers* could be acceptable or prevalent with God? He anſwered, *An Abomination.* Do You therefore, dare to ſet up your Worldly *Party-intereſt* againſt all the Powers of *Religion?* Do *You*, who teach Men out of Conſcience *not* to *ſwear* to a *Government*, encourage *Perjury?* Do *You*, who have been hitherto pitied, and well thought of, as Men of *Conſcience* and *Probity*, deſtroy your own Reputation, by ſeeking Bleſſings from the *Mouth* of *One*, who has, in your own Opinion, laid waſte all *Conſcience*, and *Moral Probity?* Upon this, He bluſhed; and with Him, Many, who ſtanding around Us had heard our *Converſation*, left the Place, not a little confounded at their own Conduct. Several ſtill continued in the ſame *Poſture*. But theſe were, as I found, Such as were much more hardened; and generally Such as had arrived at that *Perfection*, which conſiſts in an *Avowal* of *taking Oaths in order to break them*; and of doing what they account *Evil* greedily, that what they account *Good may come*. O *Hypocriſy!* I then began to cry out, with a good deal of Paſſion: And, in *Shakeſpear's* Words, which upon this Occaſion came freſh into my Mind;—*Oh! where is Faith? Oh! where is Loyalty? If it be baniſhed from the Sacred Head,—where ſhall it find a Harbour in the Earth?*—As I was going on, my own *Voice* rouſed me from the Condition I was in; and the *Commotion* I felt within, ſhook Me into another Frame of Mind. I ſoon found myſelf recollected from that Wandering State: and preſently, Unquiet *Imagination* gave place to more Quiet *Reflection*. But the *Impreſſion* from this Scene of *Hypocriſy* is yet ſo great, that my *Underſtanding* cannot now help going on, where *Fancy* left off.

There is not perhaps a more Beautiful, nor a more Juſt Deſcription, in all the Writings both of Ancient and Modern Moraliſts, than That Maxim of Monſieur *Rochefoucaud*, which deſcribes *Hypocriſy* to be *the Homage which* VICE *pays to* VERTUE. But when the Diſcovery of the *Cheat* is made, I will not ſay, It may *then* more juſtly be deſcribed to be *the Homage of* VERTUE *to* VICE: but I fear, I may ſay, that in ſome Senſe it will *then* become ſo, as it will too certainly end in the Sufferings and Diſrepute of *All* that is *Good*, for the Sake of *Something* that is *Bad:* and VERTUE may then be ſaid to pay back ſome of the *Homage* to VICE, which VICE had before acknowledged to be due only to VERTUE. *Hypocriſy*, whilſt it is unſuſpected, paſſes for *Reality*; and has the ſame good Effect, within the Influence of *Example*, as the greateſt Sincerity. But when it is once detected, and laid bare before the World, the *Looſe* it indulges to *Ungoverned* Thought, and the *Impreſſion* it makes upon the *Unreaſoning* Part of Mankind, are Inexpreſſible; and the *Wound* it gives to the Honour, and the Intereſts of *Religion*, (in the Opinion of the *Many*, who meaſure Religion by the Lives of its *Profeſſors*,) is much deeper and more deſperate, than *That*, which all the *Licentiouſneſs* of *Profeſſed Debauchees*, and All the *Libertine Principles* of *Profeſſed Infidels* put together, can give it. And this is in no Caſe ſo certain, nor ſo fatal, as in the Caſe of

One of the Holieſt Profeſſion, (if ſuch a One there be) who, after having ſpent a Life, in mournful Complaints of the great Increaſe of *Atheiſtical* and *Looſe Principles*, is detected to have carried on *that* Scene of pious Concern, for the better covering his own Worldly Schemes of Ignominious *Treachery*, and Impious *Perjury*. For *This* it is that puts the Thoughts of Men to a ſtand; and either tears their Hearts with *Doubts* and Uncertainties, or hardens their Souls into *Unbelief*;—to find from *Practice*, (the ſtrongeſt of all Arguments) ſo much Reaſon to conclude the ſame *Atheiſm* and *Infidelity* to be lodged deep within the *Heart* of Such a One, whilſt the *Mouth* has been fruitful of the moſt moving Lamentations over the Suſpicion of them in *Others*. This is the Behaviour which cuts deepeſt into the *Vitals* of All that is *ſacred*; and is ſuch a Conduct, as (in the Phraſe of the *Poet* I have already mentioned)—*Sweet Religion makes a Rhapſody of Words*.

Let All, who can, haſten as They would to a Common Calamity; and Every One, who ſees it, lend his Help to remedy an *Evil*, which like an Inundation threatens Deſtruction to All that is moſt worth preſerving. I ſtill have my Thoughts intent upon what I began with,—the Intereſt Every Individual *Man* has in retrieving *Religion*, and the *Honour* of it, from the infinite Injury done it by ſuch *Characters*: Not, by attempting to hide what cannot be hid; or to palliate what cannot be covered; or to excuſe what is utterly inexcuſable; or to ſoften what ought to be publickly abhorred: for This would be to renew the Injury, and to redouble the Wound given. Let *Them* anſwer for it, who are guilty; but let not *Others* adopt the *Guilt*, by defending it, or by ſcrupling to lay it open in all its true Circumſtances and Conſequences. And You, *Britannicus*, who have entered into this Matter already, Go on, and aſſiſt Us to think rightly in ſuch a Critical Caſe; and ſhew Us how reaſonable it is, Not only not to think the worſe of *True Religion*, but even to be the more in Love with it, when we ſee that from the ſole Want of its good Influences within, ſo much Baſeneſs and Impropriety of Character can proceed; when from the Abſence of *That* alone, ſo utter an Extinction of all Regard to Good; ſuch a Deſtruction of *Private* Virtue, and ſuch a Deſign of Univerſal Ruin to *Publick* Happineſs, are all diſcovered to flow.

I am, &c.

PHILARETUS.

LETTER XXVII. LONDON JOURNAL, March 30, 1723.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

I Know not how it comes to paſs, but *Experience* ſhews it every Day, That there is by no Means any Proportion kept, by the Bulk of Mankind, between the *Crimes* of the *Wicked* Part of the World, and the *Sentiments* raiſed by thoſe Crimes within the Breaſts of Many, who pretend to a Senſe of Probity and Piety. A *Robber*, who has only took a Purſe, is leſs pitied in his Puniſhment, and more hardly ſpoke of, in the Cenſures of Men and Women, than *One*, who has entered into a ſetled Deſign of depriving Every Subject in the Nation of his whole *Property*. A Man, who has committed *Murther* in a ſingle Inſtance, though upon one of the moſt Inconſiderable Members of the Community, is more abhorred, than *One*, who has conceived in his Thoughts a Comprehenſive *Syſtem* of *National Murther*;

Murther; who has contrived or entered into a *Scheme* of Tumult and Confuſion; big with a Thouſand Deaths, and ſome of them of the higheſt Importance. And though it be ſo, that there is no Reaſon why any private *Robber* or *Murtherer* ſhould ſuffer, but what is taken from the Neceſſities and Intereſt of the Whole Body; yet, Men will not apply this to Matters of much greater Moment; but let their *Paſſions* work ſtrongly in *One* Caſe, and ſtop both *Them*, and their *Reaſon* too, from all their Operations in the *Other*. If This were not ſo, They could not but meaſure *Crimes* by the Aggravation of all concurrent Circumſtances; and by the *Miſchief* They do to the moſt Valuable of all Good Things. And the more extended and certain That Miſchief; the more extended and certain muſt of neceſſity their *Abhorrence* be, if They do not wilfully put a Check to its natural Current. But we too often find it quite otherwiſe with many Perſons. Tell them of a Wretch, who, to procure a little Money, or get an Eſtate to Himſelf, has in a Court of Juſtice *ſworn falſely*: and no Puniſhment will be thought too much for him. But tell the ſame Perſons of a much Greater — and *One* of much *Holier Profeſſions*, who has perjured Himſelf, in order the more unſuſpectedly to bring Ruin and Deſolation upon his Country; and it ſeems but as an Ancient Tale, and gives but little Commotion to their Spirits.

I am ſorry it is in my Power to ſay, I had ſome Experience of the Truth of this Obſervation, in a pretty large mixt Company, in which I found myſelf the other Day. As the Diſcourſe went on amongſt Us, I reſolved to make a Tryal upon their Paſſions and Good Senſe both. I firſt told Them of a Man, inviting and receiving his Kinſman and his Neighbour under his Roof, with the Guiſe of Friendſhip; and under that Guiſe, contriving an Aſſault upon Him, to murther Him in the cruelleſt Manner. All their Blood was preſently ſet on fire: *Juſtice* itſelf ſeemed to linger in the Purſuit of ſuch Perfidiouſneſs and Inhumanity; and They were impatient to fly Themſelves to execute Vengeance upon Him. As ſoon as their *Paſſion* would give me Leave, I turned the Diſcourſe from *That*, and told Them of a *Subject*, a *Chriſtian*, a *Preacher*, and One of the *Higheſt Order*, ſolemnly giving the moſt ſacred Pledges of *Fidelity* to his *Prince*, and vowing all *Friendſhip* to his *Native Country*; inviting Them, as it were, by theſe Calls, into his Arms, in the Confidence of Love and Friendſhip; and, all this Time, under the Guiſe of theſe Profeſſions, concerting to dethrone the *One*, and to confound and ruin the *Other*. The Effect this had upon *Many* of Them, who yet profeſſed to *fear God*, and tremble at *Perjury*, was a Behaviour not to be expreſſed, or believed by Any but ſuch as ſee it: In *Some*, a Coldneſs unmoved into any *Reſentment* within *Themſelves*; in *Some*, even a Warmth againſt all *Due Reſentment* in Others. Gueſſing from this that They perceived what I had in my Eye, I ſaid to Them, Theſe Stories are both true in *Fact*: The *One* is the *Inſtance* of a paſt Wickedneſs at *Bury*, which muſt be freſh in all your *Memories*; the *Other* is now before your Eyes, *preſent* upon the Stage of the World. I obſerve the *Horrour* and *Rage* with which you receive the *Former*; and the *Eaſe*, with which you can hear, and ſpeak of, the *Latter*. And yet there is no more Compare between the *Two Inſtances*, than there is between the *Scratch* of a *Pin*, and a *Stab* to the *Heart*; or between the *Death* of *One* Man, and the *Ruin* of a *Nation*. *Coke* was a Deteſtable Murtherer, in his determined Deſign againſt *One* Man: But *Coke*, with all his Villainy about Him, was an *Innocent* Man, compared with *One*, who preſt hard, and took large Steps, to be the *Murtherer* of *Thouſands*. *Coke* was inhumanly barbarous in the Manner and Circumſtances of his Aſſault: But *Coke's* Contrivance, with all its cruel Inhumanity, was *Tender Mercy*, compared to the ſetled concerted Deſign of *Another*, to give up Numberleſs Families, and even *Whole*

Cities, to the Ravages and Barbarity of an Undiſciplined Ungoverned *Mob*, mad with boundleſs Fury, and in the Heat of a Tumultuous Election. *Coke* was baſe and perfidious, to turn a hoſpitable Reception into an Opportunity of Deſtruction to his Neighbour: But *Coke*, with all his Baſeneſs cleaving to Him, was a Man of Honour and *Fidelity*, compared with *One*, who called in the Voice of publick Vows and Promiſes, to cover his own Traiterous Reſolution againſt his *King*, acknowledged as ſuch by Himſelf in the Face of the World; and againſt his Country, to which He owed better Things. *Coke* was a hardened Sinner, acting in Defiance to *God* and all his Threatnings: But *Coke*, cloathed around with all his *Impiety*, was a *Saint* and a *Religious Man*, compared with *One*, who, not only acted in the ſame Defiance, but who (over and above that common Pitch of all Sinners) intereſted *God* and *Heaven* in his *Falſeneſs*; and made uſe of the additional Sacredneſs of his own Character, and the Solemnity of an *Oath*, to ſerve Himſelf, and his own wicked Purpoſes, of their *Appearance*; and preſſed them into the *Cauſe* of that *Impious Perfidy*, againſt which They were inſtituted.— "Go now, and *deteſt* the One, and in the ſame Breath *defend* the Other; Pour out your Curſes upon the Head of the *Former*, and with the ſame Mouth ſend up your Prayers for the *Latter*; Bend your Knees, and call down Vengeance upon the *Private* Murtherer; and bend the ſame Knees, and receive with all devout Lowlineſs a *Bleſſing* from the Lips of the *Publick* Deſtroyer of Yourſelves and your Poſterity."—And with theſe Words I left *Them*, to keep Company with my own Thoughts, which went on in the following Manner.

If a *Papiſt-ſubject* ſhews an inveterate Enmity to the preſent *Regal Eſtabliſhment*, and breaks out into Acts of *Treaſon* or *Rebellion*, it is no more than what We expect from *One*, who thinks the Beauty and Intereſt of any Religion lies entirely in the Extended Propagation and Outward Proſperity of its Profeſſors. He indeed ſins againſt the *Liberty* of his *Country*, and againſt the *Common* Obligation laid upon Him by the *Protection* He enjoys under its Laws; the Acceptance of which is in itſelf ſome ſort of *Stipulation* of Quiet and Peaceableneſs on his Part; and a *Stipulation*, which will have its Weight with every honeſt Mind, not under the Biaſs of any Power ſuperior to its own Honeſty. You give Him *Protection*; and He pays You back again, in a ſetled Diſaffection, and a determined Diſpoſition to deſtroy your Conſtitution. This is very *Bad*, and very Frightful. But ſtill, it muſt be ſaid, He does not ſin againſt the Intereſt of what He embraces as the *beſt Profeſſion*. He does not *ſin* againſt Vows and Promiſes; much leſs, againſt *Oaths* and *Imprecations* of Vengeance upon his own Head. He diſcovers nothing of a *Total Abſence* within, or rather *Contempt*, of all Principles of *Religion*; but on the contrary, a great Senſe of *Thoſe* of a very bad Religion, which He takes to be the only *True One:* and He endeavours to ruin *You*, not out of a *Disbelief* or *Defiance*, but out of a *Dread*, of God's Eternal *Anger*. Which, though a very terrible Conſideration to *You*, and ſufficient to put You every Moment upon your Guard; yet, carries along with it none of thoſe Aggravations of his own *Perſonal* Crime, which are contained in *Hypocritical Perjury* and *Baſe Perfidiouſneſs*.

If a *Proteſtant Nonjuror* acts the ſame Part, He *ſins* againſt the Liberty of his Country; and againſt the Outward Proſperity of his Religious Profeſſion, as He is a *Proteſtant*; and againſt the *Tie* bound upon Him by the *Protection* and *Quiet* He enjoys in his own *Poſſeſſions*. For this great Kindneſs, He indeed returns You a Heart full of Wiſhes of Enmity, and a Readineſs to all Diſloyalty and Treaſon. But then, in his Behaviour, He is ſo ſincere as to bid You not depend upon Him as a *Friend*. He refuſes openly to give You any *Promiſes* of his *Aſſiſtance*;

ance: and having no Salvo, in his *Syſtem* of *Religion*, for taking *Oaths* and ſwearing Fidelity to *One* King, and abjuring *Another*, with a View to acting the very contrary Part; He has not that Aggravation of Guilt to anſwer for, in his Conduct.

But if a *Proteſtant*, and a *Proteſtant* who has in the moſt publick Manner, and upon repeated Occaſions, ſolemnly ſworn to *One* King, and abjured *Another*, acts the Part of a *Conſpirator* and *Traytor*, He not only (with the *Papiſt* and *Nonjuror)* ſins againſt the *Liberty* of his *Country*, and endeavours to return Hatred and *Injury* and even Deſtruction to it, for the great Portion of Happineſs He enjoys in its Boſom: He not only (with the *Proteſtant Nonjuror)* does all in his Power to deſtroy the Free Exerciſe of the *Religion* He himſelf profeſſes as the *Beſt:* But, added to all this, and to fill up the Meaſure of his *Iniquity*, He has the *Guilt* to anſwer for, (a *Guilt* little regarded, it ſeems, now-a-days, even by the Pretenders to *Piety*;) I ſay, *the Guilt to anſwer for*, of *Lying* to *God* as well as to *Man*, and of an *Affront* to All Religion, and All Dread of a *Future* State, in order to do the moſt conſummate Miſchief the more effectually in the *Preſent*.

That which makes *This* ſink the deeper into my Spirits, is the *Remark* I have made, That, within the Compaſs of my ſmall Reading, there is not *One Caſuiſt* who has ever profeſſedly defended ſuch a *Vileneſs* of Behaviour. That *Men* may think otherwiſe than They once did, about the *Object* of their *Allegiance*; that They may diſclaim an *Oath* which They have once taken, and judge and declare Themſelves to be releaſed from it; that They may ſatisfy Themſelves with the *Negative Allegiance* of mere Quietneſs, and Submiſſion to a *Government*, without any *Zeal* for its Support—Theſe and the like Points are not conteſted. But that Men, harbouring Diſaffection, deſigning Ruin, determined to practiſe all Inſtances of Diſloyalty, may lawfully come into the Preſence of God, and ſwear *Loyalty* and *Allegiance* to the Perſon, from whom They have in their Hearts withdrawn it all already: Or, on the other Hand, that, deſigning and reſolving to practiſe the trueſt *Allegiance* to *Another*, and to do all in their Power towards his Eſtabliſhment, They may lawfully, under the Eye of God, renounce and abjure this *Other*, in the moſt expreſs Form of Words that can be invented: and after *Both* theſe Performances, againſt their own Hearts Reſolution, may lawfully imprecate Wrath upon Themſelves if They are not in earneſt, whilſt They know They are not—Shew me the *Caſuiſt*, *Popiſh* or *Proteſtant*, *Janſeniſt* or *Jeſuit*, *Churchman* or *Diſſenter*, who ever gave the *Power* into the Breaſt of any Man, thus to proſtitute his own Conſcience, and at his own Pleaſure to affront the Great God of Heaven and Earth.

The Worſt and Looſeſt of the *Popiſh Caſuiſts* leave not ſuch an *Exorbitant Power* in the *private* Hands of their *Followers*. When there is Occaſion for it, it is eſteemed an *Act* that requires the ſpecial Direction of their *Supreme Judge:* who never will lay down any *Permiſſion* for it, as a *General Rule*; but leaves it amongſt the *Higheſt Points*, to be over-ruled upon the moſt Important Occaſions, only by the *Higheſt Authority*; and this *Authority* firſt declared and believed to be *Infallible*, before any *Regard* is claimed or paid to it. The *Proteſtant Caſuiſts* all hitherto unanimouſly profeſs to abhor ſuch a *Diſpenſing Power*, either in *private* Breaſts, or in any *publick* Perſon. The *Nonjurors* upon *this* Account *only* do *not ſwear* to the *Government*, becauſe They eſteem it (as They uſed to ſay) to be inexcuſably Wicked and Impious to *ſwear* to what They cannot in Conſcience help to ſupport. What ſhall I ſay?—A *Proteſtant Divine*—A *Biſhop*—A *Biſhop* of a *Church*, which deteſts ſuch Doctrines and ſuch Practices, has at laſt found out the Secret; and openly taken upon Him to determine the Point, and eaſe the Conſciences of the Diſaffected; and ſhew Them how to purſue their *Temporal* Deſigns, without ſuch weak Scruples and Difficulties as They uſed to raiſe. He comes *Himſelf*, and in the Face of the World, *ſwears* to *One*, againſt whom his *Heart* is conſpiring; and renounces *Another*, to whom his Soul is devoted. And if it ſtopped here, it were happy, and his *Wickedneſs* would reſt only upon his own Head. But the Unhappineſs is, that by this *Action*, which ſeems only perſonal to Himſelf, He does in effect ſtand forth to the World, and invite Them to imitate it, and teach Them in this Manner: " You are all weakly impoſed upon. Learn from " my Practice, which is my True Mouth, that You may lawfully take what " *Oaths* are offered You; that it becomes You, as *Chriſtians*, in Words to ſwear " upon the *Holy Goſpels* what You reſolve to oppoſe in your Actions;—that *De-* " *ceit*, *Perfidy*, *Fraud*, and *Perjury* are but Words."—But I ſtop my Pen. Horror itſelf bids me not proceed. This ſounds ſo much like *Aggravation*, that Many may at firſt think it ſo. But let any one truly conſider it; and I challenge Him to ſhew that this *Repreſentation* (ſtrong as it is) comes up, in Strength and Juſtneſs, to the *Truth* of the Matter before Us; nay, that it does not fall very ſhort of the Wickedneſs and Impiety of it. And *this*, I think, it becomes Us All (as far as We are able) to ſet forth, leſt all the Notices of *Good* and *Evil* ſhould by degrees vaniſh from amongſt Men. *I am Yours*, &c.

PHILOTHEUS.

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LETTER XXVIII. LONDON JOURNAL, April 6, 1723.

THE Diſhonour, and Wickedneſs, and Impiety, of Thoſe engaged in the *Conſpiracy* now under Conſideration; and particularly of *One* of Them, whoſe Example ought to have been ſuch, as to have taught all the Reſt the Leſſons of Peace and Faithfulneſs, and Conſcientious Honeſty,—*Theſe* have been fully laid before the World; if *That* can be ſaid to have been *fully* ſpoken of, which admits of no Aggravation, and which can never be repreſented in any Colours, but ſuch as are too faint and languid to give an Impreſſion of it proportionable to its true and genuine Malignity. And if any new Occaſion offers, This View of the Subject may be again reſumed. But though it be impoſſible in Words to come up to ſuch Diſhonour, or ſuch Impiety, as has trampled under foot All the ſtrongeſt Bonds and Ties, which were ever ſo accounted both in the School of Honour and in That of Religion; and laid level with the Ground All that was ever thought Beauteous in Both; and filled the Hearts and Mouths of Good Men with *Mourning*, and thoſe of the Profane with *Triumph*: yet, more than enough has been ſaid to teach Us, if We are not reſolved to ſtop our Ears againſt all Sound of Perſwaſion, What *our own* Conduct *without Doors* ought to be; or, at leaſt, What it ought *not* to be.

Every *Man* of *Honour* who, after Conſideration, takes part with *Him* who has caſt behind his Back all the Notions of *Honour*, and entered reſolutely into the Paths of Diſhonour and Baſeneſs,—Every ſuch Perſon Himſelf becomes a *Partner* in the Vileneſs of ſuch *Diſhonour*; and in defending the Baſeneſs of *Another*, deliberately puts Himſelf in the Place of that *Other*, and is Himſelf the *Diſhonourable* Perſon whom He ſupports and covers. He ſays, and He thinks perhaps, that He ſcorns that Lowneſs of Soul, which could teach Him to break his own Promiſe, or even to recede from his Word given; much more, that He abhors the Thought of breaking *Faith*, when He has given it in any ſolemn or extraordinary Manner. But how can He prove this? or what Argument can He give me for my Belief of it, when I ſee Him defending, or even applauding, Thoſe who have acted the *Part*, which, He ſays, He deteſts? Thus, again, Every Man (or Woman) of Piety, breathing *Devotion* and *Zeal*, profeſſing and pretending a greater Senſe than ordinary of God and Religion, who undertakes the *Patronage* of *Impiety* and *Perjury*, becomes that Moment the *Impious* and *Perjured* Perſon whom He defends; claims and accepts a Share in the Affront to God and Goodneſs from ſuch a Proceeding; and contracts a *Perſonal Guilt*, by becoming an *Advocate* for Wickedneſs in *Others*. It is in vain for Any of Them, upon this Occaſion, to aſſure Me, They fear and worſhip God, and abhor every wilful Breach of his Laws, and tremble at ſo great an Impiety as *Perjury*; and that They would die a thouſand Deaths, ſooner than riſe up againſt Heaven in ſuch a Manner.—Stop your Proteſtations, I beſeech You, and put an End to your Profeſſions. What import all theſe Strong Words, more than ſo many Empty Sounds? You are the very *Things* You deteſt—You practiſe the very Crimes You pretend to abhor—And by Every Breath You ſpend, in ſupporting a *Perjured Perſon*, You Yourſelves become *Perjured*; Every Time You open your Lips in the Cauſe of ſuch a Man, You load Yourſelves, not only with the Infamy, but the Guilt, of the ſame Sin; and Every Time You attempt to *leſſen* His Crime, You Yourſelves *grow* up into the Condition of His Iniquity; and, though You take *Nothing* from *His* Guilt, yet, by ſuch a Communication, You add to Yourſelves a large Quantity of the ſame.

Beſides this, You remove from Yourſelves all Pretence to any Argument in Defence of your own *Perſonal Innocence*. If a *Man* tells Me, He will not *rob* or *murther* Me Himſelf, for a thouſand Worlds; but at the ſame time defends and ſupports the Wretch that has attempted both: He may talk as plauſibly and as obligingly as He pleaſes; but from that Time, I ſhould not think Myſelf overſafe from *his own* Attempts, whilſt I could not but think Him a ſecret Favourer of the *Crime*, He would pretend to put far from Him; and ſhould be apt to ſuſpect, that He, who was ſo ſparing in condemning it in *Another*, would not always ſcruple to commit it *Himſelf*. If a *Woman* ſhould be always filling her Huſband's Ears with her *Deteſtation* of all *Gallantries*, and her Abhorrence of all *Intrigues* of *her own*; and yet be always *excuſing* the detected undoubted Unfaithfulneſs of *Other Wives*; I believe, the unhappy Man would be apt to think This a ſort of *Adultery* at *ſecond hand*, not at a great Diſtance from what ſhe diſclaims. If from *excuſing*, ſhe ſhould proceed to *defending*; and from *defending*, to *applauding*, the Exorbitancies of *Others*; He would have but little doubt left what to expect from Her himſelf, if ſhe follows her own Heart, and be not reſtrained by *Fear*, or want of Opportunity. And thus it is in the Caſe in View. If You go on to defend the *Impiety* and *Perjury* of *Another*; You may ſpare all your *Proteſtations* about your own Piety and Fear of God, and Perſonal Diſtance from ſuch Crimes. No one will believe, but That, if You can bear Them ſo eaſily, and defend them ſo readily, in *Others*, You are very well diſpoſed, all due Circumſtances concurring, to practice them *Yourſelves*.

Neither does it make any Difference in what I have been arguing, whether You be a *Papiſt* or a *Proteſtant*; a *Nonjuror* or a *Juror*; a Well-wiſher to the *Pretender*, or to K. *GEORGE*: becauſe *Honour*, *Morality*, and the *General* Rule of Piety, are every where, in ordinary Caſes at leaſt, declared to be the ſame. *Impiety* is, in Profeſſion, by All deteſted; and *Perjury* by *All* accounted a Crime. If a *Perſon* ſolemnly calls God to Witneſs to a Thing; at the ſame time profeſſing his utter *Renunciation* to All the Doctrines of *Equivocations*, and *Diſpenſations* in the Matter of *Falſe-ſwearing*; and *at the ſame time* alſo knowing within Himſelf, that what He ſwears is *Falſe*; This is, in the Account of *All*, *Impious Perjury*. Whether the *Cauſe* which You like, be ſerved by This, or not: whether the *Temporal* Ends You have in View, be promoted by it, or not: All ſuch Points are nothing to the Purpoſe; neither do They alter the Caſe at all. To ſpeak

One Word for it, is to plead for *Impiety*; To defend it *deliberately*, is *deliberately* to promote the higheſt Affront to God; To defend it *zealouſly*, is *zealouſly* to recommend the higheſt Pitch of Wickedneſs to the World; To ſpeak of it with *Patience*, is to ſhew a frozen Soul within; To ſpeak of it with *Pleaſure*, and to *applaud* it, is to ſhew an *Abandoned* Mind, and to act the Part of the moſt *Profligate* Rank of Men; To embrace the *Guilty* Perſon, is to ſhake Hands with Iniquity of the higheſt ſort, and to bid adieu to all Shame—It is, in a Word, to be One and the Same with Him; and, in effect, it is affronting and blaſpheming God in your own Perſons; and imprecating upon Yourſelves all thoſe Curſes, which You acknowledge to be due to the *Perjured* and *Impious*, and which They themſelves have deliberately and ſolemnly called down upon their own Heads.

If You are only acting as Politicians of *This* World, without the Thoughts of *Another*, ſpeak it out plainly; and hurt not *Religion* any longer, by talking of your *Piety*, and your Zeal for God's Honour. Rejoice *then*, as other *Worldlings* do, at every thing which promotes your Wiſhes in this World; and applaud every *Villany*, and every *Villain*, that gives you Aſſiſtance in your Way to what you account your Earthly Proſperity. But if You will ſtill hold faſt your Pretences to *Piety*, and ſtill *pray* to God, and ſtill depend upon the Succeſs of your *Prayers*; Remember, It is all in vain, unleſs your Heart can firſt ſay to Him, with full Confidence, that You equally deteſt *All* Impiety, and equally abhor *All* Perjury, whether friendly to your own *Worldly* Deſigns, or not; and moſt of all, the *Impiety* which receives the deepeſt Dye, and the heavieſt Aggravations, from the *Character* of the *Impious Perſon*. And if in the *ſecret Whiſpers* of your Heart, You can admit a Thought or a Wiſh inconſiſtent with *This*; Your *Piety* is as certainly *Vain* and *Empty Hypocriſy*, as it is true that God is the *Avenger* of ſuch Iniquity: An Iniquity, which, if it ſhould become faſhionable, and be generally entertained, would not only at once break to Pieces all the Bonds and Ties of Humane Society *below*, but with the ſame Force diſſolve the Influences of All that is ſacred from *Above*. If You think this is not ſo, Go into your Cloſets, and kneel down, and try how it will ſound, even in your own Ears, to make uſe of the contrary *Form* of *Words*. Profeſs Yourſelves the Servants of God, devoted to his Will, deteſting all that He deteſts; and at the ſame time, beg Leave to *Except*, out of the *Catalogue* of your *Deteſtations*, the Impiety of the ſtrongeſt *Perjury*; and lay in your *Claim* before *Him*, to your Intereſt and Regard to ſuch *Wickedneſs*, as may perhaps help forward ſomething of your Worldly Concerns. If You bluſh to repeat this, be aſſured it is becauſe it is *ſhameful*; becauſe it ought not to be expreſſed in *Words*. And if it ought not to be expreſſed in *Words*, neither ought it to be admitted into the *Heart* of That Man or Woman, who ever prays to *God*, as to a *Being* to whom the inmoſt Receſſes of *Thought* are all open, and from whom no Veil of Darkneſs or Hypocriſy can hide any one Sentiment of the Soul.

“ But why all this Warmth, and all theſe Words, upon ſo plain a Point? It is “ only to *ſtate* it, and no One can deny the Truth of it.” I will tell You truly. *Plain* as this Point is; *Undeniable* as the Truth of it is; I know it from *Converſation* Myſelf; I know it from the Teſtimony of *Some*, and the Acknowledgment of *Others*, in the *Letters* I ſometimes receive, that the *Senſe* of it is almoſt dead and gone. *Honour* often becomes the Defence of *Diſhonour*; and the Honourable pride Themſelves ſometimes in being the Advocates for the Diſhonourable and Baſe. *Piety* often takes the Part of *Impiety*; and *Pious* Men and Women (who would appear, and do appear ſo,) become *Impious*, without Conſideration, and without Remorſe. And after the *Diſhonourable* and *Impious* have evaded all their own Obligations, and found out Ways of confounding all the Diſtinctions of Good and Evil; as if this were not enough to ſink a Degenerate Age, and call down Vengeance from Above—The *Honourable*, the *Religious*, the *Pious*, the *Devout*, as if They were Parties in the Cauſe, run in to their Aſſiſtance. And, ſacrificing their Love to Vertue, and their boaſted Hopes in *Another* World, to a *Paltry Intereſt* in *This*, They act, as if They thought Themſelves called forth by Heaven to be the *Guardians* of detected *Iniquity* and *Impiety*; ſtrenuouſly helping to bear Them up againſt Oppoſition; and bravely ſtriving to encourage Them by their good Wiſhes and Applauſes, to harden their Foreheads, for fear They ſhould bluſh too much, and think ſeverely enough of Themſelves to beget ſome Shame and Repentance. And thus, the *Good* Part of the World (if I may in *this* View call them ſo) lend their *Reputation* to the *Wicked*; and that *Authority* which They have borrowed from their pretended Fear of God, They proſtitute to the Service of his Enemies, and to the Baniſhment of that Fear out of the World. And, as in *ſome* Countries of *Bigotry*, Cut-throats and Murtherers find a *Place* of *Security* in the *Churches* and *Altars*; ſo, in *Others*, the *Impious* and *Perjured* have as ſure a *Refuge* in the Boſom and Friendſhip of the *Pious* and *Devout*: and from *Theſe* comes a Voice to the Ears of the Others, bidding Them, "Be *Wicked* to "Extremity, for our Advantage; and We, the great Enemies of Wickedneſs, "will excuſe, alleviate, and defend what You do; and cover You over, all *Guilty* "as You are, with the Garments of our Piety." What Hope of *Good*, whilſt this is the *Condition* of Many, who paſs for the *Beſt*, and who would take it extreamly amiſs to be ranked with the *Profligate* and *Impious*? And what Hope of altering *This*, unleſs They be waked out of ſo fatal a Dream, in which They behold Themſelves in the Glaſs of *Self-love*, and *Fond Partiality*, only; and be taught, in the plain Day-light and Sun-ſhine of Truth, to ſee their own State in another View; and to conſider, whenever They think of Another World, "That "this *Procedure*, to ſpeak the *Beſt* of it, is only being *Impious* by Proxy; that "Whoſoever are wilfully tainted with this *ſecond-hand Guilt*, give too much "Ground to ſuſpect, that They would Themſelves be *perſonally* guilty of the "*Crimes* of Thoſe whom They defend, were it not for want of Courage, or for "want of a promiſing Opportunity; and that, notwithſtanding all their Pretences "to *Piety* in *Themſelves*, if They are *Impious* by *Proxy* HERE, They will certainly be puniſhed, (not by *Proxy*, but) in *Their own Perſons* HEREAFTER."

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER XXIX. LONDON JOURNAL, April 13, 1723.

IT is a great Satisfaction to Me to find, by ſeveral Letters I have received, that what I have of late attempted to ſet in its true Light, without the Prejudice of any Affection or Unworthy Bias, has not been in vain. It is a Pleaſure, which makes ſome Amends for the Pain of the contrary Appearance, to ſee that *All* Concern for Honour, Vertue, and Religion; *All* Regard to the Bonds and Props of Humane Society, are not ſo loſt: but that Many are ſtill ſenſible of their Value and Importance, and that Many own Themſelves (with a Freedom of Mind never to be enough commended) once again awakened out of an *Inſenſibility*, which was owing, not to any Inveterate Malignity of Evil Diſpoſition, but either to the Indolence of their own Tempers, free from all *Evil Deſign* in Themſelves; or to the Artifice of *Others*, whoſe *Evil Deſigns* lay covered and impenetrable under it.

At the Requeſt of *Some* of theſe, I will now go on, upon the *Subject* of my laſt *Papers*, in ſuch a Manner, as may ſtill ſhew my preſent Aim to be, the Benefit and Inſtruction of *All*, who ever deſire to think of *Points* of Univerſal and Infinite Importance. And as in ſpeaking of the Caſe of the *Principal Conſpirators* now before the World, I have not entered into the *Judicial* Part, but placed it all along in my Eye, chiefly to create and keep alive a *Horrour* of ſuch *Wickedneſs*, as *Wickedneſs*; and to raiſe to Life again, if poſſible, the Spirit of Deteſtation of ſuch *Impiety*, conſidered as *Impiety*; which has been particularly acceptable to *Some*: ſo I cannot think that any *Others* will continue much to wonder at the Warmth I have expreſſed upon the melancholy Subject of Impiety trampling under foot all that is ſacred, and upon the equally melancholy *Subject* of ſuch Impiety receiving Support and Patronage from *Piety*; when I have now to obſerve, that *Hypocriſy* and *Profaneneſs* have been ſo ſtrongly united in this Cauſe; and that the *Art* and *Shameleſſneſs* in colouring over *Political Wickedneſs* with the *Varniſh* of *Religion*, was come to that Pitch, as to furniſh out, and diſperſe, as far as it could ſafely be done, plauſible *Arguments*, by which the Practice of taking the preſent *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Abjuration* was profeſſedly attempted to be reconciled with all the Principles of *Honour* and of *Piety*.

Who the *Great Caſuiſt* is in this Caſe; Who, the Chief *Director* of *Conſciences*, called in for the Support of the Weak and Doubtful, and for the confirming the Scrupulous and Fearful; Whether One of Us *Laymen*, taught ſo to ſpeak; or One of *Thoſe* whoſe Profeſſion it is to teach us to ſpeak and think otherwiſe, and to preach Righteouſneſs in Simplicity; I do not now enquire. But whoever He be, This I will dare to affirm, that a *Common Deiſt*, who believes a God and a Providence, muſt abhor ſuch Doctrine, and ſhew Himſelf a much better Man than ſuch a pretended *Chriſtian*; and that a *Papiſt*, who dares not judge thus for Himſelf from any Arguments, but only in Obedience to the Commands of a *Superior*, to *Him* infallible, is a much leſs dangerous Man, than ſuch a pretended *Proteſtant*, who thus endeavours to put a deſtroying *Sword* into the Hands of Every private Subject; and thus to arm Him againſt his *God* and his *Country*.

This has led Me into a great Variety of Thoughts upon the Diſpoſitions and Tendencies of Mankind; all melancholy enough, when One conſiders the *Principle* from whence They flow; which is, in truth, nothing, but firſt an *Inclination*, and then a *Reſolution*, of finding out a *Salvoe* for Every Thing They themſelves are ſtrongly bent upon. The preſent *Conſpiracy* furniſhed my firſt Thoughts with ſome Inſtances of what I intend. *One Clergyman* has declared, that He would not for the World pollute his Conſcience by taking the preſent *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Abjuration*, whilſt his Eyes and his Heart are fixt upon the *Pretender*. No. The Riches of the Earth could not tempt Him. No *Sophiſtry*, No *Colouring* of Argument can make Him throw behind his Back the Fear of God, and Dread of ſuch an *Oath*. And ſo far He is in the right. But the ſame Perſon, who by his *Profeſſion* has nothing to do with the *Political Tricks* of this World, can work Night and Day in the Service of *Another*, who has thus polluted his Conſcience; can voluntarily, and with humble Flattery, make Himſelf a *Tool* in the Hands of that *Other*; can run of his Errands; carry *his Sins* over Sea, and travel many Hundreds of weary Miles under the Load of Another's Iniquity. And He can invent a *Colour*, to ſatisfy his own Mind, in communicating with *That* Wickedneſs in *Another*, which He *deteſts* in *Himſelf*. And not only for *This*; but He goes farther. The *ſame* Perſon, who will admit no *Salvoe* for the *Oaths* to the *Government*, can yet find *One* for *Any* that can but hurt it; and the ſame tender-minded Good Man has no Scruple or *Twitch* of Conſcience, even in furniſhing out Falſe *Oaths*, for *Others* at a Diſtance to ſwear to, in a Manner hardly ever yet ſeen. Thus far (and who knows how much farther?) *He* can go.

Another, a *Chief* in the ſame Cauſe, and of a higher Rank in the ſame ſacred Profeſſion, looks down upon This Man as a *Weak Brother*, not yet *ſtrong* enough to digeſt the *High Food* of a more exalted *Scheme*. This *Greater* Man has *greater* Light. He can with Eaſe reconcile it to his own Mind, to take an *Oath* which He is determined not to *keep*; to *ſwear* to a *Prince*, againſt whom He conſpires; to meet that *King* in *Parliament*, as One of his *Great Council*, whom He is reſolved to *unking* by all the Methods He imagines ſafe for Himſelf to take; to pray *for* Him by Name, as *King*, *againſt* whom his *Soul* ſends up its ſecret Wiſhes; and to give all the Security of his *Lips*, contrary to every Motion of his *Heart* and *Actions*. This is the preſent *Bent* of his Mind, to which therefore He adapts his Doctrine of Indulgencies and Permiſſions. And thus We ſee, as ſome *Refined Sinners* of this World pleaſe Themſelves, by finding out an Indulgent *Syſtem* of *Licentiouſneſs*, in which They make Allowances *only* for what Themſelves have a ſtrong Inclination to: ſo Other *Great Men*, of uncommon Talents and Abilities, (as long as any ſort of Principles remain in Them, or as long as it is agreeable to their Characters to aſſume any,) ſometimes employ thoſe great *Talents* and *Abilities*, in forcing *Vertue* and *Vice* to meet in one Point, and bringing together *Heaven* and *Hell*. Theſe *Perſons*, like great *Politicians*, have *Two* Schemes going forward; the *One* for *Outward Appearance*, the *Other* for *Real Deſign*; the *One* for *Ornament*, the *Other* for *Uſe*; the *One* for the Inſtruction of *Others* not let into their Secrets, the *Other* for *their own* Conduct, and the Conduct of Thoſe who have a mind to be of the Number of the *Adept*. Look into the more *Open* One, by which They publickly dictate to Others; and there You will find the Fear of God, and the Dread of a Falſe or Prevaricating Oath, placed together: But look into the private One, and You will find a *ſecret Reſerve* for the *Lawfulneſs* of calling God to witneſs to the Truth of what You know to be falſe; and this deſigned for Practice, upon *great Worldly* Occaſions, and conſiderable Emergencies. There remains only One Step farther for ſuch *Caſuiſts*; and that is, to prove this Procedure to be more than *Lawful*; to ſhew it to be the *Duty*, and *Praiſe*, and *Honour* of *All*, who wiſh well to the *Pretender*, ſolemnly to *Abjure* Him in the Preſence of God; and the *Duty* and *Glory* of *All*, who wiſh Deſtruction to this *Government*, to call to Witneſs the ſame God, that They are hearty Friends to it, in the common natural Senſe of the Words, without any Prevarication or mental Reſervation. Why do You ſtart at This, Man? or why do You boggle at the finiſhing Stroke? It is as eaſy, as juſt, and as pious, to do *This*, as to do the *Former*: And if You cannot go on to convince Yourſelf and Your Diſciples of This; Their Zeal may flag, and the Work in their Hands may fail for want of ſuch an *Incentive*.

Theſe Reflections, which aroſe upon the preſent Subject, led my Memory back to a *Diſtinction* I uſed to make, amongſt the Men of Pleaſure, in former Days, when I converſed much more in the World than I do now. The *Diſtinction* I mean, (which I found but too much Ground for,) was between *Sinners* by *Syſtem*, and *Sinners* at *Random*; *Undiſturbed Sinners*, and *Conſcious Sinners*; *Sinners* by *Opinion*, and *Sinners* by *Paſſion*: for of Both ſorts I met with too many. Of this *Diſtinction*, as it then related to the modiſh Vices of the *Town*, and of my Thoughts about it, I may again ſpeak, when it may have its Uſe. At preſent, I apply it to a *Greater Subject*; in which the *Honour* of *God*, and the *Intereſts* of *Society*, are more *immediately* concerned: ſo much the *Greater*, I mean, as *Perjury* by *Syſtem* carries along with it more univerſal and more certain Deſtruction to all the Principles of True Religion, and True Policy, than ſeveral other *Vicious Practices*, (Inexcuſable and Indefenſible as they are,) can be ſuppoſed to do. For as the whole Scheme of Wickedneſs may be compared well enough to a *Ladder*, whoſe ſeveral *Rounds* riſe by degrees to the Top; I believe no One will ſcruple to affirm the *Higheſt Round* to be the Higheſt Contempt of *God*, and Greateſt Miſchief to *Men*. And this is *Perjury*; which when it comes to be committed by *Rule*, ſo much the more fatally ſhakes the Foundations of all that is, or can be, valuable.

By *This*, the *Uſe* of *Speech* in Society is totally deſtroyed; and ſo, the Inſtrument of all Commerce between Man and Man, Nation and Nation, rendered precarious and inſignificant. By *This*, the *Bands* of Humane Government, and Common Juſtice, are diſſolved; and Mankind ſet afloat once more in the *Sea* of *Confuſion* and *Anarchy*. By *This*, Religion itſelf is made of no farther Uſe in the World, and forced (like *Aſtræa* in the ancient Moral Fables,) to fly from the Earth, and *abandon* an *abandoned* World: for what Uſe can *Religion* be of, if a *Syſtem* of *Wickedneſs* can be built upon a *Syſtem* of *Religion*; and a *Scheme* be formed, to teach Chriſtians, without Remorſe, and without fear of a Judgement to come, to ſubject the ſacred Name of the God of *Truth* to the Uſes of their own *falſe* Hearts; and to proſtitute the *Goſpel* of *Chriſt*, upon which They lay their Hands, to the deteſtable Purpoſes of Diſſimulation and wicked Policy?

Let All, who are not already tainted, fly from the Poiſon of ſuch *Caſuiſts*; and from the *Contagion* of ſuch as are infected with it, as from the moſt *deſperate* of all *Immoral Contagions*. Other *Sinners* there may be ſome Hope of. But of *Theſe*, who have hardened Themſelves in thus deliberately affronting God, and are active in teaching *Others* to do ſo too, I can think no otherwiſe than thus: That if Our *Bleſſed Lord* ſhould again deſcend from Heaven, and live, and die, and riſe again from the *Dead*; it would not, I fear, be in the Power of All his *Teaching*, and All his wonderful Works, to make ſuch Men ſenſible of their Condition; or to convince Them, that They are not better *Caſuiſts* than *He*; able and fitted to improve *His* Morality by *Their* Comments; and to refine upon *His Syſtem*, by a *New Syſtem* of *their own*, framed for the Deſtruction of *His* whole Deſign, and for the Unreſtrained Triumphs of All Iniquity, under the Patronage of Pretended Piety and Religion.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XXX. LONDON JOURNAL, April 20, 1723.

THERE is hardly any one Vertue, or Excellence, in the *Beſt* Part of Mankind, but what is attempted to be imitated, or mimicked, by Something in the *Worſt*; deſigned to make the ſame Appearance, but in reality as diſtant in Nature from it, as a *Shadow* from a *Subſtance*; nay, as contradictory to it, as *Evil* is to *Good*, or as a monſtrous *Defect* is to *Perfection* itſelf. I could mention *Many* Inſtances of this Obſervation; but I will confine Myſelf to *One*, and That a very uſeful One, which the *Conſpiracy* now before the World, and the Conduct of Some of the *Conſpirators*, of neceſſity throw in my Way: And that ſhall be the *Inſtance* of *Wiſdom* and *Cunning*, compared together in their *Qualities*, and Conſequences.

True *Wiſdom* is an exalted State of Mind, in which the *Underſtanding* ſhews itſelf to govern, free from the Reſtraints or Counſels of any other Power within. It becomes *Wiſdom*, by being the Reſult of an *Extended Comprehenſion* of *All* material Circumſtances relating to whatever is the Subject of Conſideration. And it would not be *Wiſdom*, if it were not guided by That View, far out of the Reach of any ſuch Motives as Pique, Reſentment, Revenge, a vicious Self-intereſt, or any Evil Affection or Commotion of Soul. For Theſe being in Themſelves but *Partial* and *Narrow*, can dictate only *Narrow* and *Partial* Projects: They can lead the Mind only to *Partial* and *Narrow* Views; ſuch as Themſelves aim at, and are confined to: and ſo muſt neceſſarily leave out of the *Proſpect*, which ought to be before it, whatever does not anſwer the immediate obtaining their own contracted Purpoſes; and put into it whatever does. And from hence ariſes that *Low Cunning*, which can act no otherwiſe than the *Narrowneſs* of its own Views, and the Workings of its governing Paſſion, force it to do. For as from the Former State of *Comprehenſive Freedom* of Soul, reſults *Wiſdom* in all its Lovelineſs; diſdaining every Purpoſe but what can honourably be avowed, and carrying its Eye through the whole Chain of Poſſibilities, Probabilities, and Certainties; and viewing all Conſequences in every *Link* of it: ſo from the *Latter*, in which the Partiality and Violence of any Paſſion gives a confined Turn to the Thoughts, and forbids them to look any farther than juſt one ſingle Point, and neceſſarily bounds their Progreſs within its own Limits; *from this*, I ſay, proceeds That *Narrowneſs* of Mind, which only flatters itſelf with the *Name* of *Wiſdom*, ſometimes beſtowed upon it by the unobſerving Multitude, and always for want of knowing the *Springs* that move it, and the Events that it will end in.

He is a *Wiſe* Man, who, weighing the Nature and Conſequences of Actions, conducts Himſelf ſo, as that neither Deſerved *Puniſhment*, nor ſo much as *Shame*, ſhall ever have it in their Power to overtake Him; ſhould all his Deſigns come to be laid open to the World: Who preſerves the *Unity* and *Regularity* of the *Character* He has taken upon Him, with the ſtricteſt Caution; and puts *That* only in the ſtrongeſt Point of his View, which, when He has obtained, All the World ſhall allow neither to be *inglorious* in *Itſelf*, nor obtained by *inglorious Methods*. But *He* is only a *Cunning Man*, infinitely debaſed beneath the *Former*, who firſt takes his Aim from ſome Ignominious Weakneſs of Soul, or Strength of Paſſion, within Him; and then, in the Proſecution of that Aim, ſeeing only what that *Weakneſs* or *Paſſion* permit Him to ſee, pollutes and confounds his own *Character*, and plunges Himſelf into dangerous Depths, by following an *Ignis Fatuus*, that leads Him down Ruinous Precipices, whilſt He takes it for the *Friendly Light* that is to conduct Him to his Journey's End.

Let us apply This to the Affairs of *this World*, which I will ſuppoſe to be the *Objects* on both Sides in View: for I am not now conſidering *Every Thing* of a *higher* Nature, which moſt juſtly and certainly belongs to the preſent Subject, in its utmoſt Extent. Let a Perſon have it in his Deſign to raiſe his Family; to obtain a conſiderable Eſtate; and to arrive at a greater Heighth of Fortune in the World, than his Fore-fathers left him for his Inheritance. If this be his *Aim*; and He purſues it by Frugality and Temperance; by a Punctual Truth in his Words, and Fidelity in his Contracts; by an indefatigable Diligence and Integrity in all his Affairs: He is a *Wiſe Man*. If He miſſes of his *Aim*, He has left nothing for Reproach or Shame to object to Him. If He obtains it, He obtains it with the Addition of *Honour* to Himſelf. But if *Another*, with the ſame View before Him, ſcorns to aſcend by theſe gradual Steps; but immediately lays

Schemes for *Cheating* the *Ignorant* and *Unwary*, in all his Dealings with Them; and cannot ſtop at this, but will go out upon the *High-way*, and plunder All He meets with, thinking Himſelf hid from Danger under the Maſk of a Diſguiſe; and by all the Methods of *Deceit* and *Force*, will hurry on his Steps to the Riches and State He deſires:—No One ever called ſuch a Man, a *Wiſe Man*. He may be a *Cunning* Man, till He is diſcovered; *Cunning* in the Management of all his *Wiles* and *Tricks*: that is, as *Cunning* as the *Nature* of the *Thing* will permit, which is in the *Whole* a *Scheme* of Madneſs; or, as his own Headſtrong *Impetuouſneſs* of *Temper* will allow, which is ever deſtroying its own Purpoſes.

Let us transfer the like *Suppoſition* to *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*. Suppoſing any *Eccleſiaſtic* to have in his *Eye* the *Higheſt Poſt* in the *Church*. Let Me be pardoned for a *Suppoſition*, which it is not very *unnatural* to make in this State of Frailty and Imperfection: nor, I hope, very unbecoming; ſince I am ſpeaking of a *Church*, in which the Methods of Advancement are far removed from All thoſe Tricks of *Wicked Policy*, which, in the Countries of *Popiſh Bigotry*, may almoſt command Reward and Succeſs. If this Perſon purſues this *Aim*, by *Study* and *Application* to what His *Profeſſion* demands of Him; by a Decency and Uniformity of Conduct in his whole Life; by an Exemplary Zeal for the Religion He profeſſes, and a Readineſs to appear at all times in its Defence; by Simplicity, Truth, and Faithfulneſs, in all his Words and Deeds: He is thus far a *Wiſe Man*. If by ſuch Steps He arrives at it, He obtains it with *Honour*; and poſſeſſes it without the *Envy* of Any, but Thoſe, whoſe Souls have never learnt to bear either a *Superior*, or an *Equal*. If He ſtops ſhort of it, He is ſtill a *Wiſe Man* in his Unreproachable Conduct. But if there be *Another*, with the ſame *attractive Grandeur* in his Eye; impatient of Delay, unbroke to Diſappointment, unable to wait the proper Time, boiling within at the uneaſy Sight of *Greater Merit* in that *Seat* of *Dignity*, and raging, in the Receſſes of his Soul, to leap into it: And if, for this End, He precipitates all his Motions; diſregards all the *Proprieties* of his own Character and Conduct; diſannuls all the Ties of Vows and Oaths; enters into the Diſguiſes of ſecret Plots and Cabals; and concerts the darkeſt Meaſures to pave his Way to this *Poſt*; trampling under Him the Simplicity of his Profeſſion, ſacrificing *his own* Reputation, and devoting the Fortunes and *Lives* of *Others*:—What ſhall We ſay?

If through this immenſe Sea of Wickedneſs and Confuſion, He ſhould ſafely land at the *Haven* where his *Soul* has ſo long reſided? Is He therefore a *Wiſe Man?* No. Let not the Holy Name of *Wiſdom (that Wiſdom* which rules *on high*, in the Counſels of *Heaven*, as well as *below*, in Thoſe on *Earth*,) be ſo profaned. Call him *Cunning*, or call Him *Deſperate*: For *He*, who affects *thoſe Titles*, deſerves to enjoy them. But call Him not *Wiſe*; and let not the Sound of the Word *Wiſdom* be heard in the Deſcription of ſuch a Character. *Wiſdom* diſdains to dwell in the Company of ſuch Diſpoſitions and ſuch Paſſions. And You may as well propoſe to reconcile and blend together the brighteſt *Light*, and obſcureſt *Darkneſs*, as think of mixing up, into One Compoſition, thoſe *Contradictory* Qualities of Quiet and Tumult, Patience and Rage, Propriety and Abſurdity, which mutually deſtroy One another. But if, before He comes to what his Soul has aimed at, the *Maſk* either unfortunately falls off, or is by the Power and Foreſight of Others taken off; What a Perſonage is diſcovered to the View of the World? Thoſe who judge by Meaſure and Weight, will *always* refuſe Him the *Character* of *Wiſdom*. The Multitude, who judge by the *Event* of Things, will *now* not ſo much as acknowledge Him to be *Cunning*, becauſe He has not been *Cunning* enough. And *All* will own, that He has proſtituted the Dignity of his *Profeſſion*;

Profeſſion; and fallen greatly from the Honour of his Character; and forfeited all Title to the Inward Eſteem of Men of Honour, Integrity and Religion.

And after this, what is there in the *Light* of the *Sun*, or in the *Eyes* of *Mankind*, that can give Pleaſure to any Mind, that has not totally forgot what the Taſte of Happineſs is, ariſing from a Good Conſcience *within*, and a Good Reputation *without*? *Who*, that was in ſuch a Condition, and not dead to the Senſe of ſuch a Reflexion, would wait the Sentence of *Others*? *Who*, under ſuch a Preſſure of Soul, would not, if it were in his Power, *fly*, with ſwifter Wings than *Ambition* itſelf lent Him before, from the *Sight* of the World, in which He had lived and acted ſuch a Part? A Man of any Tender Conſciouſneſs, or Baſhfulneſs, would Himſelf, in the Perplexity of ſuch Diſtreſs of Thought, haſten to retire from the reproachful Looks of Humane Countenances, to the *Deſerts* and *Caverns* of the Earth; and, if *their Shade* were not thick and impenetrable enough, would lift up his Voice in Deſpair, and call aloud *to the Mountains to fall upon Him, and to the Rocks to cover Him.*

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XXXI. LONDON JOURNAL, April 27, 1723.

IN my *laſt*, I obſerved the great Difference between *Wiſdom* and *Cunning*; and ſhall now go on a little farther upon the ſame Subject. The *firſt Remark* which naturally ſucceeds Thoſe I have already made, is, That *Every One*, who has an Ambition to make a Figure in *Society*, worthy of a Man, or to have his Name live after Himſelf in the Applauſes of Mankind, muſt ſeek what He aims at, not in the Paths of that *Low Cunning*, which only ſerves a preſent Purpoſe, and is eternally in Danger of ending in *Infamy*, as well as in the *Deſtruction* of his own Deſigns; but in Thoſe of that *True Wiſdom*, which always carries along with it its own Pleaſure, and all the *Security* which Humane Affairs can admit of. I juſt mention this at preſent, to make Way for *Another Obſervation*; which is, That, though this be the *Obligation* and *Intereſt* of *All*, yet there are *Some* who are, if poſſible, much more concerned in the *Rule* than *Others*. There are *Two Sorts* of Men, I particularly point at, in whom I cannot but think it a kind of *Madneſs*, to chuſe to appear in the Mean Diſguiſe of the *Cunning Character*, rather than ſtrictly to purſue *That* which *Wiſdom* alone can procure. The *One* from their *Profeſſion*; the *Other* from their *Temper*, ſhould learn this *Leſſon*. The *Two* ſorts of *Perſons* I mean, are the *Eccleſiaſticks*, and the *Paſſionate*: All who have given Themſelves up to the *Sacred Function*; and All who feel within Themſelves any Ungovernable Heat of *Temper*; or rather any *Diſtemper* of *Heart*, which They cannot at all Times, and upon all Occaſions, be ſure to have under the Command of a *Cool* and *well-tempered* Head. And if ſuch a Holy *Profeſſion*, and Unholy *Heat*, happen to meet in *One* Perſon; He is doubly and trebly unfortunate, if He has propoſed to Himſelf the *Fame* and *Hazard* of *Cunning*, before the *Reputation* and *Succeſs* of *Wiſdom*. An *Inſtance* or *two* will have its Uſe.

When a Perſon, under the Conduct of *Cunning*, and ſome inordinate Bias within, determines to engage Himſelf in any *Cauſe*, He looks upon it as a *Low Diſpenſation* to profeſs what He truly means, openly and conſtantly. It appears more like a *Man* of *Art*, to declare *againſt* it in Words; and more and more yet, to add *ſolemn Oaths* to thoſe Profeſſions, and to ſwear to the *contrary*, with all

Formality. Under this *Covert*, He enters upon his Work. In the *next* Step, *Cunning* dictates to Him, that Self-preſervation being now his great Concern, He muſt employ all his *Art*, to be out of the Reach of the *Letter* of the *Ordinary Laws*. "Since *Two Witneſſes* are required, tranſact only with *One Man*, upon "the ſame Affair.——Let Him write your Oracles in Cyphers.——Let nothing "of your own Hand-writing appear." Theſe are the *Leſſons* given him: And Theſe He carefully follows. And in *One* of Us *Laicks*, This Procedure is not near ſo infamous, as it ought to be; but is treated in common Diſcourſe with a Temper, not at all ſuitable to the Greatneſs of the Crime. But when *One* of that *Holy Profeſſion*, which is ſuppoſed in *this* Country to be far removed from the *Politicks* of *this* World, and the *Tricks* of Temporal *Cunning*, is found buſying Himſelf in theſe *Arts* of *ſolemn Diſſimulation*, and *Treaſonable Managements*, the *Scene* becomes a Mixture of *Ridicule* and *Horror*; the *Ridicule*, of detecting a Man of ſuch a *Character*, out of his *Sphere*, playing *Tricks* in *Maſquerade*; and the *Horror*, of ſeeing not only all *Decorum* and *Propriety*, but all *Morality* and *Religion* too, ſacrificed in the Humour of this Infamous Diſguiſe. And I uſed often to obſerve, in my *Converſation* in the World heretofore, that We *Laymen*, be We never ſo indulgent to our own *Vices*, yet do not reliſh with any Pleaſure the Fellowſhip of the ſacred *Order* in them. We love particularly to monopolize ſome *Characters*, which are none of the beſt. We look upon *this World* to be our peculiar Province: and the Tricks and Deceits of *Worldly Policy* to be *Ours*. And we eſteem it an *Encroachment*, not at all agreeable, when *Others* go out of *their own* Province, and invade *Ours*. Some of Them *will* do it, and We cannot always refuſe their Aſſiſtance. But We conſtantly and inwardly judge it to be entirely *out* of *Character*, and to leave a Load upon any Cauſe whenever it happens to be detected. I remember, I have heard it ſaid, (without conſidering the Wicked Part of the Caſe,) that, If the graveſt *Judges*, and their Brethren the *Counſellors* at *Law*, ſhould ſet up a Stage at *Bartholomew Fair*, and play over all the Tricks of a *Mountebank* and his *Merry Andrew*, before the People; That this would not come up to the *Ridicule*, rightly conſidered, of *One* of the *Holy Profeſſion* turning Himſelf into a *State Mountebank*, and with his *Operators* under Him entring into all the *Legerdemain* Tricks of the Worſt Sort of Politicians of this World.

But this is not all, There is, as I have before ſaid, this *Unhappy* (or *Happy*) Difference between *Wiſdom* and *Cunning*; that whilſt *Wiſdom* is uniform, and ſecure in the *Event* of Things, when all is unravelled, from Deſerved *Puniſhment* or *Reproach*; *Cunning* has *always* the *Chance*, and *moſt commonly* the *Probability*, of being attended with *Both*. And the Reaſon is, becauſe there is always a *Defect*, where there is *Cunning*. It is born from a *Narrowneſs* of Mind, and receives all its Nouriſhment and all its Strength from the ſame *Narrowneſs*. And thus, in the Suppoſition juſt now mentioned; the *Cunning Man* plainly left out one very conſiderable *Chain* in his Argument. The *ſelf-ſatisfying* Reaſoning was this, That He had ſecured Himſelf againſt *Weſtminſter Hall*, and had ſufficiently guarded all the *Avenues* towards *That*, at which *Conviction* could enter. Hitherto *Cunning* went on ſucceſsful. But the *Failure* was groſs, in imagining that *No Evidence* could raiſe up a *Spirit* againſt ſuch *Impious Treaſon* in another Way; that No *Briton* would have the *Courage*, or Love to his Native Country, to rouſe his *Fellow Britons* in *Parliament*, into a *Zeal* againſt ſuch an *Impudent Evaſion* of all Thoſe *Laws*, which were made for the *Security* of their *Country*, againſt *Conſpirators*; and not for the *Encouragement* and *Security* of *Conſpirators*, againſt their *Country*.

Here, *Cunning* failed, through Strength of *Paſſion* within, and Warmth of Zeal for a Cauſe once embraced. And as there *is* always, and always *muſt be*, a *Flaw*, where-ever *Cunning* alone preſides: This it is, that creates the *Hazard* to *Every One*, who forſakes *Wiſdom* for It; and *This* it is, which makes it ſo much the more improper and intolerable for an *Eccleſiaſtick*, in *our World*, to have any Dealings of this ſort with it; becauſe, if that one *Flaw* happens to ſpoil the *Whole*, He is ſure of a *Double Load* of *Infamy* and Abhorrence, added to all the other natural *Conſequences* which attend it.

I ſay, *in our World:* becauſe in the *Popiſh Countries* abroad, where Exorbitant *State* and *Riches* have alienated the Souls of *Churchmen* from their proper Office; and led Them into the *Cabinets* of *Princes*; and transformed *Them* into *Laymen*, and their Whole *Church* itſelf into a *Kingdom* of *Policy*, with a *Secular Prince* at its Head: *becauſe*, I ſay, *in thoſe Countries*, the *Maſk* is thrown off, and it is not ſuppoſed to be at all *out* of *Character*, for *Prelates* and *Cardinals* to be in *ſome* Places *Prime Miniſters* of all Worldly *Politicks*; and in *Others*, to be the Contrivers of all Diſturbances and Rebellions by Refined *Plots*, and well-laid *Conſpiracies*. And I wiſh the *Plague* of this *Itch* of Power and *Grandeur* has not ſpread itſelf into *Countries* of the *Reformation*; and into *our own* particularly.

I remember, when the *Memoirs* of *Cardinal de Retz* firſt appeared in theſe Parts, it was the *Remark* of an Ingenious Man, That He was apprehenſive of a very odd Inſtance of Miſchief from it: That the *Example* of ſo great a *Maſter* in *Politicks*, ſo agreeably ſet forth to the World, might rouſe up the *Sparks* of Ambition in ſome *Eccleſiaſtical Breaſts* here; That *One*, or *Other*, of the *ſame Profeſſion* amongſt Us, feeling ſome *Tokens* of *Cunning* in Himſelf, and many more of *Fire*, might greedily ſnatch the *Contagion*; and, ſtruck more ſtrongly than before with the *Love* of *Trick* and *Art*, thinking Himſelf as capable of making ſuch a *Figure*, reſolving to bluſh and ſtart at nothing, and impatient to make a grand Appearance in the Eyes and Story of the Nation, might take it into his Head and into his Heart to try his own *Skill* in the Management of *Machines*, highly improper for *our World*, as well as, perhaps, much too unweildy for *his* Strength, and *his* Cunning. And I fear, ſomething like this Apprehenſion has come to paſs.

How agreeable, and how inflammatory is it to Some Minds, to read of Cardinal *Mazarin*, and Cardinal *De Retz*, and *Others*, cutting out their Way to the *Red Hat* at *Rome*, by the Sharpneſs of their *Politicks*; and giving Proof to the World, with how much Glory, and how much Dignity, the *Sacred* and the *Civil* Functions may be united together! How bewitchingly entertaining, to follow Them into their Cabinets, and trace Them through all the *Stages* of their ſeveral *Fortunes!*—To ſee *Some* of Them ruling whole Nations with their maſterly Counſels; preſiding over the Affairs of *Peace* and *War*; ſurrounded with Crouds of Flatterers and Sollicitors; diſpenſing by an arbitrary Will the Royal Favours; and ſpreading the *Eclat* of their Great Names far and wide!—The *Man*, whoſe *Heart* is already burnt to *Tinder* by the *Fever* of Ambition, immediately catches Fire at this; and wiſhes to imitate in Grandeur, what He is ready to imitate in the *Arts* that have ſometimes led to it; and He aſks, Why theſe Fruits of Glory may not bloom and ripen in our Climate? Why may not the ſame Profeſſion *here*, produce the like *Examples* of Governing the *State* and *Church* in One Perſon? And why may not *He* be that Perſon? And from aſking This, He ſteps forward into a Belief, that *ſo* it *may be*; and from that Belief, into a *Reſolution*, that ſo it *ſhall be*, if the Force of Humane Wit can bring it about. And if it be impoſſible, in the preſent Situation of his Country, to ſhine at the Head of all

Counſels, and all Affairs; yet it is not impoſſible to bring about another *Revolution*; and *then*, the Longings of *Ambition*, with which his Soul is ſick, may be ſatisfied: and for *this Purpoſe*, Let *Heaven* and *Earth* be confounded together.

But here again is a *Flaw*. Every *Climate* will not produce and nouriſh to Perfection the ſame *Fruits*. Every Form of *Government* will not admit of the ſame *Experiments*. Every *People* will not bear the ſame Attempts. In a Country reformed from *Popery*, the *Tricks* of *Politicians* will not always have a Succeſs equal to *Thoſe*, where *Popery* itſelf falls in to help the happy *Event* of them. Every *Cunning* Man is not equal in *Cunning* to all Others. And thoſe very *Arts*, which at particular Seaſons, and in particular Places, have carried *ſome Eccleſiaſticks* directly to the Supreme Honours of *this* World, may, by an ill-judged, untimely, and miſapplied Imitation, leave *Another*, unpitied and unhelped, in the Depths of Diſgrace and Shame.

But my *Pen* has wandered too far. I had it in my Thoughts to give ſome other Inſtances of what I at firſt laid down: which muſt now be delayed till the next *Paper*.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XXXII. LONDON JOURNAL, May 4, 1723.

THE *Two* ſorts of Perſons, I mentioned in my laſt, whoſe Concern it is, more than that of All others, not to wander from the plain *Path* of *Simplicity* and *Wiſdom*, into the *Mazes* and *Tricks* of *Cunning*, are The *Eccleſiaſticks*, and the *Paſſionate*: *Thoſe* who are of that Holy Profeſſion, which propoſes to teach *Us* all that is Good and Praiſe-worthy; and *Thoſe*, who cannot teach *Themſelves* to keep their own Temper from burſting out into Indecencies of *Words* and *Actions*, often deſtructive of their own Purpoſes. I entered a little into the Obſervation, how very *unbecoming* in the *One*, how very *Impracticable* in the *Other* ſort, and how very *Fooliſh* in *Both*, this Affectation of the *Cunning Character* will always appear, whenever it appears at all. I began with the ſuppoſed Inſtance of a Perſon, who, agreeably to one of the commoneſt *Maxims* of *Vicious Cunning*, in order to hide the Cauſe, in which his Heart is engaged, makes Profeſſion of the contrary; and, if Occaſion requires, makes this Profeſſion with the Solemnity of an *Oath*. And I need not repeat, that this, though utterly indefenſible in Any, yet is a thouſand times more indefenſible, if poſſible, when it is diſcovered in *One*, whoſe *Profeſſion* is, in its Nature and proper Office, the Guard and Pillar of Honeſty and Fidelity in *Words* and *Oaths*. But if He be once engaged in ſuch Methods, He muſt proceed further in them. For, as a Perſon who enters into any *Cauſe*, in which the *Event* is uncertain, knows not where He ſhall ſtop; and as *One Step* leads on neceſſarily to *Another*; ſo, He that begins with *Cunning*, muſt go on with it; and *He*, that ſet out at firſt with a *Falſe Appearance*, has nothing left for Him to do, but to keep in the ſame Way; and ſhift his *Appearances*, as often as Occaſion requires, or as often as the *Scene* of *Danger* ſhifts itſelf. When once *Innocence* is ſhipwrecked, there is no Room for *Simplicity* and *Openneſs* to re-enter, unleſs *Repentance* and *Confeſſion* enter with Them. All muſt be tranſacted in *Another* Way: and this *Other* Way, *Artful* as it may ſeem, ſhall itſelf lead ſtill to new *Ridicule* and *Shame*.

I will Inſtance only in a *Trifle*, as it may at firſt appear; but a *Trifle*, which will ſupport what I have ſaid. A Perſon of a *Sacred Character*, engaged in a *Criminal* Cauſe, as I have ſuppoſed, and apprehended in it, judges that, in his *Confinement*, it would be of great Uſe to Him to have *Pen*, *Ink*, and *Paper*; which, from the Nature of the Affair, He is at firſt denied. He finds a *Cunning Way*, by means of thoſe who are allowed to come to Him, of furniſhing Himſelf, before the due Time, with theſe *Arms*. But this is not enough. The Matter muſt be hid, and removed from all Shadow of Suſpicion, if poſſible. To this End, He perpetually laments the Misfortune of being debarred the Uſe of his *Pen*;—his favourite Inſtrument;—*in Other Hands*, indeed, *an Engine of ſmall Force*,—but in *His*, of great and ſingular Strength. He makes this the Burthen of his Converſation to *Thoſe*, whoſe Eyes it is his Intereſt to blind.—What an additional Affliction to a Man of *Letters*, to want it! What an agreeable *Amuſement* would it be to a Perſon, educated in the beſt profane *Literature*, and dedicated to the *Sacred*, to have it in his Power to write down ſome of thoſe Thoughts, that now come crowding in upon Him! *Some*, that perhaps might illuſtrate the polite Authors; and *Others*, that might add Light to the *Sacred Books* themſelves: but *All* ſuch, as would have no relation to Any thing at preſent, but his own Entertainment in his Retirement! But how hard is his Fate! that even when He has any thing to remonſtrate, or to complain of, He is reduced to the Neceſſity of making Uſe of a broken End of an old *Pencil*, and a torn Scrap of *Paper*, to repreſent his Grievances above!—Well, but as it often happens that *Cunning* outwits itſelf, and is ſo deſperately *Cunning*, as to undo its own Deſigns; ſuppoſing that this perpetual Mourning over this Misfortune; this dwelling upon it ſo inceſſantly, comes itſelf to create a *Suſpicion*, that All this Lamentation cannot proceed from the *Want*, ſo probably as from the *Poſſeſſion*, of what is pretended to be wanted; and that this *Suſpicion* goes on, and finds it ſo to be: What is the *Event*, or what does the *Cunning* Man get by all this?—In One of *Us*, it would paſs much more ſlightly off; and be treated in Converſation only as a good pretty *Contrivance* and *Trick*. But I ſay, It will not paſs ſo, in *One* of the *Higheſt* Rank in the *ſacred Order*. There is an Impropriety in it of *Character*, which heightens the *Ridicule*. And there is ſuch a *Contradiction*, in this continued *Artifice*, to all the *Simplicity* of *Truth*, that it creates an utter Diſlike and Condemnation in every Breaſt.

And not only This: but it has the very contrary Effect to what was propoſed. The Man of *Art* means it for his *Defence*; and it proves, in the Minds of All who know it, an Argument againſt Him. *Innocence* ſtands in need of no ſuch *Tricks*. And when a *Perſon* is truly and perfectly *guiltleſs* of what is laid to his Charge; what Occaſion has He to be ſo continually ſollicitous either to get *Pen* and *Ink*, or to hide them? *Perfect Innocence* has nothing to fear from being without ſuch Helps for the uſual Time. And I will venture to ſay, It is impoſſible, in the *Caſe* I point at, that it ſhould ſuffer from the Abſence of them.

But he wants perhaps to direct his unſkilful Friends *how* to defend Him, even before the proper Time comes. Suppoſing therefore this to be the View; and this *Letter* of *Direction* to be intercepted; the Nature of the Thing, before the *Contents* of it are more particularly known, unavoidably leads to the following Reflections. This is a *Letter* ſuppoſed to be written in Confidence for the Uſe only of particular Friends, by *One* under the Accuſation of *High Treaſon*; and to be communicated to Thoſe, in whoſe Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance He repoſes his Truſt. If in *this* Letter, there ſhall be found a Uniform Profeſſion, conſiſtent throughout the Whole of it; a *Profeſſion* of *Total Innocence* of what is laid to the

Charge of the *Writer*; a *Senſe* of *Duty* to the *King* He is accuſed of having offended; any Marks of Deteſtation of all Attempts againſt *this* King, in favour of the *Pretender*; and all the proper Tokens of a Conſciouſneſs, that there can be no Proofs of *Any* ſort produced, to ſupport a *Charge* in which He knows Himſelf to be entirely unconcerned:—Such *Profeſſions*, I ſay, conſidering They are made between *Himſelf* and his *Confidents*, and ſuppoſed to be ſeen by No Other, will have great Weight; if all other Parts of the *Letter* perfectly agree with them. But if Nothing ſhall be found in it like this; if, in the Confidence of Secrecy and Friendſhip, He ſpeaks of *Himſelf*, not as an *Innocent* Man, but as *One* who had taken good Precautions againſt being detected; if *No One* Profeſſion of a Guiltleſs Conſcience, be *there* mixt with his Advice to his *Aſſiſters*; If He ſhall be ſeen to employ his *Pen* only in *Obſervations*, that rather *ſuppoſe* a Guilt, than *deny* it; and to make it his *Chief Security*, that *One* particular *Sort* of Evidence is wanting againſt Him:—If this be the Caſe, ſuch a *Conduct* will be a concurring Proof of the Truth of the Charge againſt Him; as well as of the poor Inſufficiency of *Cunning*, improperly aſſumed. For, though all poſſible *Declarations* of *Innocence* publickly before Accuſers, are of no more Importance, than the common allowed Method of *Priſoners* ſaying, *Not Guilty*; yet ſuch ſolemn *Declarations*, in the private Receſſes of *Friendſhip*, are of great Moment, unleſs deſtroyed by plain Inconſiſtencies, and Evidences. And, on the other hand, though the *Want* of ſuch *Profeſſions* in a *publick* Trial may be no Damage, as it would ſignify no more than that All ſhall be left to the *Proof* on the Part of the *Accuſers*; yet the *Abſence* of ſuch *Aſſurances*, at a Time when a Perſon is laying his Heart open to his Friends, and profeſſedly ſhewing Them where the *Strength* of his *Defence* muſt lie, is undeniably a corroborating Evidence, and a very ſtrong one, of his own *Conſciouſneſs*, that the *Accuſation* againſt Him is true; and only accompanied with this Comfort, that it cannot, He hopes, be proved in the common ordinary Methods. "It is impoſſible, in the Nature of Things, that a Man perfectly innocent could write ſuch a *Letter*: and therefore, if it be found ſuch, Whoever wrote it, muſt be a Guilty Man."

Suppoſing therefore, that the *latter* of theſe *Suppoſitions* be found true; and that, upon opening the *Letter*, it appears, that *Cunning* has forgot ſome Part of its Work, and not mixt One *ſingle* Declaration of Innocence, with the Methods of Defence propoſed; but only run into *Suppoſitions*, and *Projects*, and *Schemes*, all conſiſtent with *Guilt*, all inconſiſtent with a Conſcious *Guiltleſſneſs*; With This Diſcovery there is an End of the *Cunning*;—But not an End of the *Shame*: which returns double upon the Head of Him, who unites ſuch a *Character* and ſuch a *Conduct* together; the *Character* of a *Profeſſion*, exalted in its Views above the higheſt *Worldly Wiſdom*, with the *Conduct* of a Groveling *Practice*, delighting and employing itſelf in the loweſt and moſt inexcuſable Tricks of *Worldly Cunning*. Every Branch of the ſame Sort of *Conduct* comes under the ſame Deſcription, and the ſame Cenſure. It will ſhow itſelf to every obſerving Eye: and when it is ſeen, it may be tried by the Rules already applied to the *Inſtances* I have mentioned; and therefore it is wholly needleſs to tire You with more Examples of this Kind.

A *Behaviour*, full of ſuch Unbecoming Inconſiſtencies, and ſuch ſhocking Improprieties, eſpecially accompanied with *Circumſtances* of Wickedneſs and Impiety, will always meet its Doom in the Opinion of the World. Whereas the contrary Conduct, where the *Sacredneſs* of the *Profeſſion* is ſeen to ſeparate the Heart from theſe *Low Arts*; and to inſpire no *Ambition* ſo warmly, as that of doing the greateſt Service to the Intereſts of Vertue and Honour; and to be accompanied with that *Regular Uniformity* of Life, which is the Reſult of True *Wiſdom* alone, never fails to command the Reſpect and Regard of Men. And as *Cunning* is a much more formidable *Adverſary* to *Wiſdom*, than *Folly* properly ſo called; (juſt as a *pretended Friend* is more dangerous than an *Open Enemy*:) ſo, Every well diſpoſed Mind will feel a ſenſible Pleaſure, whenever Honour is done to the *Latter*, by the *Overthrow* of *Diſſimulation* and *Trick*; and when *Cunning* itſelf, by being detected, is forced to pay publick *Homage* to the Divinity of *Wiſdom*; and to teach the *World* to purſue thoſe *Methods*, which Itſelf has deſpiſed and forſook with ſo great a *Diſhonour*, and ſo big a *Ruin*.

BRITANNICUS.

P. S. At the Requeſt of Several, who in their *Letters* have deſired it, the preſent Method of Proceeding againſt the *Conſpirators* by *Bill*; with the Reaſons for it, and Objections againſt it; ſhall be impartially ſtated and argued, in my *next Paper*.

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LETTER XXXIII. LONDON JOURNAL, May 11, 1723.

AS I was thinking upon the Subject which I promiſed, in my laſt, to conſider, I received the following *Letter*, written, as it ſeems, from one Friend to Another. I publiſh it at the Deſire of the Perſon who ſent it; and it will, I believe, more than ſupply what I myſelf deſigned to ſay.

BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

WITHOUT the Delay of any of the *Ceremonies* of *Friendſhip*, (which between *Us*, I hope, are long ago become uſeleſs,) I will apply myſelf to the Subject of your laſt Letter; the *Proceeding* in *Parliament* by *Bill* againſt Perſons ſuppoſed to be engaged in the preſent *Conſpiracy*.

If I begin with the *General Propoſition*, that there is a *Right* lodged in *King Lords* and *Commons*, *Here*, as in *Abſolute Princes* and *Republicks*, in *Other* Countries; a *Right* to interpoſe, in particular *Caſes*, for the *Reſtraint* and *Puniſhment* of *Traytors*, by their own *Supreme Authority*, where the Inferior and *Delegated* Authority cannot reach Them; I know, You will ſtop me, and ſay, You have allowed it, in ſeveral Parts of your *Argument*. And I grant it to be true. In *Words*, You have ſometimes allowed it. But permit me to ſay, that in the ſame Breath, You have ſometimes diſallowed it again; and in many Parts of your Letter, have made uſe of ſuch Proofs and ſuch Inſtances, as are as concluſive againſt what You profeſs to allow, as againſt what You openly at this Time oppoſe. There is a Way, You know, of treating a Subject We do not like, in ſuch a Manner, as that the *Invective* and *Satire* againſt it ſhall be heightened even by the *Expreſs Allowance* made in its Favour, though in abſolute Contradiction to that general *Satire* and *Invective*. The *Invective* makes the *Impreſſion* deep: and the *Allowance*, coming heavy and faint after it, and being expreſſed in a cold and languid Manner, the Voice of it is hardly heard: It neither removes the other *Impreſſion*, nor makes any itſelf. And therefore, permit me to ſpeak a little upon that *General Topick*, in which You ſay, the whole World, as well as yourſelf, agree with Me; at leaſt, becauſe it may lead to clear up ſomething, in which We do *not* agree.

As to our own *Conſtitution*, in particular ; When the *King* and *Parliament* by their *Joint Authority*, purely in Conſideration that the *Law* of *Treaſon* had been too much abuſed, in the *Courts below*, againſt the Subjects, made an *Alteration* in it for the future Conduct of *Trials* in thoſe Courts *below:* Did any Man of either *Houſe* of *Parliament* once admit it into His Thought, that This *Law*, made for the *Regulation* of Exorbitances *below*, was by Themſelves deſigned to reſtrain their own *Supreme Legiſlative Power*, from acting at all for the Puniſhment of Traitors ; or to tie it up to ſuch Forms exactly, as it preſcribes for Inferior and delegated Authority? There can be no greater *Abſurdity* than this. The *Supreme Authority* in every Nation, is *That*, which is not reſtrained by *Any Laws*, but Thoſe of Natural Juſtice and Equity. This is the *Definition* of *Supreme Authority*. And could it be ſuppoſed to lay ſuch a *Reſtraint* upon itſelf; it muſt at the ſame time be ſuppoſed to *deſtroy*, not its own *Power* only, but its own *Being*. The *End* of its *Inſtitution* is loſt; and the *Authority ipſo facto* reverts from *Thoſe* who diſclaim the Uſe of it, (as well as from *Thoſe* who groſly abuſe it,) to the Place from whence it originally came: And the *Supreme Power*, ſo called, of any Nation, (whether *One* Perſon, or *More*,) ceaſes, from that Moment, to be the *Supreme Power*. So that, truly ſpeaking, Either to deny this Authority, no to contemn it, or *not to make uſe* of it, upon proper Occaſions, is not only to give Encouragement to the Ruin of *One* well-formed Society, or our own particular Eſtabliſhment; but it is, as much as in Us lies, to cut up *All Government* by the Roots; and to ſend Mankind back again to that uncomfortable Diſunited State of *Confuſion*, from which They fled in their earlieſt Days, when They firſt took Refuge in a Regular Government.

Government itſelf, You ſee, demands this Power: and is at an End without it. In *abſolute* Governments, it is evident, the *Prince* does not preſcribe poſitive *Rules* for *Himſelf* in all Caſes, when He preſcribes Them for the *Delegated Courts* under Him. I will add, He *cannot*, without ceaſing to be *Supreme*. What an *Abſolute Prince* is, in ſuch States, *That*, *King Lords* and *Commons* are, in *Our* State; and therefore, muſt be veſted with the ſame Powers: *unreſtrained*, without doubt, by Any ſuch poſitive Laws, as are made by Themſelves only for *Inferior Courts*; and indeed, *unreſtrainable* by *Any* ſuch as They could pretend to make; becauſe the *Supreme Authority* communicated to Them, is in other Words an *Authority* without ſuch *Reſtraint*; and is communicated to *Them* to be ſo exerciſed. And the *Nature* and *End* of that *Communication* leave Them but *Two* Ways of Proceeding; Either to exerciſe it, ſo *unreſtrained*, or to give it back into the Hands from whence They received it. If they poſſeſs it, ſo *unreſtrained*, They have then the *Supreme Authority*. If They, by Any Declaration, or Act, or Refuſal of acting, pretend or profeſs it to be *reſtrained* by *Any Laws*, but *Thoſe* of Natural *Juſtice* and *Equity*, (which are the Reſtraints of *Abſolute Princes* likewiſe,) They do by ſuch Behaviour become Not the *Supreme Power:* They diveſt Themſelves of the *Authority* communicated; and formally give it up: and the Confuſion of *Equality*, as I have ſaid, comes upon Earth again. They may certainly chuſe not to accept or poſſeſs ſuch Powers, if They pleaſe; but then, They muſt at the ſame time declare that They will no longer be the *Supreme Authority*. You will pardon me going thus far. There is no Harm in it, whether You agree with Me in the *General Doctrine*, or not ; which, I confeſs, I ſtill ſuſpect, You only imagine Yourſelf to do.

And indeed, I the rather have ſaid thus much, becauſe it may lead You, whilſt the Subject is warm, into what I think the Truth, about the *Poſitive Law* of *Evidence*; which You ſo much inſiſt upon, and ſo often affirm to be of the ſame

Neceſſity and Obligation to be obſerved in *Parliamentary Proceedings*, as in the *Courts below*. This again makes Me think, that We are much farther from agreeing, even in the *General* Doctrine, than You imagine. For *This* depends ſo entirely upon that *General Doctrine*, that granting *That*, it is impoſſible that the *Rule* of *Evidence*, eſtabliſhed for the Confinement of *Courts below*, ſhould be the *Rule* of *Evidence* for the *Supreme Authority*, which is, in its Nature and eſſential Property, Unreſtrained and Unconfined by the *Statute Law* or *Common Law*; that is, either by the *Written Law*, or the *Law* of *Cuſtom*; any farther, (obſerve what I ſay) than as that *Law* happens to be the *Eternal Law* of *Natural Juſtice* and *Equity*: in which Caſe it binds, not as either *Statute Law*, or *Common Law*, but only as the *Law* of *Reaſon*, applied to the Ends of *Humane Society*. For if You pleaſe to conſider, You will find that *No Law* can reſtrain or tie up the *Supreme Authority* of a Nation, but what ought to reſtrain and tie up the whole *Collective Body*, ſuppoſing it poſſible for that whole Body to meet, and hear, and determine the ſame Cauſes, before One *Written* or *Cuſtomary Law* in Being: becauſe the *Body Repreſentative* is in effect that *Body Collective*, as to its *Powers* and *Privileges*.

Nor does this at all reflect upon any *Poſitive Law*, whether enacted by *Common Uſage*, or by *Statute*. For it might be very right, and highly reaſonable, for fear of great Delays, and great Confuſion, to confine the *Courts below*, in Common and Daily Caſes, even not to receive all ſorts of Evidence; not to regard at all Some that is received; and to be governed ſolely by *One* particular ſort, ſo and ſo circumſtanced: and yet it may remain *abſurd* to ſay, that *This* is ſuch a *Rule* of *Evidence*, as comprehends the Whole of what can give Light; or, the Whole that it is reaſonable, in all poſſible Caſes, Extraordinary as well as Ordinary, to receive: and conſequently, abſurd to make this the *Sole Rule* for the *Supreme Authority*. Let us apply this to the *Statute Law*, which requires *Two Oral Witneſſes* to the ſame *Species* of *Treaſon* in *Courts below*. If this particular *Law* can be proved to be in ſuch Senſe the *Law* of *Natural Juſtice*, that No Evidence ought to be received, ſo as to convince, *without* This; then the *Supreme Authority* is bound by this Law. But take Care of admitting this. For it will follow likewiſe, that not only the *Supreme Authority* of *this* Nation is thus confined, but *That* of All Others. And ſo, if *this* be the *Caſe*, You muſt condemn All Other *Princes* and *States*, which are not governed by it; becauſe They are All equally reſtrained by that Univerſal Law of *Juſtice* and *Equity*. And, You muſt particularly condemn Your *Anceſtors* for Thouſands of Years, before ſuch *Confinement* by this *Statute Law* became a *Rule* even in Courts below.

This being the State of the Caſe; What is it that the *Law* of *Juſtice* and *Equity* dictates to the *Supreme Power*, when *That* thinks it fitting and wiſe to enter into any Enquiry into the *Treaſon* of any Subject againſt his *King* and *Country?* Nothing can be plainer to You, if You will conſider it, than *That* You muſt here recur to the firſt and original Unwritten *Rules* of *Juſtice*, in ſuch Enquiries: becauſe, as You have allowed that the *Supreme Authority* may, and upon ſome Occaſions ought, to enter upon ſuch an *Enquiry*; from hence You muſt go on to allow, that This Supreme Authority muſt enter upon it, *as the Supreme Authority*; that is, as an *Authority*, not confined by Any Laws, but *Thoſe* by which that very *Power* itſelf, whatever it be, which firſt delegated the Office of *Government*, muſt have been guided, had the Exerciſe of this Right of Enquiry remained where it originally was. And to ſpeak plain, According to my Way of Thinking, It is of no manner of Importance to the preſent *Queſtion*, whether there be any One *Written Law*, or *Law* of *Cuſtom*, or *Precedent*, in being; or

What that is. There was a *Time*, when there was none of Theſe. The *Supreme Authority* was then to be conducted by the *Laws* of Natural *Juſtice* and *Equity*. The *Supreme Authority* is always the ſame, and always has the ſame *Eſſential Properties* belonging to it, as ſuch. *Cuſtoms*, or *Written Laws* for *Courts* below, or *Precedents* in the Courſe of its own former *Proceedings*, are purely accidental Things; and make no more real Difference in the Caſe, than if They were not in being. It would be the higheſt Abſurdity to ſuppoſe They did: becauſe it would then be in the *Power* of ſuch *Written Laws*, or *Precedents*, to make *That* which is the *Supreme Authority*, ceaſe to be ſo; and to turn that Authority, which is in its very Nature *Unreſtrained* and Unconfined, into One of a *Reſtrained* and *Confined* Juriſdiction: which is contrary to the *Suppoſition* of any Government at all.

Well then, It is with the *Supreme Authority* of a Nation, in this Caſe, juſt as if No *Written Laws* or *Cuſtoms* were eſtabliſhed. And what does Juſtice require? Two Things are plain. That the Perſon accuſed ought to have all reaſonable Liberty of making his *Innocence* evident, if He be *innocent*: And, what is too often forgot, That the *Commonwealth* has a Right to *All Evidence* that can help to prove his *Guilt*, if He be *guilty*. And You might as reaſonably have ſtopped the *Supreme Authority*, entring upon the Affair of *Evidence*, before any *Written Law* made; and have ſaid, "You muſt not attend to this, or that; "You muſt not be guided by a Multitude of concurring Circumſtances, in your "Judgment, becauſe there *will be* a *Law* made a thouſand Years hence, which "ſhall forbid *Inferior Authority* to liſten even to the ſtrongeſt Evidence, if it be "not conveyed by the Mouth of *Two Living Witneſſes*:"—I ſay, This would have been full as reaſonable, *before* ſuch Law made, as it is now to urge, "You "muſt not proceed to hear any Cauſe, or to judge of it by Evidence, unleſs "under the *Reſtraint* of that *Written Law*, which makes all the ſtrongeſt Evidence of no Effect, if there be not *Two Oral Witneſſes*." And the *Reaſon* is, becauſe the *Power* judging, is now judging, as *Supreme*; and it is of no more Weight to tell that *Power*, There *is* a *Written Law* to ſuch Purpoſe, than it is to ſay, There *will be* One. *Supreme*, as *Supreme*, is no more concerned in the *Former*, than in the *Latter*. I have ſaid thus much, becauſe *You*, who have allowed the *Supreme Authority* to concern itſelf in *ſome* Caſes; yet contend, that in thoſe very *Caſes*, it muſt be confined to judge by the *Rule* of *Evidence* eſtabliſhed for *Inferior Courts*: that is, You allow the *Supreme Power* to judge, but not as the *Supreme Power*; You allow it to judge, but will confine it to a *Rule*, not obligatory upon it, becauſe not in the leaſt eſſential to *Juſtice*; nay, ſo *accidentally* ſettled where it is, that *Juſtice* is executed in Other Parts of the World *without* it; that it *was* executed *here*, in Courts below, long before the Exiſtence of it; and *will be* executed *here* in the ſame Courts, ſhould this *Rule* receive any Alteration.

My Time permits me to add no more at preſent, nor to *correct* what I have ſaid. I will go on, in my *next*, to ſhew You, in anſwer to what You farther urge, That the preſent Occaſion requires and juſtifies the Exerciſe of this Right: That the *Objections* You make againſt *This*, in the *preſent* Inſtances, are equally ſtrong againſt It, in *Thoſe* You allow: That the *Bad Conſequences* charged upon it, are the ſame, and Greater, in the *Common Proceedings* below; and that much worſe Conſequences muſt probably come from the *not* exerciſing it, upon the *preſent Occaſion*, than from the Contrary. *I am*, &c.

PHILOPATRIS.

LETTER XXXIV. LONDON JOURNAL, May 18, 1723.

I HERE give the Reader a *ſecond* Letter upon the ſame Subject with *That* of laſt *Saturday*, ſent to me from the ſame Hand.

BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

UPON what I argued, in my *former* Letter, from the Nature of Society, and of the *Truſt* of *Government*, You cannot but ſee that it muſt be as truly a *Breach* of *Truſt*, in the *Supreme Power* of a Nation, to *neglect* to act, by Virtue of its *Supreme Authority*, upon ſome Occaſions; as it can be, to act *unjuſtly* and tyrannically: becauſe, the *Neglect* of exerting that *Supreme Authority* veſted in them, muſt in *ſome* Caſes be as *Fatal* and Deſtructive to the *Whole*, as the *Abuſe* of it *in acting* can be.

I will now, in order to our future Argument, lay down your own *Conceſſions*, as to the Exerciſe of the *Power* about which We are ſpeaking. And here I obſerve, that You are particularly willing it ſhould be exerciſed againſt *Bad Miniſters*, whoſe Counſels tend to the Deſtruction of the *Commonwealth*. This, You ſay, is an *Occaſion* worthy of the *Zeal* of the *Supreme Authority*. You acknowledge likewiſe, that You did, and do ſtill, approve of what was done by this *High Authority*, againſt Sir *John Fenwick*, even ſo far as to reach his Life; what was done, in the *ſame* Method, for the *Impriſonment* of the *Aſſaſſins* of King *William*; and what was enacted lately, by way of *Pains* and *Penalties*, againſt above *Thirty* Perſons in a lump. Your great Abilities and Underſtanding I always acknowledge: Your Regard to the Intereſt of our *preſent* Eſtabliſhment, I no more doubt of, than I do of my own. But, if You will give Me leave to ſpeak in the Style of our uſual *Freedom*, here ſeems to be a little Biaſs of Partiality. For I find, You are *willing* to allow the Exerciſe of this Right in your preſent *favourite Cauſe*, That of *Oppoſition* to *Miniſters*; and in *Every* Inſtance, which You Yourſelf have been known formerly to have pleaded for: And *there* You ſtop, and employ your *Good Senſe* in diſcovering ſome *Circumſtance* or Other, which may make a *Difference* between the *preſent* and thoſe *former* Occaſions; and may juſtify at once your Zeal *for* the *former*, and *againſt* the *preſent*. And I muſt not here forget, that, beſides theſe *particular Inſtances*, You allow, in one *general* Expreſſion, the *Right* and *Exerciſe* of ſuch a *Power* in ALL Caſes of *Abſolute Neceſſity*. But *then*, ſay You, They muſt be *indeed* of *Abſolute Neceſſity* to the *Safety* of the *Publick*; and Theſe are ſuch, as are equally open to All, and cannot be doubted of by *Any*. And You often in your *Letter* repeat the *Queſtion*, Where is this *Abſolute Neceſſity* in the preſent Inſtances before the Parliament? If You will give Me your Patience a little, I hope, I may explain this before We proceed; and perhaps ſo, as to make what is to follow more eaſy and ſhort.

Abſolute Neceſſity is an Expreſſion frequently in our Mouths in common Converſation; and frequently applied to Affairs either of a *Political* or *Moral* Nature. And it is certainly rightly applied, if it be meant and underſtood in the Senſe of a looſe or *figurative* Word. For *Common* Diſcourſe, and *Learned* Diſcourſe, are both come to be made up of *Figurative* Expreſſions. What more uſual Expreſſion, both in *Converſation* and in *Books*, than that of *Abſolute Certainty*, in ſuch and ſuch Points? And yet, what more evident, than that nothing higher is meant, but ſuch a *Certainty*, and ſo well founded, as is a ſufficient Ground to *argue* or to *act* upon? So, in the Caſe of your preſent *Expreſſion*, If You mean by *Abſolute Neceſſity*, a Neceſſity demonſtrated to be *Abſolute*, in the ſtrict philoſophical Senſe of the Word *Abſolute*; You are laying down a *Rule*, which cannot be a *Rule* of *Action* in *Political* Life: becauſe it is impoſſible there ſhould be any Demonſtration of ſuch an *Abſolute* Neceſſity, in any one Caſe, which requires and calls for Redreſs. I hope, therefore, ſince You ſeem, by ſo often uſing this Expreſſion, to be willing to ſpeak accurately, You will permit Me to put *Another* in its Place; and, inſtead of *Abſolute* Neceſſity, of which the greateſt humane Capacities cannot judge in Matters of *Society* and *Government*, to make uſe of the Words *Political Neceſſity*. For, juſt as *Moral Certainty* is the *Certainty* ſufficient to juſtify a Man's Conduct in Life, and is truly the Explication of the Expreſſion, *Abſolute Certainty*, in multitudes of Diſputes: ſo, *Political Neceſſity* is That which is ſufficient to juſtify a Man's Conduct in *Political* Affairs, and is truly the Explication of that *figurative* unaccurate Expreſſion, *Abſolute Neceſſity*.

I will put the higheſt Inſtance I can think of, in our *Political* Affairs, *That* of the *Eſtabliſhment* of the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*. And I ſay, That there was a *Political Neceſſity* for This; That the *Whole Community* would have been in ſuch *Hazard* without it, that it had been *Madneſs* and Inexcuſable Careleſſneſs, not to have eſtabliſhed it. But *You*, who love it as well as I do, will not ſay that This was an *Abſolute Neceſſity*, in the ſtrict Senſe of *Abſolute*; becauſe at the Time of that Eſtabliſhment, if You had been called upon to prove it, You could have proved nothing but that the future *Conſequences* of retaining the *Popiſh Line* were ſo likely to be *fatal*, in ſo high a degree of *Probability*, as to make it in Common *Prudence*, and Wiſdom, neceſſary to guard againſt Them by another Eſtabliſhment. And this is the only Rule, and a very ſufficient one, of acting in Affairs relating to the *Community*. The *other* Method, of never departing out of a *Road* You have been in, unleſs You can produce a ſtrict *Demonſtration* of *Abſolute* Neceſſity about *Conſequences* not yet in being, is an *Impoſſible* Method; and muſt lay the *Commonwealth* open to All Miſchiefs, and to Ruin itſelf, if ſtrictly adhered to.

But God be thanked, Though in talking *againſt* any Thing propoſed, which We do not like, We are apt to uſe very high Words; and call for ſtrict Demonſtrations of the *Abſolute Neceſſity* of it; yet, whenever We think fit to *act* ourſelves, We are content with that *Political Neceſſity* I have been deſcribing. Aud *You* in particular, I muſt be ſo free as to ſay, have ſhewn, by the *Inſtances* You have approved of, that by *Abſolute Neceſſity*, You do not always mean a Neceſſity ſtrictly *Abſolute*: and therefore, I am ſure, will not inſiſt upon it, in *One* Caſe, merely becauſe You oppoſe it; whilſt it appears, You have not inſiſted upon it in *Other Caſes*, to which You have given your Approbation. I will mention only Sir *John Fenwick's* Caſe, to ſhew You what *is*, or what *ought to be*, Your true Meaning. Did *You*, or Did Any of our old Friends, who approved of the Proceeding againſt that *Unhappy Gentleman*, ever pretend to ſhew any other *Neceſſity* for it, than this *Political* One, which proved it to your Apprehenſion to be *better*, to be *more* for the *Safety* of the *Public*, to do it, than to let it alone? Did any of You ever pretend to demonſtrate that, *abſolutely* ſpeaking, the whole Fabrick of the *Government* muſt inevitably be *undone*, and ſink, if that *One* Man were not puniſhed in that Manner; and recur to that *Abſolute Neceſſity* of which You ſpeak ſo warmly *now*? The ſame may be ſaid, as to this *Abſolute Neceſſity*, to *Others*, who univerſally allow of ſuch a *Proceeding* in the Caſe of any *Wicked Miniſter* of *State*.

And This again will ſhew *You* in particular, that ſuch a *Neceſſity* as will juſtify *this* Way of *Proceeding*, needs not be *One*, in which *All* agree, and which *All* equally ſee to be ſuch. For You know the Variety of *Judgements* on all Sides, in *This*, and thoſe *Other* Caſes, You have allowed of, in which You Yourſelf yet ſaw plainly, (as You thought then, and think ſtill,) *That Neceſſity* which is a ſufficient Ground of Action. If You from this Time reſolve not to think Any Neceſſity ſufficient, till *All* ſee that *Neceſſity* of Proceeding, in the ſame Light, You muſt firſt give up all your former *Conceſſions*, which yet You adhere to; and then You may wait for that happy Time, never to come in *this* World, when *All* Men ſhall be diveſted of Paſſion, Prejudice, Pique, Reſentment, Intereſt, Partiality, and Every Weakneſs that attends Humanity. And if this be Your Caſe, You *may* as well and as reaſonably ſit down with the *Countryman* upon the *Bank* of the *River*, and wait the Running out of the Stream, and reſolve never to paſs on, till the Channel is empty. If You ſtill therefore repeat the *Queſtion*, "Where is the Proof of the *Abſolute Neceſſity* of the preſent "Method of Proceeding?" I muſt anſwer, I never ſought any ſuch, nor pretended to have found it. The *Neceſſity* is to *Me* the *ſame*, which, in its ſeveral degrees, is the Ground of All *Political* Proceedings; a *Neceſſity* ariſing from the View of all appearing *Circumſtances*, and of the probable Conſequences, on both Sides of the Diſpute. I argue for it, I approve of it, upon *this* Notion of *Neceſſity*, built upon the following Foundation.

The *Supreme Authority* has an eſſential Original Right, implied in the *Office* of *Government*, to determine *all* Cauſes itſelf; whether in Matters *Criminal*, or of *Perſonal* Property. The only Reaſon why It *does not* judge itſelf in *all* Cauſes, is becauſe It *cannot*, in a Formed Society of a *Large Extent*. In the Beginning, it *did*. And in *ſome* Societies, it ſtill *can*. But, becauſe of the Great Barthen of *Government* and *Judging*, the *Supreme Authority* has a Right to call in Aſſiſtance; to communicate Part of its Power to *Some*, who are to help in the *Execution* of *Juſtice*. Thus, in *Our Conſtitution*, the *Supreme Authority* has eſtabliſhed *Inferior Courts* to judge of *Treaſon*. And for the Guidance of theſe *Courts*, the *Reſtraints* of particular *Laws* are laid down. And good Reaſon there is for theſe Reſtraints; *viz.* becauſe theſe *Courts* are employed by the *Supreme Power*; and becauſe the *King*, who acts by his *Judges* in them, *acts* not as *Legiſlator*, but as *Executor* of thoſe Laws; and becauſe the *King*, as the *Executive* Power, having the Nomination of the *Judges*, it was the more neceſſary to add theſe *Limitations* to the Inferior Juriſdiction, to prevent very bad Conſequences to the *Subject*, from the *Executive Power* alone. What therefore the *Supreme Authority* ſays to the *Inferior Courts*, is this. You ſhall take Cognizance of *Treaſon* and *Traitors*, under *this* Reſtraint, that You ſhall condemn none but upon the *Teſtimony* of *Two Oral Witneſſes*: and thus far You ſhall aſſiſt Us, by a Part of Our *Authority* which We communicate to You. There is nothing communicated but *This*; and this too, under a particular Reſtraint. Whatever therefore remains *uncommunicated*; whatever was originally in the Deſign of Thoſe who united in Society; whatever is neceſſary to the Well-being of that Society, with relation to the ſame *Treaſon* and *Traitors*, which *Inferior Courts* cannot concern Themſelves with, but under the foregoing *Reſtriction*: All this is ſtill in being. It is not loſt, but remains with the *Supreme Authority*, juſt as much, and in as full Force, as if no *Part* or *Degree* of *Authority* againſt *Traitors* had been communicated to Any *Aſſiſtants*.

Now the *Original Authority* againſt *Traitors*, wilfully ſuch, being, as has been ſaid, under no *Reſtraint*, but that of Natural *Juſtice* and *Equity*; nor under the Conduct of any *Rules* of *Evidence*, but ſuch as were reaſonable, and in their own Nature convincing; that *Original Authority* muſt ever be the ſame. I ſhould not therefore chuſe to ſay that, upon ſuch Occaſions, the *Supreme Authority* interpoſes in *Aid* of the *Laws*: but rather, that the *Laws* for Inferior Courts, being made for the Eaſe and *Aid* of the *Supreme Authority*, are not at all *deficient*, as far as They were deſigned to reach, neither need any *Aid*, as to Any *Juriſdiction* or *Authority* really communicated to Them. And the *State* of the whole Caſe, in my Apprehenſion, is this; That there was an *Original Authority* in the *Supreme Power* to puniſh or guard againſt *All* Traitors, in *All* Shapes; that the *Communication* of any *Part* of this *Authority* to *Inferior Courts*, is no *Diminution* of any *Right* or *Power* in the *Supreme*; much more, that the *Communication* of *One* particular *Portion* of this, was not the *Communication* of any *Other*; that particularly the *Authority* uncommunicated ſtill reſides where it did; that the Nature of *Society* requires it ſhould be *ſomewhere*, (for nothing can extinguiſh it;) and not being in any *Inferior Courts*, nor ever deſigned to be *communicated* to *Them*, muſt of Neceſſity be in the *Supreme Power* of all Nations. And if this were not ſo; ſee the Abſurdity. For it would then follow, that there is a certain *Species* of *Traitors*, and that of the moſt dangerous ſort, againſt whom the *whole Society* has no Defence or Remedy; and yet againſt whom, and for the Puniſhment of whom, the *Collective Body* entered into the *Form* of a *Regular* Society. Excuſe me that I am run a little too far into the *General Poſition* again. What I have now ſaid will prove ſtill more ſtrongly the *Neceſſity* of ſuch an *Authority*, and of ſometimes exerciſing it.

The *Neceſſity* of doing it upon the preſent *Occaſion*, ariſes to Me from hence: That here is a *Body* of *Traitors*, and of *Traitors* ſuppoſed to be acting the very *Treaſon* declared to be ſuch in the *Laws*. This *Body* of *Traitors* never was ſubjected to the *Cognizance* of *Inferior Courts*, by any Communication of *Authority* from the *Supreme Authority*; becauſe the *Statute Law* gives no Power to *Inferior Courts*, to enter into *Trials*, in any Caſe of *Treaſon*, but where *Two Living Witneſſes* are ſuppoſed to give *Evidence*. And therefore, the *Caſe* of ſuch *Traitors*, which muſt be cognizable ſomewhere, can be cognizable *only* by that *Supreme Authority*. So far therefore, is ſuch *Cognizance* from being *Improper* or *Unneceſſary*, that the *Supreme Authority* would be guilty of the Breach of the *higheſt Truſt* in Life, if It did not make the *Enquiry*. Without the *Enquiry*, there can be no *Puniſhment*, or *Acquittal*. The *Enquiry* therefore, muſt be made *ſomewhere*, becauſe it is equally neceſſary that *All Treaſon* ſhould be guarded againſt; let it be circumſtanced how it will. But it cannot be made in any *Inferior Court*, becauſe the Legiſlature has given no ſuch Power, even of *Enquiry*, to any *Inferior Court*. And therefore, without the higheſt Abſurdity, the *Supreme Authority* cannot neglect an *Enquiry* into *That*, which threatens the Publick with the utmoſt Danger, and which It has reſerved hitherto wholly to itſelf to take Cognizance of. But I have been too long. I will go on to other *Conſiderations* in my next. In the mean while, take This as an Uncorrect familiar Letter from

Yours, &c.

PHILOPATRIS.

LETTER XXXV[*]. London Journal, May 25, 1723.

I AM now diverted from going on with the remaining *Letters* (upon the *Subject* of the *Two laſt*,) by the *Publication* of Mr. *Kelly's Speech*, delivered *May* 2, at the Bar of the *Houſe* of *Lords*, in Oppoſition to the *Bill* ſent up by the *Commons*, and afterwards paſſed by the *Lords*, againſt Him. When theſe late *Proſecutions* by *Parliament* were firſt entered into, I thought I could not do any thing more juſtly for my own inward Satisfaction, than to be Witneſs to what was ſaid and done upon this Occaſion, as far as it could be; and particularly in the *Houſe* of *Lords*, to which the Strength of the *Defence* was reſerved. And ſuch was the Openneſs of the Proceeding, with regard to the whole *Examination* of the *Evidence*; and ſuch the Indulgence of that Honourable *Houſe*, with regard to *All* the Main *Debates*, and *Several* of the *Leſſer*, that there was no great Difficulty in hearing with my own Ears whatever was neceſſary for my own Satisfaction.

When Mr. *Kelly* ſpake his *Defence*, I cannot help owning, that the *Gentility* of his *Addreſs*, the *Tone* of his *Voice*, the *Modeſty* of his whole *Geſture*, moved me enough to make me often wiſh that He might *prove* Himſelf as *Innocent*, as He *pretended* to be: though not enough to make me forget the *Evidence* of the contrary. Theſe *Graces* are indeed all vaniſhed, ſince it appeared in *Print*. But I could not but even in the *Delivery* of it, remark the unfair *Dexterity* of the *Speaker*; and, I remember, I ſaid to Myſelf, more than once, as His Defence went on, "This *Method*, indeed, may be excuſable in *One*, who is now for the laſt Time ſpeaking for his *Liberty*. It may be *pardonable*, in the *Opinion* of the World, *before* the *Bill* is paſſed, in a Man, accuſed of *Treaſon*, to attempt to colour over his Conduct even with *Prevarications*, and *Falſhoods*, and *Recriminations*; and to try all his Art to gain the Inclination of his Judges, before They can further conſider. But ſurely a Man, who is Himſelf *One* of the *ſacred Order*; a Man, who ſpeaks of the *Faith* of a *Chriſtian* ſo ſeriouſly; and who puts on the Aire of *Conſcience* in his whole *Deportment*, will not,—cannot, *after* the paſſing of the *Bill*, ever conſent to the *Publication* of what He Himſelf knows to be a *Partial*, *Unfair* Repreſentation of his Caſe; and a Groundleſs Satire upon the *Supreme Authority* of the *Nation*." But I now find it otherwiſe: and am confirmed in my Notion of the Nature and Extent of ſome *Mens* Conſciences, by ſeeing it more and more plainly every Day, That there are *Thoſe*, whoſe *Conſciences* (as They tell You) will not ſuffer Them to take the *Oaths* of *Fidelity* to the *Government*; whoſe *Conſciences* will yet, at the ſame time, permit Them to publiſh the *Vileſt Falſhoods* and moſt *Unchriſtian Calumnies*, which can but affect and ſhake It. Their *Conſciences*, Good Men! will *not permit* Them even to be *Quiet*, for the Benefit of a *Government*: but the ſame *Conſciences* will not only *permit*, but *engage* Them to break through the *Laws* of *Juſtice* and *Charity*, to annoy and weaken it. We have an Inſtance now before Us. For, on *one* Side, if a Man were only to read Mr. *Kelly's Speech*, and (as the Multitude are apt to do) to take it for a *true State* of *his own* Caſe, and of the *Arguments* of his *Accuſers*; He can have no other *Idea* of Some in the *Adminiſtration*, but that They are *Wicked* beyond all the Degrees of former Wickedneſs; and no other Notion of a very great Majority of the *Two Houſes* of *Parliament*, but either that They are *Ideots*, not able in the leaſt to diſcern a *Groſs Forgery* from a *Reality*; or that They are a Sett of *Abandoned Wretches*, void of all the *Common Principles* of Juſtice and Honour. And yet, I will at the ſame time affirm, and prove, on the *other* Side, that the *Wickedneſs* lies all ſomewhere elſe; and particularly, that the *Guilt* with which Mr. *Kelly* was charged, upon *Evidence* which He has entirely paſſed over, is more ſtrongly fixed upon *Him* by the *Guilt* He has wilfully aſſumed, in his *Manner* of *Defence*. And this forces Me to add, that, as there is often an *Outward Semblance* of *Humility*, which covers under it the ſtrongeſt *Pride* of Heart; ſo, there is ſometimes an *Outward Modeſty* of Appearance, where there is an *Inward Impudence* of *Soul*, and a *Searedneſs* of *Conſcience* within.

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[*] This Paper is N° cc. of The London Journal, referred to in the Advertiſement before theſe Letters.

I will own indeed, That a Man *perfectly Innocent* of what was charged on Mr. *Kelly*, though He might truſt to the *Nature* of Things, and to the Impoſſibility of a *Number* of *Forged Circumſtances* all concurring to his Condemnation; though He might depend upon the *Impoſſibility* of his ſuffering in the Method of *Proceeding* uſed againſt this Perſon, in which *Patience* and *Temper* never were wearied: yet is not obliged to do ſo. He has a Right to make Choice of any *One* Honourable Method of *Defence*, as better than *Another*. But this I will ſay, that if any *Accuſed Perſon* makes that *Method* of *Defence* his Choice, which a *Guilty Man* only ſtands in need of; He cannot do this, without giving too plain a Proof of That *Guilt*, which alone could determine Him to do it. And this I will add, that if *Any* ſuch Perſon, *after* his Oratory has not been ſucceſsful enough to hinder his *Conviction*, ſhall wilfully publiſh what He knows to be *Falſe*, to load his *Judges* with *Calumnies*, or the *Government* with *Injuries*; He may talk of *Conſcience*, and the Faith of a *Chriſtian*, if He pleaſes; but He knows nothing either of the Rules of the *One*, or the Influences of the *Other*. If We read over this *Speech*, it will be eaſy to apply theſe Obſervations.

The *firſt* and moſt acknowledged *Art* of a *Guilty Defence*, is the *Art* of perpetually avoiding *All* that is moſt ſtrongly and chiefly urged againſt a *Man*; and of dwelling with Earneſtneſs and Vigour only upon *That*, which either was never urged at all againſt Him, or only very faintly, and not with any Weight laid upon it, but under ſeveral Reſtrictions; which He never once mentions. This is an *Art* indeed; the *Art* of putting out of Sight the *principal* Conſiderations, which ought to be always in View. It is the *Art* of *Guilt*, and the *Sign* of *Guilt*: eſpecially when it ſhall appear that, take away All that comes under this Obſervation, there will remain but very little in the *Defence* of the Perſon *Accuſed*, which has the *Form* or *Deſign* of an *Argument*. A Man *perfectly Innocent*, could not once have it in his Thoughts to make uſe of ſuch Arts: becauſe He would know that his whole Strength muſt lie in confuting the *Strength*, and not the *Weakneſs*, of his *Adverſaries*; and that his *Innocence* puts it in his Power to do it.

To apply this; Mr. *Kelly's Speech* conſiſts of *Thirteen Pages* in *Folio*. Of theſe *Thirteen* Pages, there is not above the Quantity of *Two*, which relate to *Any Evidence* urged againſt Him: *viz.* Part of the *Seventh*, the *Eighth*, and Part of the *Tenth*. How dextrouſly the *reſt* are employed, We ſhall preſently ſee, if We call to mind the main Parts of the *Charge* againſt Him; *viz.* That, at the Time of his being apprehended, He made *Reſiſtance* to the *Legal Officers* of the *Crown*; and threatned the *Life* of One of Them: That He afterwards, more than once, attempted to corrupt the Perſons, in whoſe Houſe He was confined, by the Offers of a good Sum of Money and a Gold Watch, in order to procure his *Eſcape*: That Three particular Treaſonable Letters intercepted, were *His*

Hand-writing: That He received *Letters* from abroad, in Anſwer to thoſe writ by Himſelf, by *Fictitious Names*; and ſome other Particulars. Inſtead of anſwering to the *Subſtantial Evidence* upon theſe Points, his *firſt Art*, as I have ſaid, is to run into *Matters not at all charged* upon Him by the *Bill*, or the *Counſel* for it. Thus, for Inſtance, He ſpends many *Paragraphs*, and even *Pages*, upon *ſeveral Paſſages* in the *Printed Reports*; which He was ſenſible He might the more ſafely *now* combate, becauſe, being not preſſed upon *Him* by the *Counſel* for the *Bill*, He very well knew the *Counſel* would not enter into a particular *Defence* of Them, at a Time, when They had not opened any ſuch Matters againſt Him; and when it was their proper Buſineſs to defend what They *had* opened as the Ground of this *Bill*, and not what They *had not*. This, I remember, was often repeated, but to no Purpoſe: for Mr. *Kelly* well knew that, on the contrary, *His* Chief Buſineſs was to anſwer to what was *not* urged againſt Him, and not to what *was*; and that his *Only Play* was in this Artifice. And ſo We find it. *Pages* 4, 5, part of 7 and 11, refer to nothing but *Paſſages* in the Printed *Reports* of *Both Houſes*, not once mentioned in the preſent Charge againſt Mr. *Kelly*; not once inſiſted upon, by the *Counſel* for the *Bill*.

In the 4th *Page*, He enters upon the *Charge* againſt Him, as He calls it, of his employing one *Neynoe* to draw up *Memorials*: and laboriouſly endeavours to confute it, as well as He can. But whoever had heard only the *Charge* laid againſt Him at the *Bar*, and *That* to which alone He was required to anſwer, muſt have wondered at all this. For there was not the *Shadow* of any ſuch *Charge* againſt Him; nor indeed any *Charge* at all relying *entirely* upon *Neynoe's* Credit. He then goes on to the Story of the Earl *Mariſhall*; and to a *Letter*, of which Mention is made in *One* of *Neynoe's* Examinations. Here again He *roves* from the *Charge* againſt *Himſelf*, and buſies Himſelf in doing of *Nothing*; or in impoſing on his *Judges*. For His Judges were confined to the *Charge* againſt Him at their own *Bar*: and were not obliged ſo much as to know, or remember, any thing but what ſhould appear *there*, either *for* or *againſt* that particular *Charge* only. Upon the ſame Foot, All that He ſays about Mr. *Caryl*, in *p.* 11, muſt be thrown out as impertinent to his *Defence*; as what not only was never brought as any *Charge*, or *Reaſon* for the *Bill*, but as what the Counſel *for* it could not reply to, without being highly irregular. The ſame is to be ſaid upon his Triumphs over *Pancier's* Depoſition, *p.* 7, which never was once mentioned on the *other* Side. This *Proceeding*, I ſay, is the *Proceeding* of *Guilt*, and not of *Innocence*: and is no better than if a Man indicted of killing *One* Certain Man, ſhould ſpend his own Breath, and the *Time* of the *Court*, in ſhewing that He did not kill *Another* Man, as, He was informed, it had been *reported* of Him abroad.

It is fit particularly to take Notice of Mr. *Kelly's* laboured Attempt to invalidate *thoſe Parts* of Mr. *Neynoe's Examinations*, which were not at all depended on; not at all urged, nor in the leaſt degree preſſed againſt him; nay, not ſo much as mentioned by the *Advocates* for the *Bill*: becauſe it is fit to ſet right the great Miſtakes and Miſrepreſentations upon that Head. The *State* of that *Evidence* was *This*, and *only* This: for I took very great Notice of it, and heard it repeated many Times. Mr. *Neynoe* was allowed by Mr. *Kelly's Proſecutors*, to be a *Falſe Man*; a determined *Jacobite*, who pretended to give Information to the *Government*, in order to get ſome Money for Himſelf. Out of all his *Informations*, only *One* was read; and That more in Proof of the *General Conſpiracy*, than to any other Purpoſe. For, not *One* Fact was believed, not *One* was inſiſted on, becauſe *He* had ſaid it; but only becauſe it was True, and was confirmed to be True by other concurrent Evidences; and was a Proof that, deceitful as He was, He knew a great deal of the Affair, though he mixt it with much Impertinence, and ſome Falſhood. *Thoſe Parts* particularly of his *Examinations*, to which Mr. *Kelly* ſo laboriouſly anſwers, were ſo far from being *urged* againſt Him, as *Reaſons* for the *Bill*, that moſt of them were not ſo much as *read* in Proof of the *Charge*. But as They were all fairly printed in the *Report* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, for this Reaſon, that it might not be ſaid that Any thing, given in as *Information*, was hid from the World; Mr. *Kelly* thought it to his Purpoſe to make what Uſe He pleaſed of them. And indeed, it is very true, that if there had been any need of it, He had a Right to ſhew, by any *One* Part of Mr. *Neynoe's Examinations*, that He was not to be *credited* in *Another*, upon his own Authority only. But He knew, there was no need of it. For it had been declared more than once, that He was *not credited*, upon his own *Authority*, in any *One* thing, except his Confeſſion that *He Himſelf* was privy to the *Conſpiracy*: Nay, even in *This*, that Some other *Points* declared by Him were taken in as *Proofs* that He was ſo, becauſe They were Points of Importance *otherwiſe* known to be true, and which *Neynoe* could not have hit upon, but by being *privy* to the Deſign; and that *Nothing* was alledged againſt the *Priſoner*, merely becauſe *Neynoe* had ſaid it.

But the true Secret was this, That if Mr. *Kelly* ſhould have acted a plain honeſt Part in this Caſe, His main Artifice would have been ſpoilt; and the Great *Machine*, now reſolved to be made uſe of by *Himſelf* firſt, and afterwards by the *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter*, would have been ruined and broke to Pieces. For how could They poſſibly, in ſo diſingenuous, ſo inhumane, and ſo unchriſtian a Manner, (without any one Proof, or any one Shadow of a Proof,) have by Slight of Hand turned the Whole into a *Plot* of *Neynoe* and a *Miniſter* of *State*, laying their Heads together for the Deſtruction of Mr. *Kelly* and his Great Friend; if They had not attempted to divert the Thoughts of their Judges from *Something* to *Nothing*; from ſtrong Evidence *urged* againſt Them, to all *Neynoe's* Impertinence *never once urged?* This is Another Inſtance I deſign to give of that *Art* of *Defence*, which only can belong to *Guilt*, and never could have come into the Head of *Innocent Men*. This appears to be their *Maſter-piece*. The Conſideration of it I will reſerve for my *next* Paper: But I will *now* ſay thus much of it, that It is a *Maſter-piece* of *Wickedneſs*, more than *Art*; and therefore, a *Machine* which will, in its *Ruin*, fall heavy on the *Heads* of Thoſe who contrived it; and help to puniſh their *Old Guilt* in what They *were* charged with, by ſhewing it aggravated and heightened by *That New Guilt*, in which They have voluntarily choſe (with the *Sillineſs* often attending *Cunning Men*, and the *Folly* always attending *Wicked Men)* to defile Themſelves.

For ſuch *Adepts* in *Iniquity*, though under the Cover of a *Holy Function*, and many *pious Profeſſions*, as if all *Art* was far removed from their Breaſts, *cannot* eſcape. And ſince both Mr. *Kelly* and his *Maſter* have Themſelves manifeſtly brought their Cauſe to this *Unhappy Dilemma*, " Either their *Charge* againſt Us, " and the *Evidence* for it, is all Mere Forgery and Invention, between *Neynoe* " and a *Miniſter* of *State*; or We are *guilty*, and proved ſo to be." Since, I ſay, inſtead of anſwering like *Men* to the *Strength* of the *Evidence*, They have wilfully made this their Caſe; and fled from the Proofs of their own *Innocence*, to Black and Deteſtable Inſinuations and Outcries againſt *Others*; let it reſt here. It is made neceſſary by their own *Conduct*, to enter into this *Argument*. And if it can be evidently ſhewn, that this *Suggeſtion* is void of *all Support*; that *Nothing* led Them to it that appeared in *Evidence*; that it was demonſtrated to be *impoſſible* by what *did* appear in *Evidence*; that it is irreconcileable with their own Deſign in invalidating *Neynoe's* Credit; that it is inconſiſtent with many Parts of the *Evidence*

againſt

againſt Them, which were too ſtrong to be ſo much as mentioned in their *Replies*; as well as with ſome Parts even of *their own* Evidence: *If theſe* Things can be made out, (as They certainly can;) They muſt thank *Themſelves*, if it muſt appear at the ſame time, That *Guilt* once ſet on Work, knows no Bounds; that *Wickedneſs* cannot be defended, but by New Wickedneſs; that They could be led to this *Invention* only by the *Deſperateneſs* of their own Cauſe, and Vileneſs of their own Reſolution to leave a parting Wound in that *Government* which They could not at preſent deſtroy: and that *This* can end in Nothing but their own *Confuſion*; the *Deteſtation* of Good and Honeſt Men of *All* Parties; and the *Greater Honour* of Thoſe who are thus ſtruck at, againſt all the Rules of *Religion*, and *Common Juſtice*.

BRITANNICUS.

P. S. Though I have here thrown out of the Caſe, what Mr. *Kelly* has ſaid and inſinuated againſt *Many Paſſages* in the *Reports*, not urged againſt Him, and particularly ſuch as relate to *Neynoe*, in order to ſhew more diſtinctly how little he has ſaid to what was really urged; yet I have not done this, to avoid thoſe Particulars. For I ſhall return to Them, and ſhew that even in *Theſe*, as well as in Other Inſtances, He has vilely miſrepreſented the *Caſe* throughout, and impoſed upon the World in a ſhameleſs Manner.

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LETTER XXXVI. LONDON JOURNAL, June 1, 1723.

THE *Grand Machine*, by which Mr. *Kelly* and his *Maſter* the *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter* have choſe to defend *Themſelves*, I have obſerved, is *One* and the *Same* Infamous Accuſation and Repeated Inſinuation of *Forgery*, fixt upon Thoſe who have done their Country the trueſt Service in detecting the late *Conſpiracy*. This I produced as One of the Greateſt Inſtances poſſible, of the *Art* of *Guilt*, delighting itſelf in a Method of *Defence* which an *Innocent Man* could not pitch upon. And as their *Agreement* in this *Artifice* is a Proof that they looked upon Themſelves as United together in *One* and the *Same* Cauſe; Let Them now equally partake in the *Effect* of their own Choice; and remain as inſeparable in the *Guilt* of ſuch a Juſtification, as They were in the *Guilt* which forced Them to take Refuge in it. A *Guilt*, in my Opinion, as great as can well be expreſſed or imagined: For, To *publiſh* to the World ſuch an *Imputation* upon an Adminiſtration, *without* the *Strongeſt* Proof, is what Every *Good Mind* would have avoided, as an *Unjuſtifiable* Calumny. To *publiſh* it, without *Any* Proof, is what Every *Good Mind* would have abhorred, as a Baſe and Ignominious *Wickedneſs*. But to *publiſh* an Imputation of ſo black a Nature, *againſt* plain and demonſtrative Proof,—This ſhews a *Mind* dead to all Senſibility of Duty, and determined to ſacrifice Every Spark of Honour and Conſcience within, to its own Darling Cauſe, or Perſonal Reſentments. Let us ſee, if This be not the Caſe here.

Mr. *Kelly* begins the Attack openly, *p.* 9, in this Manner: *But if any Credit is to be given to the Confeſſions which my Accuſer* [Neynoe] *made to the Perſon taken up with Him* [*viz.* Bingley] *it is very plain that thoſe Letters* [*viz.* the *Three treaſonable Letters* charged upon Mr. *Kelly*, as his Hand-writing] *muſt have come from Another Quarter*—Then comes the Application. *For*, ſays He, *it has been proved —that Neynoe confeſſed* [to *Bingley*] *to have been employed by One of the Miniſters,* *and received Money and Promiſes from Him—That this Miniſter declared a Prejudice, upon ſome Private Account, to the* Biſhop *of* Rocheſter; *was reſolved to pull down the Pride of that haughty Prelate,* and *to ſqueeze Me—to that Purpoſe.* This is the *Accuſation,* blacker than Treaſon itſelf. And though the *Good Man* is *heartily ſorry to ſay that there are ſome Circumſtances, which ſeem to give too great a Countenance to the Truth of it;* yet no One, I believe, will doubt but that his *Sorrow* was only becauſe He could bring none but invented or inſufficient *Circumſtances,* to ſupport an *Invented* Charge of the higheſt Nature. Here follow the *Circumſtances.* Mr. *Neynoe* might *well be ſuppoſed to have ſpoken in the Sincerity of his Heart, at this Time when He ſaw his Villainy detected; believed Himſelf to be in the greateſt Danger; and depended upon* Bingley, to whom He confeſſed Himſelf, *to help Him out of his Misfortunes. Beſides, the very Cypher by which thoſe Letters were written, (and which He owned to have received from that Miniſter,) was actually caught upon the Perſon* [Bingley] *to whom He* [Neynoe] *gave it; and He confeſſed That He put a* Paper *of* Directions *into One of my Drawers, by which moſt of the treaſonnble Letters were addreſſed. And it has been proved that Thoſe Drawers were conſtantly open.*—It is then added, That ſince *He was the firſt that ſet the* Miniſtry *upon intercepting Letters which He ſaid were mine, it is very extraordinary that ſuch a material Part of his Evidence ſhould be omitted in his Examination; or, that the very firſt Letters ſo intercepted ſhould be Thoſe alledged againſt the* Biſhop *of* Rocheſter.—*And* [now follows the moſt Demonſtrative Argument of all] *if the Originals of thoſe Three Letters were ſtopt,* I DO NOT AT ALL DOUBT, *but They might be proved to be my Accuſer's* [Neynoe's] *own Hand-writing.* Theſe are the ſeveral Parts of the *Circumſtantial Evidence* of his *Charge* againſt a *Great Miniſter.* I have put it all together in one View, that it may appear in its whole Force.

But before I come particularly to conſider it, I will juſt take Notice of *Two* Things which Mr. *Kelly* adds upon this Subject. *One* is, His *Inference* at the *End* of this *Charge*: *viz. That a Fellow who was capable of vilifying One Perſon, may very well be judged capable of doing ſo to Another: And if his Veracity is not to hold good in* One *Caſe, there can be no Reaſon for allowing it in the Other.* My Obſervation is, That, very unhappily to Him, this *Inference,* which He deſigns for his own Advantage, ruins his own Purpoſe, and deſtroys the Force of *all his vile Suggeſtions* againſt that *Miniſter.* For this Matter ſtands thus. The *Charge* againſt Mr. *Kelly,* and his *Eminent Friend,* was never made to rely upon the *Veracity* or *Credibility* of *Neynoe.* But ſee the Management of too much Cunning. It was Mr. *Kelly's* Intereſt to have it thought, *All* relied upon ſuch an Authority. Upon this, He *firſt* attempts to deſtroy *Neynoe's* Veracity and Credibility, which ſimply conſidered was on all Hands given up; and laboriouſly to *prove* a Man *falſe,* who was on every Side *allowed* to be ſo. As ſoon as He has deſtroyed (as He thinks) the *Credibility* of this Man, He then brings to Life again that *Credibility* of the *Same* Man thus deſtroyed, and makes uſe of it in the fouleſt Charge againſt a *Great Miniſter.* But with this remarkable Difference on each ſide, That *Neynoe's* Evidence uſed againſt Mr. *Kelly,* was uſed only as concurrent with other Proofs of the ſame Facts; and was directly written down from *Neynoe's* own Mouth; and, upon reading it twice over to Him, was ſolemnly and repeatedly acknowledged by Himſelf to be true, before ſeveral Lords of the *Council*: but that *Neynoe's* Evidence, as uſed by Mr. *Kelly* againſt the Government, is not direct Evidence from *Neynoe,* or written down from his Mouth, and atteſted to be owned by Him; but is indeed *Hearſay* from *Another,* and no more than *this,* That *Bingley* ſays, He heard *Kelly* ſay ſome Things, which do not in themſelves

ſelves immediately and directly import any Plot or Contrivance between *Neynoe* and a *Great Man*, againſt the *Biſhop*, through Mr. *Kelly*; but from which, by way of *Speculation* and *Deduction*, Mr. *Kelly* infers ſuch an infamous Concluſion. We ſhall preſently ſee what theſe *Points* truly are, and compare his *Concluſion* with them.

The *Other* Thing I deſigned previouſly juſt to take Notice of, was the Account Mr. *Kelly* gives of *Neynoe's Attempt to eſcape.* It was, it ſeems, *the ſtrong Senſe He had of his own Guilt*; and its *proving fatal to Him*, was no leſs than *the Hand of God viſibly interpoſing in that Eminent Prelate's Favour, by taking this Perſon, deſigned for his Deſtruction, out of the World.* I have been ſo uſed to ſee and hear the Name of God, and his Providence, proſtituted to the vileſt Ends of Humane Paſſion, that I am now little moved by the Application of ſuch *ſacred* Sounds, unleſs it be to be more upon my Guard againſt yielding to any Impreſſions from them, without other Proofs of *Probability*. As to this *Incident*, it is impoſſible not to obſerve, that the Turn here given to it by Mr. *Kelly*, is *Abſurd*; and that the ſetting the *Seal* of Providence to it, is *aſſuming Impiety*. The Turn is *abſurd*, in the Face of his own Evidence, from whence it appeared that *Neynoe* attempted his Eſcape, not becauſe He was ſenſible of his own Guilt with regard to the *Biſhop*; but becauſe He was ſtill a determined *Jacobite*, and reſolved not to be an *Evidence* in the Affair. And it is a peculiar Mixture of *Impiety* and *Impudence*, to introduce the *Providence* of *God*, as taking Him away for ſuch an End; becauſe it had been more for the *Biſhop's* Service and Mr. *Kelly's*, if Providence had not taken Him out of the World, but had helped Him in his *Eſcape*; as He was now determined not only not to be an *Evidence*, but to confound, as much as He could, Every Thing which He had pretended to let the *Adminiſtration* into; and had ſo deep a Senſe, according to Mr. *Kelly*, of *his former Guilt*. And this He might have had ſome Hopes of doing, with that great Dexterity He was Maſter of, if it had been his good Fortune to have eſcaped to *France*. For Mr. *Kelly* knows the Benefit and Eaſe of obtaining *Letters* and *Affidavits* from thence. However, One thing I am glad of, that this *Gentleman's* Zeal to intereſt Providence viſibly on the Part of the *Biſhop*, has made Him acknowledge that his *Old Friend* was thus *taken away, in his Attempt to make his Eſcape*; and this, after his examining Witneſſes to that Fact:—Whether from the Force of Truth, or the Apprehenſion that the *contrary Suppoſition* would lie heavieſt, on his own Party and his own Cauſe; I will not determine. Let us now return to the *Charge*.

Bingley teſtifies upon *Oath* what *Neynoe* is here ſaid to have confeſſed to Him— This is the Chief *Witneſs* to ſupport ſuch a Charge. But this very *Bingley* was proved, and owned Himſelf, to have been convicted, whipt, pilloried, and impriſoned, at *Dublin*, upon *Two Indictments*, for publiſhing a Treaſonable Book, and ſpeaking Treaſonable Words; and this, after having taken the *Oaths* to the Government: Which, though not indeed *Perjury* in a Cauſe before a *Court* of *Juſtice*, yet implies in it, effectually and truly, *Falſhood* and *Perjury*; and perhaps ſo circumſtanced, as to make Him a leſs credible Witneſs in the preſent Caſe, than if He had in a Common Trial proved Himſelf a *Perjured Witneſs*. For, at the ſame time that here is Evidence of his little Regard to an Oath, which alone makes his Teſtimony upon *Oath*, in itſelf, light and inſignificant; here is alſo *Evidence* of his *Zeal* for the *Pretender's Cauſe*, above the Senſe of the moſt ſacred Obligations; which renders his *Teſtimony* ſtill more light and inſignificant, when given for the Service of that very Cauſe, which firſt taught Him Falſhood and *Perjury*. And how little Senſe He had of any *Guilt* upon this

Account, appeared when, being aſked at the *Bar*, (in the *Biſhop's Trial*,) Whether He had not taken the *Oaths* to the *Government*, at the Time of taking his Degree; He impudently cried out, *My Lords, You all know the Nature of taking the Oaths. There were ſeveral crowding to do it at once; and I am not ſure, whether I laid my Hand upon the Book or not*: and the like, without Shame or Decency. I grant, that in the *Biſhop's Trial*, other *Witneſſes* were called, to relate what *Neynoe* had ſaid to the ſame Purpoſe, in Converſation with *Them*. When I meet Them *there*, I ſhall do Them Juſtice; and ſhew that their Teſtimony and their Story were leſs credible, if poſſible, than the *Others*. But, as *Bingley* is the *Witneſs* to whom Mr. *Kelly* appeals, and upon whom He relies, it will be now Time to ſee what his *Teſtimony* amounts to.

1. *Neynoe* told *Bingley* that He received *ſome* Money, and Promiſes of *more*, from *One of the Miniſters*. But here Mr. *Kelly* ſuppreſſes what *Bingley* teſtified, that *Neynoe* Himſelf told Him, that this Money, and theſe Promiſes, were given Him, to encourage Him to diſcover what He knew, and to find out what He did not know; particularly, the *Perſons* who were deſigned by ſuch and ſuch *Fictitious Names* in the treaſonable Correſpondence. But that *Honourable Perſon* Himſelf, who is thus highly injured, did at the *Bar*, and upon his *Oath*, give ſo diſtinct and plain an Account of his Tranſaction with *Neynoe*, that it ſeemed univerſally and fully to ſatisfy all who heard him. *Neynoe* wrote Him a *Letter*, offering to diſcover Matters of great Importance to the *Government*. It had been Breach of Duty, in any *Miniſter*, not to receive or hear a *Perſon* making ſuch an Offer, in ſo critical a Time. He did receive Him, and kept Him ſo ſtrictly to his own *Offer*, that, after much trifling, *Neynoe* went ſo far as to tell Him ſeveral Matters, which convinced that *Miniſter* that He was privy to the *Conſpiracy*, and knew a great deal more. For they were ſuch Particulars as *Neynoe* could not come to the Knowledge of, but amongſt *Thoſe* engaged in it. Being ſo convinced, It was the *Duty* of that *Great Man* to ſupport and encourage this *Perſon* to go on; and to give Him Money, if neceſſary, in Expectation of his making farther Diſcoveries. Accordingly, for this Purpoſe, a Sum of Money was given, not pretended to amount in the Whole to more than 350 *l.* and this, at ſeveral Times; and the Promiſe of more, whatever it was, was acknowledged on all Hands to have been in order to obtain the moſt important *Diſcovery* of the Perſons concerned under *Fictitious Names*. And what is there in all this, contrary to the Rules of the moſt *Honeſt Policy*? To go on.

2. *This Miniſter declared to* Neynoe (as *N.* told *Bingley*) *a Prejudice, upon ſome private Account, to the* Biſhop *of* Rocheſter; *and that He was reſolved to pull down the Pride of that haughty Prelate, and to ſqueeze* Mr. *Kelly to that Purpoſe*: and therefore, the *Three Treaſonable Letters*, which are the only Points in queſtion, were a Contrivance of *Neynoe's*, to aſſiſt a *Miniſter* in this Plot againſt the *Biſhop*. This muſt be the *Concluſion*, He would inſinuate from hence. I will not here argue from the high *Improbability* of a *Miniſter* of *State* thus unneceſſarily diſcloſing his Reſentments againſt a *Prelate*, to a *Perſon* whom He had already found falſe, and acting a double Part; and who was ſo perfect a Stranger to Him. There is no need of ſuch Arguments. *Facts* themſelves will always be ſufficient to furniſh Confuſion to ſuch wicked Suggeſtions. The *Honourable* Perſon, ſo barbarouſly ſtruck at, teſtified upon *Oath*, at the *Bar* of the *Houſe* of *Lords*, that through his whole Life there never had happened the leaſt *private* Matter between *Himſelf* and the *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter*, which could create any Perſonal Prejudice in Him: and therefore, that He could not have ſaid any ſuch abſurd thing. But, what is above all Contradiction, The *Three Letters*, which are here ſaid to be

thus forged, in order to furniſh the Chief Charge both againſt Mr. *Kelly* and the *Biſhop*, were in fact intercepted *about three Months* before that *Miniſter* had ever heard of ſuch a Man as *Neynoe* in being; as We ſhall ſee more fully hereafter. Nay, there is an infallible Argument to be drawn from the Impoſſibility of the *Suppoſition*, that a *Miniſter* ſhould encourage the Invention of a *Plot* againſt a *Prelate*, nay, help to contrive it Himſelf; and at the ſame time ſhould ſay to the *Perſon* who was to aſſiſt in this Contrivance, that He would *ſqueeze* one Mr. *Kelly* to tell ſomething, or teſtify ſomething of this *Prelate*; which Mr. *K.* could not teſtify to any Purpoſe, nor ſo much as have any Knowledge of, if the Whole were only an *Invention* between that *Miniſter* and *Neynoe*. This is *Self-contradictory* Nonſenſe. To ſpeak of *ſqueezing* Mr. *Kelly*, ſuppoſes a Perſuaſion that Mr. *Kelly* knew ſomething. And if this were all a *Contrivance between Two Perſons*, it is impoſſible They ſhould ſpeak together of *Squeezing* a *Third Perſon*, who could not be thought by Them to be in a Real *Conſpiracy*, whilſt They knew there was none; and was not at all privy to their ſuppoſed *Wicked Deſign* of inventing One. If therefore, That Miniſter *did not ſay* any ſuch Words to *Neynoe*; as I believe Every Man of Senſe will think it evident *He could not*; there is an End of this *ſilly* Hearſay Argument. But if He did; and it could be proved that He had ſaid theſe very Words to *Neynoe*, They are ſo far from implying either that *He Himſelf* had forged any one Circumſtance of ſuch a *Mock Plot*, or that He had employed *Neynoe* to any ſuch deteſtable Purpoſe; that They certainly imply the contrary, *viz.* That He at that Time knew the *Biſhop* to be engaged in a *Real Plot*, and Mr. *Kelly* to be in the Secret with Him. Otherwiſe, He could not poſſibly propoſe to *Himſelf*, to *ſqueeze* the *Latter*, in order to come at the *Former*. Add to this, That *Bingley*, through his whole Evidence, never ſo much as inſinuated that *Neynoe* had at all laid it to that *Miniſter's* Charge, that He ever once attempted to perſuade Him to *forge*, to *invent*, or to *falſify*; but indeed, that He employed Him to quite another Purpoſe, *that* of diſcovering the *Truth*, and finding out the *Fictitious Names*; and preſt him to nothing but to confeſs what He knew, and to be a *Legal Evidence* of what He ſhould ſo confeſs. And this, all the World will allow, is a Part agreeable to the *Character* of a *Miniſter*, and to the Duty of a Lover of his Country.

After theſe Obſervations, it is needleſs to remark how inſignificant it is, in Mr. *Kelly*, to argue that this *Confeſſion* made to *Bingley* muſt be *ſincere*, becauſe it was made after *Neynoe* was taken at *Deal*; *at a Time when He ſaw his Villainy detected, and believed Himſelf in the greateſt Danger, and wanted* Bingley's *Aſſiſtance to help Him out*—For it appears that, take the *Confeſſion* as Mr. *Kelly* Himſelf has partially and invidiouſly related it, and ſuppoſe it to be never ſo ſincere, it amounts to no more, than that *Neynoe* owned He had received Money from One of the *Miniſters*, for a good and juſtifiable End; and that That *Miniſter* was angry with the *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter*, and thought He had diſcovered enough to come *at* Him, *through* Mr. *Kelly*. But ſee how inconſiſtent and inſufficient all ſuch *Inventions* as theſe are. For *Neynoe's* Want of *Bingley's* Aſſiſtance, joined to his Knowledge of his Principles and Party Zeal, is a *Proof* of the very contrary; and gives Ground to think that *Neynoe* would not be ſincere with his Companion; nor ſuffer Himſelf to tell Him any thing but what ſhould engage *Him* (whom He knew to be a *Jacobite*) to ſerve and aſſiſt Him at ſuch a Juncture. But, what is ſtill more abſolutely irreconcileable with Mr. *Kelly's* own Deſign, He repreſents *Neynoe* as having received Money, in order to be a *Villain*, or a *Falſe Accuſer*; to help a *Great Man* to reach the Perſon of an *Eminent Prelate*; and calls *Neynoe*, the Perſon *deſigned for the Deſtruction of that Prelate*; making the *Whole* a *Plot* between *Neynoe* and that *Great Man:* and then, forgetting Himſelf, dates the Diſcovery of his *Villainy* from his Apprehenſion at *Deal.* Whereas, if there be any thing beſides *Wicked Invention* in theſe *Wicked Suggeſtions*; the *Miniſter* who employed Him, knew the *Villainy* from the Beginning: nor could *Neynoe* apprehend Himſelf to be at all in Danger from that *Villainy*, which He is at the ſame time ſuppoſed to have entered into, by the Direction of that *Miniſter*, who is here abſurdly ſaid to have *diſcovered* it, *long after* He muſt have known it. But who can wonder at this *Self-contradiction*, when Mr. *Kelly* again forgets Himſelf ſo far, as to repreſent the ſame *Miniſter*, even after this Diſcovery of *Neynoe's* Villainy, and after the *Death* of *Him* who was his only *Aſſiſtant*, as ſtill purſuing the ſame Deſign againſt the *Biſhop* and *Kelly*, though He knew it to be all an *Invention*, and though *Neynoe*, who had invented it, and who alone could ſupport it, was dead and gone. It is almoſt an Inſult upon the Common Senſe of Mankind, ſo much as to point out ſuch flagrant *Inconſiſtencies*, and *Self-contradictions*; much more, to inſiſt upon them.

The *Importance* of this *Enquiry*, and the *Wickedneſs* of this *Charge*, have carried Me already beyond bounds. Several *Circumſtances* of it remain ſtill to be conſidered. I do not avoid them, but delay them to the next Opportunity, with an Aſſurance that They ſhall be proved to be mere *Impoſſibilities* in Fact; or mere *Inventions* of this *Conſpirator* and his *Great Maſter*, as a *Supplement* to their Part in the *Conſpiracy*, and Marks of their continued Zeal and *Virulence* againſt a Government, which They are reſolved to *ſhake* by the vileſt *Calumnies*, ſince They cannot prevail to *overturn* it by more open and direct Aſſaults.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XXXVII. LONDON JOURNAL, June 8, 1723.

I WILL now conſider the remaining Circumſtances which Mr. *Kelly* produces, as Evidences of that *Imagined Forgery* in *Others*, by which He would hope to cover the *Real* Treaſon of *Himſelf* and his *Great Friend.*

3. *The very Cypher* (ſays He) *by which the Letters* [viz. the *Three Letters* charged upon Mr. *Kelly*] *were written (and which He* [Neynoe] *owned to have received from that Miniſter) was actually caught upon the Perſon* [Bingley] *to whom He* [Neynoe] *gave it.* From hence Mr. *Kelly* hoped to inſinuate this wicked *Concluſion*, That this very Cypher had been invented and agreed upon, by that *Miniſter* and Mr. *Neynoe*, to write thoſe Letters by, which were afterwards to be fixt upon Mr. *Kelly* and the *Biſhop.* But this Piece of *ſhameleſs* Invention is deſtroyed, not only by its own Abſurdity, but by its Contradiction to the Truth of *Facts*, even as They ſtood in *Bingley's* own Story; and much more, as They appeared in the *Whole* Evidence. In the firſt Place, there was no *Cypher* taken upon *Bingley*, neither did *B.* pretend there was. The *Paper* taken upon *Bingley*, which He had received from *Neynoe*, was a *Catalogue* of *Fictitious Names*, acknowledged to be given Him by that *Miniſter*, for Him to find out the Perſons truly meant by all of them: over againſt *Some* of which, *Neynoe* had writ the *Names* of *ſome* Perſons, as ſignified by them. This agrees exactly with what *Bingley* Himſelf ſaid: *viz.* That *Neynoe* told Him, his Errand was, to find out the *True Names* ſignified by the *Fictitious Names* in that Paper. And this itſelf is a Demonſtration, that Whoever gave Him this Liſt of *Fictitious Names*, did not give Him at the ſame time the *Names*

of the *Perſons* ſuppoſed to be meant by Them; becauſe This was the Point, He Himſelf was employed to diſcover. This is the *Paper*, and This only, which was found upon *Bingley*, to whom *Neynoe* had given it. And the *Falſe Conjectures* written over againſt *Some* of theſe *Fictitious* Names by *Neynoe* Himſelf, being perfectly different from *Thoſe* that were always underſtood by the *Miniſters* to be meant by Them, is an additional Evidence, that This could not be any Agreement to contrive the *Correſpondence* in Queſtion under theſe *Names*; which are ſome of them repreſented by *Neynoe* to ſignify *Perſons*, whom through the whole *Correſpondence* They are not interpreted *once* to ſignify; and which thus interpreted, inſtead of explaining, abſolutely deſtroy the Senſe of all the Intercepted Letters. For inſtance, againſt Mrs. *Killigrew* is writ Pr. *Sobieſki*, though Mrs. *K.* is deſcribed in the Letters, as in *England*, and having a *ſick Daughter*, &c. which Circumſtance pointed plainly to Mr. *D. Kelly's* Family. Over againſt *Digby* was writ the *Pretender*, though that Name was well known to the *Miniſters* to mean General *Dillon*. What therefore, can any One think of the *Conſcience* of a *Man*, who can repreſent *This Paper* to the World, as the *Cypher by which the Letters* in queſtion *were writ*; and, merely out of Revenge on *Thoſe* who have detected his Treaſon, can invent ſuch a *Material Fact*, againſt the Tenour of *his own* Evidence, as well as of the *Contrary?* Mr. *Kelly* goes on.

4. *Neynoe* confeſſed [*viz.* to *Bingley*] *that He put a Paper of Directions into one of my Drawers, by which moſt of the treaſonable Letters were addreſſed. And it has been proved that thoſe Drawers were conſtantly open*—This looks plain and poſitive. And yet, plain and poſitive as it appears, it is All nothing but *Downright Falſhood*, and Wilful Invention. The *Meſſengers* employed about this Affair, did *Both* give Evidence upon *Oath*, that This *very Paper* of *Directions* was taken, *not* in any of Mr. *Kelly's* Drawers, but in his *Pocket*. Beſides, Two other Circumſtances bear Teſtimony againſt Mr. *Kelly* in this. The *Paper* was in *his own* Hand-writing: and *Neynoe* was not known to, or heard of by, any of the *Miniſters*, till *Nine Weeks* after that Paper was taken in Mr. *Kelly's* Pocket. How baſe is it therefore, to inſinuate as if This *might probably* be left in one of his Drawers by *Neynoe*, from *his having been alone in his Room, the Night before he went to France*; when this very Paper of *Directions*, about which He is ſpeaking, was taken upon *Himſelf*, ſome Months *before* that Night. So that it muſt appear an excellent Argument in Mr. *Kelly's* ingenious Mouth. *Neynoe* once left a Paper in one of my *Drawers:* therefore, a *Paper* of *Directions* for treaſonable Letters, taken in my *Pocket*, and writ in *my own Hand*, is that very *Paper* which *N.* writ and left in my *Drawer*, ſome Months *after* it was ſeized upon myſelf. But I muſt not here forget the *Evidence* called by Mr. *Kelly* Himſelf, the Servant Maid of the Houſe, who, when ſhe was examined upon *Oath*, teſtified that *Neynoe* wrote ſomething in Mr. *Kelly's* Room; that, whatever it was, He folded it up in the Shape of a Letter; and that *N.* was ſo far from making a Secret of it, (as He muſt have done, if it had been Part of the *Plot* againſt Mr. *Kelly*) that He Himſelf bid this Servant tell Mr. *K.* as ſoon as He ſhould come Home, that He had left a *Letter* for Him in One of his *Drawers:* which Circumſtance is abſolutely inconſiſtent with any *Villainous Deſign* againſt Mr. *Kelly*.

5. The Accuſation goes on thus—*Since* Neynoe *was the firſt that ſet the Miniſtry upon intercepting Letters, which He ſaid were mine, it is very extraordinary that ſuch a Material Part of his Evidence ſhould be omitted in his Examination*; *or, that the very firſt Letters ſo intercepted ſhould be Thoſe alledged againſt the* Biſhop *of* Rocheſter. But all this again is a vile, affected, wilful *Miſrepreſentation* of the *Fact*;

framed only for carrying on the Inſinuation, that *Neynoe* was the Great Contriver of this *Plot* from the Beginning: and diſproved in a Moment, by only calling to Mind, what was teſtified upon *Oath* at the *Bar*, viz. That theſe *Three Letters* were *ſtopped* and *copied* at the *Poſt Office*, *three Months* before ever *Neynoe's* Perſon, or Name, was known to any *One* of the *Miniſters*. They were *ſtopt* the *latter End* of *April*. Mr. *Kelly* was taken up the 19th of *May*. Mr. *Walpole* never ſaw nor heard of *Neynoe* till the 28th of *July*. And *Fact* itſelf entirely correſponds with this. *Neynoe's* Letter was produced and read, in which He makes his *firſt* Offers to be ſerviceable to the *Government*, and deſires an *Advertiſement* to be put into the next *Gazette*, which was done *July* 31. Upon which, He came to Mr. *Walpole*, by the Name, as I remember, of *Walton*. His *Examination* was not taken till the Middle of *September*, after his being brought up from *Deal*. Mr. *Kelly* (too groſly to be thought ſincere) wonders why no Notice ſhould be taken, in his Examination, of *Points*, which never were true in Fact, and never could be. *Neynoe* was ſo far from being the *firſt* who put the *Miniſters* upon ſtopping or intercepting Letters, that He was not known to *One* of Them till *three Months* after the firſt Letters were ſtopt. And that theſe were ſtopt, was owing entirely to the *Intelligences* from abroad, long before *N.* was heard of. That the *firſt Letters* ſtopt were the *Letters* alledged againſt the *Biſhop* and Mr. *Kelly*, was becauſe *Theſe* were found at that Time at the *Poſt Office*, going for *France*, when the *Miniſters firſt* thought it expedient to ſearch after ſuch Letters. But Mr. *Kelly* (who would willingly make a *Myſtery* of a *plain Fact*, by confounding *Times* and *Things*, againſt all Evidence,) wilfully forgets that *Neynoe* never *laid theſe three particular Letters* to his Charge; nay, as it appeared, never knew that there were *Three ſuch Letters* intercepted. What He ſaid in his Examination was in general, That Mr. *Kelly* was *Secretary* to the *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter*, in the *Treaſonable Correſpondence* then going on; and the Like. And therefore, He need not wonder that the Part of *Neynoe's* Evidence about theſe *Three Letters* in particular, ſhould be omitted; when it is evident there never was, nor could be, any ſuch *Part* of his Evidence, as could relate to what He Himſelf knew nothing of, and was never aſked about.

6. When all will not do, Mr. *Kelly* has Recourſe to Mere, Native, Genuine, Unbluſhing Aſſurance. *And* (ſays He) *if the Originals of thoſe Three Letters were ſtopt*, I DO NOT AT ALL DOUBT, *but they might be proved to be my Accuſer's* [Neynoe's] *own Hand-writing*. This is, indeed, a *Maſter-ſtroke* of *Determined Calumny*. But where *Malice* and *Rage* are ſtrong, They ſeldom take Counſel of Wiſdom or Decency, or even *Probability*. For, otherwiſe, Could a Man of Mr. *Kelly's* Senſe, poſſibly let ſuch a *Ridiculous Aſſertion* ſlip from him? Could he imagine *Neynoe* forging (as He ſuppoſes) a *Plot*;—arming Himſelf with all his *Cunning*, to manage it dexterouſly;—writing Letters on Purpoſe to be ſtopped, and taken for Mr. *Kelly's*;—and, at the ſame time, writing theſe Letters, not in Imitation of Mr. *Kelly's* Hand, but in *his own* proper Hand?—that is, contriving a *Plot* againſt *Another* in ſuch Manner, as certainly to fall upon his own Head? Did ever Man, who was to fix *Letters* upon *Another*, contrive to write Them in *his own* Hand; and this ſo plainly, that the *Other* ſhould have *no Doubt* to prove Them to have been his Hand-writing? And if theſe *Original Letters* were *forged*, to be fixed upon Mr. *Kelly*, how came the *Originals* to be allowed to go forward? How came they to produce *Anſwers* from Abroad? And how came Mr. *Kelly* Himſelf to receive Any of thoſe *Anſwers*, as We ſhall ſee in the *Sequel* of the Evidence? I might aſk too, If this had been ſo, Why did not *Neynoe*, *who had at laſt ſo deep a Senſe of his Guilt*, according to Mr. *Kelly*, and who confeſſed

ſeveral Things to *Bingley*; Why did not He own this greateſt Guilt, and give *B*. Commiſſion to ſay that theſe *Three Letters* particularly were forged by Himſelf? Since, if He were truly penitent for Injuries done to Mr. *Kelly*, He could make no Satisfaction without ſuch an expreſs Acknowledgment. But there was no Appearance of any *Tendency* towards any ſuch *Reparation* as This, throughout the Whole of *Bingley's* Story. And this ſhews that *Neynoe* knew nothing of theſe *Three* particular *Letters*.

As I am now conſidering the *vile Imputations*, Mr. *Kelly's* fruitful Invention has laid upon the *Adminiſtration*; I will, before I go to the *Poſitive* Evidence againſt Him, put together his *Other Complaints* in *p.* 12, which ſeem to point the ſame Way. He repreſents it as a ſingular Hardſhip to have *been held to* a conſiderable *Bail*, for a *Crime*, which would have juſtified a much ſeverer Conduct towards Him. And becauſe the Nature of ſuch Diſcoveries did not admit the *ſpecifying* what Particulars were then laid to his Charge, the Want of *This* is added to the Number of his *Grievances*. He laments *a long and cloſe Confinement where the Expence bore no Proportion to his Circumſtances*. And yet, mean and helpleſs as He repreſents Them, when a Sum of Money of *above Thirty Pounds* came to Him from the *Government*, He ſo little needed it, that He makes it his Boaſt in *p.* 13, that He *made no uſe* of it, but gave it to the *Warders* appointed to attend Him. So well was He ſupplied, either from *Himſelf*, or from *Other Hands*. But this is not all. It ſeems, it is now a great *Crime* in Thoſe in the *Adminiſtration*, to endeavour to produce ſufficient *Proofs* to the World of that *Treaſon* which lies already before Them, in a Light too plain to be doubted of. Every Attempt to examine Perſons to this Purpoſe, is declared to be *tampering* with them. Every Endeavour to perſuade Perſons to ſpeak the Truth, in order to ſave their Country, is conſtrued to be little leſs than *Subornation*. Nay, when Mr. *Kelly* is ſetting forth his *Grievances* in moving Complaints, He is ſo abſurd as to mention the *Examination* of *People*, *ſome of them of the meaneſt Rank*,—of *a Servant of his own*,—of *Friends of his own*,—of *a Perſon in* Newgate,—as *Aggravations* of his Misfortunes. Whereas, Who ſo proper to be examined, as *Acquaintance* and *Friends*, and Thoſe who are moſt likely to know what They are examined about? And how much greater a *Hardſhip*, how much juſter a Ground of *Complaint*, would it have been, if Mr. *Kelly* could have urged, That Perſons *not at all acquainted* with Him, *perfect Strangers*, ſuch as had *never ſeen* or *known Him*, had been treated with, to teſtify againſt Him what They could not know? Had *This* been the Caſe, Mr. *Kelly* would have rejoiced to have turned the *Complaint* thus. But as it was not, I can eaſily conceive that his Guilt is Reaſon enough for his Anger, that *Thoſe Perſons were examined about Him, who were the only proper Perſons to teſtify any thing either of his Behaviour, or his Hand-writing*. That Any of his *Intimate Friends* were *impriſoned for not ſwearing againſt Him*, as He without bluſhing affirms, is an *Infamous Imputation*, which the *ſame* unreſtrained Conſcience alone can pretend to juſtify, that firſt permitted Him to invent and utter it, without the leaſt Shadow or Pretence of Proof, or the leaſt Inſinuation to this Purpoſe, from any confined Perſons *Themſelves*. Mr. *Kelly* alone is *Bigot* enough to his Cauſe, to lay *This* to the *Charge* of the *Adminiſtration*, at the Expence of his own *Underſtanding* and *Honeſty*.

And *He* indeed, appears too much hardened, to ſtop his Imputation here. For, after having weakly called theſe Proceedings (which are the Neceſſary and Common Proceedings of *All Adminiſtrations* in Caſes of *Conſpiracies*) by the Name of *Hardſhips hitherto unheard of in* England, He goes on to a new Inſtance of Infamy. *All which* (ſays He) *is of a Piece with an Infamous Offer made to Myſelf by one of the*

Under-ſecretaries *of* State, *who—came to Me with a Meſſage*, as He ſaid, *from One of his Superiors, to let Me know that I had now a very good Opportunity of ſerving Myſelf, and that He was ſent to offer Me my own Conditions. And when I declared Myſelf an entire Stranger to the Conſpiracy, and was ſorry to find that Noble Lord have ſo baſe an Opinion of Me, He ſeemed to wonder that I ſhould neglect ſo good an Occaſion of ſerving Myſelf, eſpecially when I might have any thing I pleaſed to aſk for.* You ſee that, in the midſt of all his *Rancour*, Mr. *Kelly's* tender Conſcience did not permit Him *expreſly to aſſert* that He was ſollicited to be a *Falſe Witneſs*, or to invent an Accuſation, and teſtify a *Forged Crime*, againſt any Man. But the *Inſinuation* is plain; and would indeed be much ſtronger than it is, were it not that the Perſon here meant, Mr. *Delafaye*, came to the *Bar*, and upon *Oath* not only *contradicted*, but *confounded* the *Inventer* of it. That *Gentleman* declared, that He had been in publick Buſineſs during the Courſe of *Five* and *Twenty* Years; and hoped He might appeal to a Great Number of Perſons of the higheſt Rank, to whom He had the Honour to have his Conduct known, That he was neither ſo *Weak*, nor ſo *Wicked*, as to carry any ſuch Meſſage, as could be in any Senſe called *Baſe* and *Infamous:* nor was the *Noble Lord* pointed at, capable of ſending any ſuch: That the Day after Mr. *Kelly's* firſt Examination, He went to Him, to ſee if He were in a better Diſpoſition than He had ſhewed the Day before; and might then very probably ſay to Him, that the Way to obtain the favourable Opinion of the *Lords* of the *Council*, was to make a frank open honeſt Confeſſion of the *Truth*; but that as to any Offers to Mr. *Kelly* of *his own Conditions*, or *Offers* of any ſort, He ſolemnly declared, He neither *directly* nor *indirectly* made any ſuch. Nor could any Words uſed by Him *(He ſaid)* be ſo underſtood, by any Man of Common Senſe, much leſs by a Man of Mr. *Kelly's* Good Underſtanding. This Teſtimony, joined with the acknowledged Character of Mr. *Delafaye*, had ſuch a Viſible Effect, that I remember Mr. *Kelly* ſeemed *ſtruck* and *ſtunned* with it. However, as He thought it neceſſary to ſay ſomething, He inadvertently in his *Confuſion* let fall an *Unguarded Expreſſion*, which helped to ſhew that He had not been preſſed to teſtify to *Falſhood*; but that He knew a good deal of *Truth*, which He would not tell. For, He alledged that He had written down what had paſſed between Mr. *Delafaye* and *Himſelf*, immediately after their Converſation together; and that the *Paper* itſelf, in which He had written it, was taken amongſt the *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter's* Papers, as the *Biſhop's Secretary* had told Him: and to this *Paper* He appealed. Mr. *Delafaye* replied, that the *Papers* taken at the *Biſhop's*, were marked by the *Biſhop's Secretary*, and tied up in his Preſence; and that there was no ſuch Paper amongſt them: and to *This* One of the *Secretaries* of *State* likewiſe teſtified. This ſhews that the *Paper* had been deſtroyed before the *Biſhop's* Houſe was ſearched. But Mr. *Kelly's* Account of it too plainly proves, that there was a Correſpondence between Mr. *K.* and the *Biſhop*, as between Perſons concerned in the ſame Cauſe; that Mr. *K.* thought it of Importance to that *Prelate*, to inform Him of Every thing that paſſed in his *Examinations*, of which therefore He ſent Him Minutes; that Mr. *K.* was well acquainted with the *Biſhop's Secretary*, and had diſcourſed with Him about the *Papers* ſeized at the *Biſhop's:* And all this is a Proof, naturally and unwarily given by Mr. *Kelly* Himſelf, of that more than ordinary Correſpondence and Alliance with that *Prelate*, in this very Affair of the *Conſpiracy*, which He was endeavouring, if He could, to hide and palliate. For the *Biſhop* could not have had that *Paper* of *Kelly's* Writing, but from *Kelly*. *Kelly* could not ſend it, but becauſe it was of Concern to the *Biſhop*, to know his *Firmneſs* to the Cauſe, and his obſtinate Silence. *This* could not be of Concern to the *Biſhop*, but becauſe the *Biſhop* was in ſuch ſort engaged in the ſame Cauſe, that it was in Mr. *Kelly's* Power, by ſpeaking Truth, to hurt Him. And by the Way, This gives Light to the *Letter* D. 45, in the *Appendix* to the *Report* of the *H.* of *Commons*, written without doubt by Mr. *Kelly*, in which particular Mention is made of a *Paper*, as taken amongſt the *Biſhop's*, giving an Account of *Kelly's* Examination before the *Council*; and expoſes the poor Artifice there mentioned, of the *Biſhop's* endorſing it with his own Hand, *This came from an unknown Hand.*

I have now done with Mr. *Kelly's* direct *Imputations* upon the *Adminiſtration.* I ſhall in my next proceed to his Account of his own Caſe, and his State of the Evidence againſt Himſelf: which ſhall be ſhewn to be as entirely *falſe*, as the *Other* has been proved *extravagantly wicked.* The Senſe of which forces Me to ſay, before I quite leave Sight of the Subject, " That there are no Enemies ſo " terrible, or ſo deteſtable, as Thoſe, whoſe *Religion*, whoſe *Piety*, whoſe *Con-* " *ſciences*, can permit and engage Them to falſify, to invent, to propagate Every " thing that is *Infamous*, to the Ruin or Hurt of their Country; but will not " ſuffer Them to ſpeak One *True Word*, or do One *Honeſt Action*, for its Pre- " ſervation and Security. From ſuch *Conſciences*, and from *Thoſe* that have Them, " *Good Lord deliver Us!*"

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER XXXVIII. LONDON JOURNAL, June 15, 1723.

I COME now to the *poſitive Evidence*, in ſupport of the *Charge* againſt Mr. *Kelly:* and to ſhew the *Artifice* He uſes in ſtating, repreſenting and evading it. The main *Charge* againſt *Him* was, that " He was the *Writer* of *Three* Treaſon- " able Letters, ſuppoſed to be for the *Pretender*, the *Earl* of *Mar*, and *General* " *Dillon*; and that He ſent Them to Mr. *Gordon* at *Boulogne*, with Directions to " be delivered to one Mr. *Talbot.*" The *Evidence* given of this, He ſtates *p.* 7, in this Manner: " *And for Proof of This, the Clerks of the Poſt Office are produced, who ſwear, That thoſe Letters were (to the beſt of their Knowledge) written in the ſame Hand with an Original which was ſtopt as a Specimen of it: which Original has been ſworn by Two Perſons to be my Writing, and conſequently, Thoſe Letters muſt be too.*" Againſt the *Former* of theſe, *viz.* the *Oaths* of the *Clerks* of the *Poſt Office*, Mr. *Kelly* argues thus, *p.* 7: " *Theſe Letters* (viz. the *Three Treaſonable Letters) are dated the 20th of* April, *and the Specimen ſo ſtopt, the 20th of* Auguſt: *Juſt four Months after. And how it is poſſible for People (who receive ſuch a Number of Letters) to ſwear to a Likeneſs of Hand, at ſuch a Diſtance of Time; and what Weight ought to be laid upon this kind of Evidence,—muſt be ſubmitted.*" But Mr. *Kelly* Himſelf knows, and knew when he ſpoke it, that All this is falſe. The *Clerks* were aſked ſeveral times, in his Hearing, Are You ſure that the *Three Letters* of *April* 20, were in the ſame *Hand* with *That* of *Aug.* 20? The Anſwer They gave was, *Yes*, as ſure as They could be about any Hand-writing in the World. It was then aſked, How can You be ſure of this, at the Diſtance of *Four Months?* Could You pretend to carry in your Memories the exact Traces of any Hand *ſo long?* Their Anſwer was, *No:* nor would They pretend to ſay what they did, upon ſuch a Memory. But, They affirmed, there was hardly a *Week*, from *April* 20, to *Aug.* 20; in which They did not ſee, and *copy*, One or more Letters in *this ſame* Hand: by which Means They came to know it ſo well, that They could, by ſeeing the *Superſcription* only, pick out the *Letters* of this *Hand-writing*, from the whole Lump of *Letters*, as

They always did. There was *One* thing, indeed, very remarkable, and which will help to prove the *Hand-writing* to be Mr. *Kelly's*; *viz.* that the *little Time* in this *Interval*, in which No Letters came to the *Poſt-office* in *that* Hand, was the preciſe Time whilſt Mr. *Kelly* was in Cuſtody, before his being *Bailed*, and was not ſuffered to write what He pleaſed; but that, as ſoon as He was *bailed*, and could write freely, They came again, and continued ſo to do *Every Week*.

It being therefore, plain that the *Clerks* muſt have been very good Judges of a *Hand*, which came before Them, and was copied by Them, *Every Week for near Four Months*; and not ſeen only *twice* in that Space of Time, as Mr. *K.* and the *Biſhop* diſingenuouſly repreſented it, againſt repeated Evidence: And this very Diſtance of *Four Months* from the *firſt Letters* in this Hand, (ſo magnified by the *Biſhop* and Mr. *Kelly*) appearing from hence to be a *ſingular Advantage*, inſtead of a Detriment, to their Teſtimony; the next Point is, What Anſwer, Mr. *Kelly* makes to the *Evidence* given to prove that *Original* of *Aug.* 20, to be *His Hand-writing*. In *p.* 7, He goes on thus: "*And as to the Perſons who have ſworn to my Hand;—One of them is a Meſſenger, who never ſaw any of my Writing, but the Superſcription of a few Letters—Beſides, He was turned out of his Employment upon my Account: and a few Days after He gave this Evidence in the Houſe of Commons, I ſaw a Paragraph in the News-papers, that He was reſtored to it again. And as to the Other,—He is a Servant who attended Me only about three Weeks, and was turned off for an Infamous Action—Beſides, He has confeſſed, that He never ſaw Me write but as He went backwards and forwards in the Room, and at ſuch a diſtance as not to be able to diſtinguiſh One Character from another: And it has been proved by Two Witneſſes, (One of which was a particular Friend of his own) That He declared, He never knew any thing of my Hand, but was threatened by the Secretary of State into the Affidavit which has been printed to that Purpoſe in the* Appendix." Theſe are his *Objections* to the *Evidence* of *Hutchins*, and *Malone*: entirely again contrary to *Truth* and *Fact*. For *Hutchins* the *Meſſenger* declared at the Bar upon *Oath*, that He ſate cloſe by Mr. *Kelly*, while He wrote, at different times, *Ten* or *Twelve* Letters; *Three* of which He remembered were to *Carte*; and that He *read* the whole Body, Every Word, of all thoſe Letters, before He delivered them; and that This He was ſtrictly enjoined to do by One of the *Secretaries* of *State*, and did it exactly according to thoſe Orders. After this, How could This be *honeſtly* repreſented as the *Teſtimony* of a Perſon, *who never ſaw any of his Writing, but the Superſcription of a Few Letters!* As to his Inſinuation, from a *News-paper*, in which perhaps He Himſelf might have *purpoſely* procured it to be inſerted, of *Hutchins's being reſtored to his Place*; it is infamous, becauſe He knew it to be otherwiſe. For *Hutchins* Himſelf had upon *Oath* declared to Mr. *K's* Face, that He was *not reſtored* to his *Place*; nay, the *Place* was known to be *then* filled up, (as it *now* remains,) with *Another Perſon*.

As to *Malone*, It is of no Importance whether He was *turned away* for too *great Familiarity* with a *Maid Servant*; or whether the *Pretence* only was taken from thence to diſmiſs *Them Both* for ſomething elſe, which it would not perhaps be very much for Mr. *Kelly's* Honour to enquire into, at a Time when He ſeems rather willing to appear as a Man of *Religion* and *Conſcience*, than a *Man* well acquainted with the *Gallantries* of the *Town*. The ſame *Vice* is as *infamous* for the *Maſter*, as for the *Man*: and if *That* were ſufficient to deſtroy the Validity of *Evidence* in a *Court* of *Juſtice*; I am ſorry to ſay it, I fear, Mr. *Kelly* Himſelf could not be admitted in any Cauſe as an *Evidence*; nay, that there could be no longer any *Juſtice* ſubſiſting, for want of *Evidences*; ſo common are ſome *Town-vices* grown. The Points which are of Importance in an *Evidence*, are of another ſort; whether He ſpeaks conſiſtently, and probably; and whether He has given no known Proofs of his Diſregard to *Truth*, and Contempt of an *Oath*. And nothing of *This* appeared in this Caſe. *Malone* depoſed, that He had frequently ſeen Mr. *Kelly* write the *Directions* of *Letters*; which Letters He [*Malone*] afterwards carried to the *Poſt-office*; and viewed them, and read them, as He carried them. And that which made his *Evidence* particularly of Force with regard to the *Letters* in *Queſtion*, was, what He teſtified upon *Oath*, that ſeveral of Thoſe *Letters* which He had formerly carried to the *Poſt*, had the ſame *Direction* with that of the *Original Letter* of *Aug.* 20, which He had remarked ſo much, as to repeat it by his *Memory*, *A Monſieur Monſieur Waters Banquier a Paris.* Theſe former Directions He remembered, and ſwore that the *Hand* of this *Original Letter* ſhewn Him at the Bar, was that *ſame Hand* in which Thoſe *Directions* of *Letters* formerly delivered to Him by Mr. *Kelly*, and carried by Him to the *Poſt*, uſed to be written. What appeared of *Terror* was, Not that Any *Great Man* had *terrified* Him; but that He Himſelf, appearing before ſuch Great Men, (as it was very natural) had been in ſome *Terror* and *Confuſion*. He utterly diſowned, upon *Oath*, any *Threatning*, or any *Promiſe*, or any thing like them; and utterly denied that He had ſaid any thing to Any One, of his *not knowing* Mr. *Kelly's Hand*; but appeared very candid, as well as very conſiſtent with Himſelf.

Indeed, *Something* at the ſame time appeared, not very much for the Honour of Mr. *Kelly*, or of his Friends; that One *Fitzgerald* had been tampering with this poor young Man; that He had made Him *drunk*, in order to pump ſomething out of Him; and had, when He had got Him into that *Condition*, writ down from his Mouth ſome Heads, or *Memorandums*, relating to Mr. *Kelly*, and to *Malone's Examination*, and had prevailed with *Malone* to ſign this Paper. *Malone* remembered ſo much, as to own this: and *Fitzgerald* Himſelf owned it; and declared, that He did it out of *Friendſhip* to *Malone*, in order to mark down ſome Heads to help *Malone's* Memory, that He might be the more ſure of what He ſhould go on to ſay upon that *Subject*. And now appeared a very ſcandalous Scene. It was aſked, Who took and kept that *Paper* ſo ſigned? It was anſwered and owned that *Fitzgerald* took it. *He* was then aſked, Why He did not produce it? *What* was become of it? He ſaid, He did not know,—He could not find it,—He had loſt it,—and the like. He was then preſſed, Since You ſwear Yourſelf, that You wrote down all this only and ſolely to refreſh *Malone's* Memory, to what Purpoſe did You get Him to *ſign* it? And above all, How came You to *take away* with *You* a *Paper*, which could not be of uſe to *Malone's* Memory, but by being *left* with *Himſelf?* No Anſwer could be framed to theſe *Queſtions*, but what made the Appearance worſe. And all that was evident from this *Witneſs*, (called by Mr. *Kelly* Himſelf,) was, That there had been an *Infamous Juggle* to make a poor Fellow drunk, in order to make Him ſign ſomething for Mr. *Kelly's* Advantage; and that, even in *that* Condition, They could get *Nothing* out of Him, which it was thought for Mr. *Kelly's* Intereſt to produce, or ſo much as to preſerve in being. *All this* did ſtrongly, in the *Opinion* of Thoſe who heard it, corroborate, inſtead of weakening, the Truth of *Malone's* Evidence.

Mr. *Kelly* appeals likewiſe in *p.* 7, to ſome of the *Letters* referred to by *Hutchins*, which were produced at the *Bar*, and might be ſeen, as He ſays, *to bear no Reſemblance* to that Original of *Aug.* 20; and adds, *p.* 8, *I have brought ſeveral Perſons of Credit and Undoubted Characters, who have all teſtified, That the Hand—is not mine, nor any thing like it.* The *State* of his *Evidence* was this. In the *Houſe* of *Commons* He called *Dennis Kelly* and *John Macnamara*. The *Firſt* denied the *Letter* of the 20th of *Aug.* to be Mr. *Kelly's Hand-writing*; and ſo He did *All other* Papers that were ſhewed Him, except the *Letters* to Lord *Townſhend* and Mr. *Delafaye,* which the *Priſoner* Himſelf was very willing ſhould be owned. The *Second,* not being ſo well prepared, denied *Them All* to be his Hand-writing, as well *Thoſe* which were dangerous to Mr. *Kelly* to own, as Thoſe which Mr. *Kelly* Himſelf was deſirous ſhould be acknowledged as His own Hand-writing. But, (what was very remarkable) Mrs. *Barnes,* called by Himſelf for another Purpoſe, and having *All* the *Letters* ſhewn to Her, owned Them ALL to be his *Hand-writing.* When He was to produce his *Evidence* for the ſame End, before the *Houſe* of *Lords,* inſtead of calling *Macnamara,* who had made ſo hurtful a Blunder as to *diſown All* the *Papers* in a Lump, He added to *Dennis Kelly,* one *Maurice Brown.* And their *Evidence* at the *Bar* of that *Houſe* ſtood thus. The *Former* owned, (as before,) the *Letters* to Lord *T.* and Mr. *D.* to be his Hand-writing: *Denied* that of *Aug.* 20, to be *at all like* his Hand; and owned a *Paper* (taken at Mrs. *Barnes's*) containing *Articles* of *Marriage* between Mr. *Kelly* and *Her* to be *ſomewhat like* his Hand; but *ſo little,* that He ſhould judge it *not to be* his Hand. But who cannot ſee that a *Paper* upon *that* Subject, taken at *that* Place, and *like* Mr. *Kelly's* Hand, could be *No One's* Hand but *his own?* And who cannot ſee, that this Expert Witneſs could have no Reaſon for denying *This Paper* to be *His Hand,* but becauſe it was ſo manifeſtly the *ſame* with *that Letter* of *Aug.* 20, upon which the *Priſoner's* Fate was to depend? *Maurice Brown,* when He came to give *his* Evidence, was very different from the *other.* For He owned *That* to Lord *Townſhend,* and denied *That* to Mr. *Delafaye,* though both manifeſtly the ſame Hand; and Both acknowledged to be *His own,* by the *Priſoner* himſelf. He acknowledged the *Marriage Articles* to be Mr. *Kelly's Hand:* But *denied* the Letter of *Aug.* 20, to be *at all like it*; though ſo evidently the *very ſame Character* with thoſe *Articles,* that *Dennis Kelly* knew better than to own the *Paper* of *Articles,* becauſe He foreſaw That this would be in effect to own the *Letter* of *Aug.* 20. With this *Variety* and *Uncertainty* did his own *Evidences* treat this Affair; agreeing in nothing, but in a determined *Affirmation* that the *Letter* of *Aug.* 20, which they knew to be a Criminal Letter, was *not* his Hand-writing; but confounding it again by their oppoſite Teſtimonies as to *other* Papers. And when they were aſked in *what* Mr. *K's* Hand-writing differed from *that Original* of *Aug.* 20, They could name no Particular, but that He generally wrote a *ſmaller Hand.* But this makes no material Difference, as to the Form and Duct of the *Letters* in any *Hand-writing.* Nor did it in this: as appeared plainly to Many who examined the *Letters* to which Mr. *K.* here appeals, as to his *own Writing*; and were convinced by the *Hand-writing,* though of a *ſmaller Size,* that the ſame Perſon who wrote *Theſe,* certainly wrote *That* of *Aug.* 20.

Mr. *Kelly's* pretended Attempt to prove that He did not write Theſe *Three Letters* from the *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter's* Mouth, or at *Bromley,* where the *Biſhop* was at the Time of their *Date,* was nothing but an *Attempt* to foreſtall the *Trial* of that *Prelate*; and was ſet aſide by his *Judges,* as what was no Part of the Charge againſt Mr. *Kelly,* nor of any Concern to Him to enter into: becauſe, if He could have demonſtrated This never ſo plainly, it could not at all have cleared *Himſelf,* or proved that theſe *Three Letters* were not his *Hand-writing,* written by *Him* for *ſome other* Perſon, at *ſome other* Place. Only *One* thing muſt not be forgot, That in this *Attempt* of his *Zeal* to ſerve his *Great Friend,* Mr. *K.* has ſhewn a ſhameleſs Diſregard to Truth, in affirming *p.* 8, that it was *proved,* that He was in *London* ALL *that Time,* viz. from *Apr.* 12, to *May* 5, as it is expreſſed in the foregoing *Paragraph*. For what Mrs. *Kilburne* and her Servant depoſed, was, that Mr. *K.* came to lodge at her Houſe, the *latter End* of *April*; that They did not remember He *lay abroad* any Night; but that He *generally* dined abroad. And how this *Teſtimony* about the *latter End* of *April*, comprehended All the Time from the *Twelfth Day*; or how their ſaying, He *did not lie abroad* any Night after He came thither, at all proved that He might not have been at *Bromley*, and back again, any one of thoſe Days in *April*, in which he lodged there; I leave to Mr. *K's Logick* to make out; and to his *Conſcience* to juſtify ſuch an *Affirmation*, even againſt the *Evidence* to which He appeals. Nay, what is more convincing againſt Mr. *Kelly*, He Himſelf owned to the *Committee* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, that He went out of Town the *Thurſday* Sevennight after his Return from *France*, i. e. the 19th of *April*. He ſaid it was to *Chelſea*; and for this He appealed to *One* there, who being examined, denied that ſhe *ever* knew or ſaw Him. So *forgetful* and *ſelf-contradictory* is *Guilt*, in its own Nature, as to make even Men of Parts confound their *own* Cauſe by their own *Evidence!* And who, but One in the Confuſion of *Guilt*, could affirm to the World that He had been proved to be ALL that Time in *London*, in *one* Part of which He had Himſelf declared that He was out of *London?*

After this, in *p.* 8, Mr. *Kelly* urges an *Affidavit* from Mr. *Gordon*, affirming *that He never received any ſuch Letters* (as the *Three* now in Queſtion) *from Mr.* K. *nor ever had any Correſpondence, or even Acquaintance, with Him.* But He wiſely hides from the *Reader*, That no *Manner* of *Proof* was brought that This was the *Affidavit* of that Mr. *Gordon*, to whom theſe *Letters* were ſuppoſed to be ſent; that there was not ſo much as a *Witneſs* to his *Hand*, which might eaſily have been procured amongſt the *Merchants* at *Boulogne*, if it had not been a Forgery: And what puts all beyond doubt, He conceals from the World, That a *Living Witneſs* appeared, and teſtified upon Oath, That being at *Boulogne* at the Time when the *Report* of the *H.* of *Commons* came firſt thither, *Alexander Gordon* the *Son*, upon Occaſion of that *Report*, owned to Him that Mr. *Johnſon (Kelly)* had been at *Boulogne*, and ſent for Him [*Gordon*] to a Tavern; that *Talbot* had likewiſe been there, and at his Houſe; that He did receive a *Letter* from Mr. *Johnſon* [*Kelly*] with a *Packet* encloſed, as mentioned in the *printed Report*, and delivered it to the *Gentleman* as He was directed. There was indeed Evidence given by a *Shoemaker*, (as Mr. *K.* ſays,) that Mr. *Talbot* was in *London* the Day theſe Letters are ſuppoſed to be delivered to Mr. *Talbot* at *Boulogne:* But not, that *This* was the ſame Perſon with *Him* to whom the Letters were to be delivered. On the contrary, there was *Evidence* read from Mr. *Crawford* and his *Secretary* at *Paris*, that They found the Name of One *Talbot* entered in the Man's Books who keeps the *Bagnio* at *Paris*, as coming thither to lodge on *Apr.* 30, that is, *May* 11, N. S. which agrees exactly with the Letters from *Dillon* and his *Secretary* to Mr. *Kelly*; and with *Gordon's* own Letter, in which He ſays, that the *Tall Black Gentleman* ſet out for *Paris*, *Apr.* 27, O. S. which by Miſtake is printed *Apr.* 30, in the *Report*. And as to Mr. *Kelly's* Argument from the Improbability that He ſhould ſend ſuch Letters by the *Common Poſt*; or not rather to *Paris* directly, than by Way of *Boulogne*; it may be accounted for from hence, that theſe *Letters* were to ſerve as *Credentials* to introduce Mr. *Talbot* into Confidence at *Paris*; and that Mr. *Talbot* was then at *Boulogne*, and might receive Them there from the Hands of Faithful Friends; and likewiſe, that being directed to *Boulogne*, and not to *Paris*, They might be thought leſs liable to Suſpicion at the *Poſt-office*.

This is the Whole of what relates to the *Charge* of the *Three Treaſonable Letters* written, and ſent abroad, by Mr. *Kelly*. The Nature of my Deſign makes it neceſſary to be thus particular: And I had rather appear tedious to *Some*, than have it ſaid by *Others*, that any *Material Points* were deſignedly overlooked, becauſe They could not be anſwered. And I hope, No honeſt *Reader*, though He ſhould be a little tired Himſelf, will grudge Me the Satisfaction (accompanied with a good deal of Pains) of tracing the *Conſpirators* through *Every Winding*, and *Turning* of their *Art*; and of ſhewing their *Manner* of *Defence* to be in Every Part of it as *Infamous*, as their *Conſpiracy* itſelf was *Wicked* and *Deteſtable*.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XXXIX. LONDON JOURNAL, June 22, 1723.

I COME now to another *Article*, which made a Part of the *Direct Charge* againſt Mr. *Kelly*, and was expreſly urged againſt Him, as a Ground of paſſing the *Bill*; and was taken, as He expreſſes it, *p.* 10, from *A Number of* Intercepted Letters *ſuppoſed to be* [*written to, and*] *received from the late Earl of* Mar, *General* Dillon, *and other Diſaffected Perſons abroad*. In Support of this *Charge*, *Evidence* was produced to prove that Mr. *Kelly* did take up, and order to be taken up for Him, treaſonable *Letters* from abroad, with ſuch *Directions* as He Himſelf had appointed, and under ſuch Names as were found in a *Liſt* taken in his Cuſtody. Mr. *Kelly* begins his Anſwer to This, with objecting againſt One of the principal Evidence, in the following Manner; ſuch a Manner, indeed, as is enough to ruin his whole Attempt to defend Himſelf.—"*For Proof of this*, (ſays He) *a* Frenchman *has been produced, who ſwears that He once ſaw Me take up a Letter at* Burton's Coffee-houſe, *by the Name of* Baker, *which Name it is ſaid ſome of the Treaſonable Letters were addreſſed by, and was in a Paper of* Directions *found in my Lodgings*. And He adds—*How that Paper came there, has been already proved.*" This is his firſt *Refuge*. The Name of *Baker* was indeed a *Name* by which treaſonable Letters were ordered to come. This Name was found in a *Paper* of *Directions*. But He argues, This *Paper* was found in his *Lodgings*, and had been wickedly put there, for that very Purpoſe, by *Neynoe*; for this was what He had before pretended to urge. I muſt not tediouſly repeat what I have already ſaid: but I am forced to refer the *Reader* to the Truth of the *Matter* of *Fact* mentioned ſome time ago, and proved beyond all Contradiction; *viz.* that This *Paper* of *Directions* was taken, NOT in his *Lodgings*, or in his *Drawer*, as He goes on *falſly* to repreſent it: but in his POCKET; and taken there many Weeks before *Neynoe* was heard of by Any of the *Miniſters*. So that This is not a *Mere Evaſion*; but an *Evaſion* accompanied with *Wilful Falſhood*, and *Deliberate Miſrepreſentation*.

His next *Argument* is againſt the *Credibility* of the *Perſon*. "*And as to the Perſon who has ſworn to this Particular, I muſt obſerve, that when He gave his Evidence to the* Houſe *of* Commons, *He did not know Me, though He ſpoke to Me, and looked ſeveral times earneſtly at Me—And He would ſtill have probably continued in his Ignorance, if ſome private Hints (as I have been told) were not given Him.*"—This ſounds like ſomething; but when all the *Circumſtances* of this *Perſon's* Evidence are known, it will appear no great Sign, either of Mr. *Kelly's* Underſtanding or

Probity, to have mentioned it. When this *Objection* was urged to the Man Himſelf, at the *Bar* of the *Houſe* of *Lords*, He proteſted, upon his *Oath*, that the *Reaſon* of his not anſwering immediately in the *H.* of *Commons*, was becauſe when He firſt came in, Mr. *K.* ſtood in ſuch a Poſture, that He could not ſee his *Face* plainly; that He *looked round* about Him, in order to be certain of the Man, before he gave his Teſtimony; and that as ſoon as ever his Eyes had a plain Sight of Mr. *Kelly*, He challenged Him immediately and poſitively. The *Manner* itſelf of doing this, ſhewed his whole Behaviour to be natural: and this very Circumſtance of his not giving his Evidence till He was ſure He ſaw the *Perſon* whom He knew to be Mr. *Kelly*, is ſo far from being to the *Diſadvantage*, that it is itſelf very much to the *Advantage* of his Teſtimony. Every *One* will be confirmed in this Opinion, who knows that Mr. *Collet* had ſeen Mr. *Kelly* very frequently, and muſt have known his Perſon, as well as He could know any One; and therefore, that the Force of This Evidence does not depend merely upon Mr. *Collet's* Behaviour at the *Bar* of either *Houſe*; but upon many *Circumſtances*, which ſhew that He could not (morally ſpeaking) be miſtaken in his Man, whenever He ſhould have a plain Sight of Him. He ſwore, that He waited at *Burton's Coffee-houſe*, not accidentally, but ſent *on purpoſe*, to watch and take notice, Who ſhould come thither, and take up a Letter directed for Mr. *Baker*; that it was his Buſineſs and Intent to take particular Notice of this *Perſon*, whoever He ſhould be: That there was at the Coffee-houſe a *Letter* ſo directed; that a *well-looked Gentleman* came and took that *Letter*; that He viewed Him very carefully; that He ſaw Him open the *Letter*, and read it, and put it up in his *Pocket*; that He then followed Him at a Diſtance, and watched Him, till He went into Mrs. *Barnes's* Houſe in *Pallmall*, and from thence, (if I remember,) to his own Lodgings: That He after this ſaw and remarked Him ſeveral times in the *Street*, and being ſure of the Perſon, and of his Lodging, gave this Account to his Maſter who employed Him; and *He* to the *Secretary* of *State*. Mr. *Salt*, whoſe Servant *Collet* was, declared upon *Oath*, that *Collet* ſhewed Him Mr. *Kelly* in the Streets, no leſs than *five* or *ſix times*, as the *Perſon* who took up that *Letter*, directed for *Baker*, at *Burton's Coffee-houſe*. It appeared likewiſe, upon *Oath*, that *Collet* was the Perſon, who ſhewed Him to the *Meſſengers*, when He was taken up; as that ſame Man, whom He was employed to view and watch at that *Coffee-houſe*. And after all this repeated Proof of his knowing Mr. *Kelly* perfectly well, is it not exceedingly trifling for that *Gentleman* to frame an Argument from a *Circumſtance* of *Collet's* not anſwering before He ſaw Him plainly in the *Houſe* of *Commons*; when here is a Concurrence of Proofs that *This* could not ariſe from his *not knowing* Him, but from his Confuſion; and his Reſolution not to ſpeak, till He ſaw the Perſon plainly, whom He ſo well knew?

Mr. *Kelly* goes on thus, *p.* 10: "*Beſides, the People of the* Coffee-houſe *have teſtified the contrary*; *and that no ſuch Letter ever came to their Houſe.*" This again is inexcuſable. For thoſe of *Burton's Coffee-houſe* teſtified no ſuch thing: nor could their *Teſtimony* be of any Force, if They had. All They could ſay was, That They did not *remember* the particular Letter in queſtion: not, *that They were ſure, that there was no ſuch*; which it was not poſſible for Them to be. And no great wonder, (even ſuppoſing Them to be ſincere, which is not certain) that They, who take in ſuch a Number of Letters, with a vaſt Variety of Names, ſhould not recollect one particular Letter, ſo taken in by Them. Neither is This any ſort of *Contradiction*, much leſs a ſufficient Counterbalance, to the *Poſitive Oath* of a Perſon who ſaw it, and was employed to take particular Notice of it.

Mr. *Kelly* then ſoars higher, and arraigns the *Council* of falſifying his *Examination*, (printed in the *Report* E. 1.) in which it is ſaid, *that He confeſſed to have taken up ſuch a Letter*. He appeals to my *Lord Chancellor*, whether He did not often deny it at that Time; and, as if this were not Indignity enough, He adds, that *This is not the only Particular that is falſly ſet down in that* Examination. Whether the *Committee* of *Council*, or Mr. *Kelly*, be the more to be depended on, muſt be left to the Judgement of the World: taking into the *Account* that my *Lord Chancellor*, upon his *Appeal* to Him, immediately ſtood up and declared, He remembered no ſuch *Denial*, on the Part of Mr. *Kelly*. But, to ſhew how *careleſly*, or rather *deſignedly* falſe, this *Gentleman* could permit Himſelf to be; He has here greatly abuſed the World. For He has attacked his *printed Examination*, and fixed the Charge of *Falſification* upon it; under the Notion of its being his *Examination* before the *Committee* of *Council*. Whereas, his *Examination* before that *Committee* was not taken in Writing. And the *Examination* printed, is a *former Examination* of Him before the *Two Secretaries* of *State* and the *Chancellor* of the *Exchequer*, in which He was not ſo well prepared to deny *ſome Circumſtances*, of which at that Time He had not ſo well conſidered the *Conſequences*. And at this *Examination*, which is the *printed* One, my *Lord Chancellor* was *not* preſent. Such a *Careleſs Unaccuracy* would little become Him. But this ſeems to be ſomething much worſe; and indeed, no leſs than One of the groſſeſt *Prevarications* imaginable, in a *Point* which touches the *Honour* of ſome of the Higheſt Perſons in the *Kingdom*. For under the Cover of a confuſed Way of ſpeaking, and with the Hope that his *Readers* will not ſee through it, He charges the particular *printed Examination* with groſs *Falſification*, expreſly as his *Examination* before the *Committee* of *Council*, at which my *Lord Chancellor* was preſent: Whereas, that *printed Examination* being *Another* and a *Former Examination*, He has this *Evaſion* in reſerve for this ſhameleſs Charge, That what He ſays of *Falſification* may be *true*, ſuppoſing the *printed Examination* be taken for That before the *Council*; and that He does not here once charge it with being *falſified*, ſuppoſing it to be his *Former Examination*; as He could not but know it to be. Here is another *Scene* of *Low Prevarication*, beneath a *Man* of *Common Senſe*, or *Common Sincerity*; to *appear* to the World to talk of *One* thing, when He knows within Himſelf, He is *truly* talking of *Another*.

But the *finiſhing Stroke* is yet behind;—"*And I do* SOLEMNLY *affirm to* "*your* Lordſhips, *That I never did receive any ſuch Letter*, (as that directed to "*Baker at Burton's Coffee-houſe*,) *nor ever* SAW *that* Paper *of* Directions, *till it* "*was printed in the* Report." What can the greateſt *Charity* think of ſuch a Behaviour? For thus ſtands theſe *Two* Points. A Perſon ſwears poſitively, He ſaw Mr. *Kelly* take up that *Letter*. He watched Him, He followed Him, He frequently had ſight of him. He ſhewed the ſame Mr. *K.* ſeveral times afterwards to another Perſon; and to the *Meſſengers*, who took Him up. Mr. *Kelly*, in Oppoſition to This, wipes his Lips, and *ſolemnly* affirms *That He never received any ſuch Letter*: and, if I may gueſs from other Inſtances of Deceit, He thinks He has Refuge enough from the Guilt of a *ſolemn Lie*, in the low Artifice of making a Difference within Himſelf, between RECEIVING a *Letter* from the *Poſt*; and CALLING for it at the *Houſe* where it was *received*. Again, A *Paper* of *Directions*, agreeing with the *Direction* of *that Letter* and of *Others*, is *ſworn* by *Two* Perſons to have been taken in *his Pocket*. He, *good Man*, never Once regards this *Circumſtance* of its being taken in his *Pocket*; but, after having ſeveral Times with wilful Falſhood talked of it as deſignedly *put*, and *taken*, ſomewhere elſe, He adds his *ſolemn* Aſſeveration, *That He never ſaw this Paper*, *till it was* *printed in the* Report.—Let Him, after *this*, be as *ſolemn* as He pleaſes, and *deny* what He pleaſes,—It will all have equal Weight with Me, from *One* who has here publickly recorded againſt Himſelf a *ſolemn Aſſeveration*, which carries *Impiety* along with its *Incredibility*.

Mr. *Kelly* goes on to obſerve, that there is *One pretty remarkable Circumſtance of this Correſpondence*, (laid to his Charge) *That, as it began with* Neynoe's *Information, it ended with his being taken up. For immediately after, a new Correſpondence is pretended to be diſcovered, and—it has been ſuggeſted* (ſays Mr. *K.*) *that I ſent Cyphers by Sir* H. G. *to* France, *and had Letters directed by them to* Sturgeſs's *and* Slaughter's Coffee-houſes. This *Circumſtance* is unluckily founded upon the *Old Wilful Miſtake*, That this Correſpondence *began* with an *Information*, which *Information* was given about Three Months after the Beginning of the *Correſpondence*. In Anſwer to this Part of the *Charge*, about *Letters* directed to thoſe *Coffee-houſes*, He ſays, *The People of thoſe Coffee-houſes have all ſworn that I never ordered any Letters of that kind to be taken in, or received One, either by my own or any Other Name, from Them.* And the ſame He ſays of *Other Coffee-houſes*, in *p.* 11. Which may be thus far true, that after He had found the *Watch* ſet for Him at *Burton's Coffee-houſe*, He did not think it ſafe to go on in that Way of taking up *Letters* Himſelf; but He got One Mr. *Andrews*, and *Others*, to take Them up for Him. Of this Mr. *Kelly* takes not the leaſt Notice; but very dextrouſly and wiſely paſſes it over in *Silence*, becauſe the *Evidence* was too ſtrong to be played with. Mr. *Andrews* came to the *Bar*, and teſtified upon Oath, that Mr. *Kelly* deſired Him to call for *Letters* directed to Mr. *Andrews*, to be left at the *Dog* and *Duck* in St. *James's Street*; and to bring them to Him: which agrees exactly with ſome of the *Intercepted Letters*, ordering the *Direction* to be in that very manner. Accordingly, He ſwore that *Letters* did come, which He called for, and paid Poſtage for, as for *Foreign Letters*; and which He gave unopened to Mr. *Kelly*, and for which Mr. *Kelly* always paid Him: That Two of theſe *Letters* had been delayed a good while by a Miſtake of the *Street* upon the *Superſcription*; but that They were brought at laſt to this ſame *Ale-houſe*, and there received by Mr. *Andrews*, and from Him by Mr. *Kelly*. All this and more is ſilently paſſed over, as if nothing had been ſaid of it: and, inſtead of anſwering to ſuch poſitive Evidence of a *Man*, whom He did order to receive for Him ſuch *Letters*, according to his *new Directions*; He flies off to other Points of *Fact*, in which He was not ſo weak: but which are nothing to the Purpoſe. *Nay*, (ſays He, ſpeaking of the People of the *Two Coffee-houſes* named,) *One of Them has ſworn that no ſuch Letters ever came to his Houſe at all*; *and the Other ſays, That a Meſſenger from the Secretary's Office was the only Perſon that ever called at his Houſe* for Thoſe directed to it. Theſe Two things are true, but do not at all help his Defence, or ſhew his Innocence. *No ſuch Letters* did come to *One* of thoſe *Houſes*; but *Letters* did come to the *Poſt-office*, directed to *that Houſe*. They were ſtopt at the *Office*, and not ſuffered to go on, becauſe They contained the *Pretender's Declarations*. And a *Meſſenger* was ſent to the *Other* Houſe, for *Letters* directed to it; becauſe Mr. *Kelly* was then in the *Tower*; and amongſt the *Directions* found in his *Pocket-book*, was *One* to that Coffee-houſe: which gives a very good Account of the *Secretary's ſending* thither by Authority for what *Letters* could be met with. What follows about Mr. *Caryl's Depoſition*, had no relation to Mr. *Kelly's* Caſe, as it ſtood before the *Parliament*; being never urged againſt Him. However, it is evident that Mr. *Caryl* was not a *Willing*, but a very *Unwilling Witneſs*; and ſpoke what He did merely from the Senſe of his having taken an *Oath* to ſpeak *Truth*, and nothing but *Truth*. Neither could Mr. *Kelly* imagine Mr. *Caryl* to be in a Confederacy againſt Him.

I am now come to Mr. *Kelly's* concluding Argument, in Anſwer to the *Charge* which was brought againſt Him, in relation to the receiving thoſe *Letters* from abroad, *viz.* That what has been urged by the *People* belonging to theſe *Coffee-houſes*, (which is nothing) muſt be ſufficient to ſhew Him *not concerned in this Correſpondence, eſpecially ſince no Letters of this kind were found in his Poſſeſſion, nor any other Papers relating to the Conſpiracy*, p. 11; and the ſame p. 10, about *Cyphers*, &c. Here again he wilfully conceals the *poſitive Proofs* that *ſuch Letters* did come, and were given into his Hands, and received and paid for by Him: And thinks it a great Point, to alledge that no ſuch *Letters*, or any *Papers relating to the Conſpiracy, were found in his Poſſeſſion.* The *Reader* needs only to call to mind, that it had been Madneſs in Mr. *Kelly*, upon the leaſt Suſpicion of Danger, to have kept in his Poſſeſſion *ſuch Letters* unneceſſarily; that there was Proof of burning of a *Trunk* of *Papers* at his *Lodging*, by his Friend *Bingley*, when He was taken up; that He Himſelf hazarded his Life, to burn *Papers* which were found upon Him by the Meſſengers that apprehended Him; and He will not wonder that what was *burnt*, was not *ſeized:* but He will conclude that *Many Papers* relating to this *Conſpiracy* muſt have been taken in his *Cuſtody*, if They had not been thus diſpoſed of by what *Neynoe* called a *General Conflagration.* And, if after this, the *Reader* remembers that ſtill there was *One Paper* left,—a *Paper* relating to this very *Correſpondence*,—a *Paper* relating to the *Conſpiracy*;—I mean the *Paper* of *Directions* of *Letters*; and that this *Paper* was taken in his Pocket, *upon Himſelf*; He will then *wonder* at the *Falſhood* of this *Affirmation* here, unleſs the *frequent Falſhoods* throughout the *whole Speech* have taught Him to wonder at nothing. But what need Mr. *Kelly*, of all Men, trouble Himſelf to urge ſuch an *Argument* as this? For, ſuppoſing there had been *Papers* of the *blackeſt ſort* found upon Him; what would this have imported againſt a Man of ſo much *Dexterity* and *Piety?* He could as eaſily have *anſwered* in *this* Caſe, as He has done in *Others*, that They were all forged—not taken in his *Pocket*, but in his *Drawer*—and firſt put there by *Neynoe*, or ſomebody like Him, employed for that Purpoſe? And He could as eaſily here likewiſe have called in the Help of *Religion*, and have *ſolemnly affirmed upon the Faith of a Chriſtian, that He had never ſeen them before.* And there had been an End of all his Difficulties. For what *Evidence* can ſtand againſt ſuch *Aſſeverations*, uttered with ſuch a *Form of Godlineſs? Guilt* itſelf, after this, has but little to fear, when ſuch a Method of *Defence* is ſo ready at hand; pointed out to it by the *Authority* of ſuch *Precedents*, and now *ſanctified* by the Example of the pious Mr. *Kelly*, and the *greater* one of his pious *Maſter*.

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER XL. LONDON JOURNAL, June 29, 1723.

AFTER what I have already obſerved in ſupport of the *Real Charge* againſt Mr. *Kelly*, in oppoſition to his weak and diſhoneſt Replies to it, I have ſtill a Mind to ſhew the Reader that in the *Other* Parts of his *Defence*, in which He wandered from that *Real Charge* as urged againſt Him, at his *Trial*; and *choſe out* ſuch Imputations upon Himſelf as lay ſcattered in the *Printed Reports* of *Both Houſes*, and ſuch as He thought He could attack with the greateſt Succeſs;

that even in *Theſe*, He has hardly ſtirred one Step, and hardly ſpoke one Sentence, which does not help to prove the ſame determined *Diſregard* to Truth, Juſtice and Honour. The Particulars I will mention, as They lie in his own *Speech:* and juſt direct and point out the *Falſhood* and *Prevarication* made uſe of, in them, in the feweſt Words poſſible. And this the rather, becauſe I have long ago mentioned his inſiſting upon theſe *Particulars*, as *One* of the *Artifices* of that *Guilt*, which is ever willing to draw Mens Eyes from what *was* truly and chiefly urged, to what was either not *at all*, or but very *lightly*, touched upon, through the *Whole Accuſation*.

Page 4. Againſt the Credibility of his "*employing* Neynoe *to draw up* Memorials "*to the* Regent *of* France *to ſollicit Foreign Forces*, &c." He urges, That *the* Examinations *of* Neynoe *himſelf, which* are the *only Evidence* alledged in the *Report, are neither upon Oath, nor ſo much as ſigned by Himſelf*. But though theſe *Examinations* are not *ſigned* with his *Name*, yet *One* of Them (E. 7.) was *all* in his own *Hand-writing*, of which full Proof ſtill remains; which is more than equivalent to the mere ſigning a *Name:* and the Subſtance of All that affects Mr. *Kelly*, reduced into *One*, (E. 10.) was read over to *Neynoe* twice, *Paragraph* by *Paragraph*, and acknowledged by Him to be true before *Six* Lords of the *Council*, as was beyond all doubt atteſted in the *Houſe* of *Lords*. Nor are *Examinations* uſually upon *Oath*, where the Matter of Them affects the Life of the *Perſon* examined, unleſs He voluntarily offers it. And this *Oath Neynoe* had promiſed to take, as ſoon as He ſhould have Time to make his *Confeſſions* compleat, as He engaged to do. *Ib.* Mr. *Kelly* argues, that *Neynoe* could not be employed to draw up *Memorials*, becauſe He had *delivered* no Copies of them to the *Miniſters*; nor *kept* any; as *probably He would have done*, had this been true: and particularly of the laſt in *Dec.* 1721, *when He might be preſumed to have Thoughts of turning Informer*. But I ſay, much *more probably*, He would *not* keep *Copies* of Any thing of ſuch a dangerous Nature; nor be allowed to do ſo, by Thoſe who employed Him, if They could prevent it: Eſpecially conſidering that He could have no Thought (contrary to Mr. *Kelly's* affected old Miſtake) of *turning Informer*, even when He drew up the laſt in *Dec.* 1721, which was at leaſt full *ſeven Months* before He wrote his firſt Letter to Mr. *Walpole*. And that there were ſuch *Memorials* drawn up, in order to the ſame end, appeared by authentick Accounts from *France*; which add a *corroborating Teſtimony* to *Neynoe's* Evidence.

Ib. But Mr. *K.* urges that "*N.* contradicts Himſelf in his *Examinations*, upon this Subject: particularly, in the *Second* He ſays, Theſe Memorials were drawn up by the Order of one *Henry Watſon*, ſuppoſed by Him to be the late Earl *Mariſhall*; in the *Third*, That They were delivered to Mr. *K.* and *Watſon* together, [*and the Heads given by Them*, which is here omitted:] in his *Fourth*, That They were all drawn up by Order of *Watſon* ONLY; and in a few Lines afterwards, That the Heads were given Him by Mr. *K.* and *Watſon*." Poor Inſtances of Self-contradiction! As if *Papers* might not very *conſiſtently* be ſaid to be drawn up by the Original Order of *One Man* ONLY, as the ſuperior Perſon; and yet the *Heads* given by *that Man*, and *Another* engaged in the ſame Cauſe. But it is remarkable, that Mr. *K.* in order to make his Weak Objection look the better, has Himſelf, in citing *Neynoe's* Examinations, foiſted in the *Word* ONLY; and this a Word which He lays ſuch a Streſs upon, that He has printed it in *Capital Letters*, as Part of *N's Fourth Paper:* Whereas, whoever looks into that *Fourth* Paper, will ſee that the Word ONLY is not in it; but that Mr. *K.* was forced to coin it for his own Purpoſe, and for a little Shew of an *Argument*. With the ſame View, He leaves out of his Account of *Neynoe's Third*

Examination, his poſitive Aſſertion that the *Heads* were given Him by Mr. *K.* jointly with *Watſon*, in order to make the ſame Point (only repeated) in his *Fourth Paper*, look like a *New Invention*. Theſe are not the *Arts* of *Innocence!*

Page 5, Mr. *Kelly* ſpeaks of the Improbability of the *Earl Mariſhal's* living openly in *England*, and truſting *Neynoe:* when *Neynoe's* own Account of the Matter is poſitive, that He did *not live openly*, but clandeſtinely, and under a feigned Name; nor truſt *Neynoe*, ſo as to own at all to Him, who He was; or in *any thing*, but what Mr. *Kelly* was very ready (as far as has yet appeared) to truſt Him too. *Ib.* Mr. *K.* pretends to prove that "He could not be ſo concerned in any *Memorials*, becauſe (as it appears by his *Pocket-book*) He went to *France*, Nov. 23, 1721, and did not return till the *latter End* of the next Month: That *N.* owns, He did not ſee Him after his Return till the *Jan.* following; which makes it impoſſible for *N.* to be ſo employed by Mr. *K.* in *December*, the Month in which *N.* pretends to have drawn up theſe *Memorials*." Here again is groſs Falſification, not to be accounted for by any Neceſſity for it, but what aroſe from *Mere Guilt*. It appeared by Mr. *Kelly's Pocket-book*, that He returned to *England* fifteen Days after the *Wedn.* next following the 23d of *Nov.* i. e. the 13th or at fartheſt the 14th of *Dec.* By what Rule of *Speech* this can poſſibly be called the *latter End* of *Dec.* I leave to *Him* to ſhew, if He would clear Himſelf from the Charge of direct Falſhood. So that it appears, He was in *England* at the Time when *N.* fixes the Writing of the laſt *Memorial*. Another Inſtance of the ſame Falſhood, is His Aſſertion, that *N.* owns He did not ſee Him till the *Jan.* following. Whereas *Neynoe*, recollecting by Memory the Matter, which was paſt *Nine* or *Ten* Months, uſes the Words *about Jan.* laſt, in E. 7. In all reaſonable Conſtruction, *He* is never accounted *inconſiſtent*, who, in an Affair of ſo long ſtanding, names a Time perhaps a Fortnight after the Thing was done; in the ſame Sentence uſing the cautious Expreſſion of *about* that Time, which ſurely may take in a *Fortnight before* it, or *after* it; eſpecially in the Opinion of a *Gentleman*, who, in ſtrict Pleading, and knowing the preciſe Time of a Matter of Fact, can call the 13th of *Dec.* the *latter End* of that Month.

Ibid. He comes to the *Letter* fixt by *Neynoe* upon Mr. *K.* as well as Himſelf, *as written with a Deſign to amuſe the Government into a Falſe Security.* This *Accuſation* Mr. *K.* declares impoſſible to be true, becauſe (as He ſays Himſelf) He was in *France* all the Month of *March*, in which that *Letter* was placed by *Neynoe*; and therefore, could not employ *N.* in any ſuch *Letter*, at that Time. This ſounds very plauſibly; eſpecially ſince it is certain, Mr. *K.* was in *France*, as He here repreſents. But it all amounts to no more than this, that *N.* made a Miſtake of the *Date* of the *Letter incloſing*, for the *Date* of *that* which was *incloſed*. The *Letter* thus ſaid to be writ jointly by Mr. *K.* and *N.* [*viz.* That printed in the *Appendix* of the *Lords Report*] is dated *Feb.* 12, 172½, at which Time Mr. *Kelly* was by his own Confeſſion in *England*, and therefore capable of joining in it. But the *Letter* to the *Secretary* of *State*, in which *That* was incloſed, is dated *Mar.* 31, which was a *Saturday*, as *N.* makes it; and the *Date* of this laſt *N.* miſtook for the *Date* of the firſt. That the *Letter* dated *Feb.* 12, is the *Letter* referred to by *Neynoe*, is put beyond all doubt by the *Teſtimony* of Mr. *Walpole*, upon Oath, that *N.* in Converſation gave Him a particular Account of the *Contents* of that *Letter*, under the Notion of a *Letter* writ for that View of giving the *Government* a Falſe Security; without having the leaſt Hint given Him of any ſuch Letter in the Hands of the *Miniſters*. How it came to their Hands, was ſomething extraordinary. For, it was directed and ſent to the *Poſt-houſe*,

houſe, in ſuch a manner, as might moſt probably create Suſpicion, in order to be there intercepted. But it happened not to be intercepted: upon which, it was afterwards ſent by a private Meſſenger, to One of the *Secretaries* of *State*, incloſed in another *Letter*. And to clear the Matter farther, Mr. *Kelly* has, in his own Defence upon this Head, furniſhed an Argument not to be retracted, or anſwered by Himſelf. "*Had this Examination* [viz. of *Neynoe*] *been taken at any Diſtance of Time, it is poſſible He might be miſtaken in it*; [i. e. might have miſtaken *Mar.* 31, for *Feb.* 12.] *but his Firſt Information muſt have been about the Middle* of *April—And ſurely, He cannot be ſuppoſed to have forgot ſo ſoon what happened the very Month before*—&c. For this Examination was taken at a conſiderable Diſtance of *Time*; it having been proved over and over again that *N.* was not heard of by Mr. *Walpole* till *July* the 28th: And his *Examination* was not taken till He was brought back from *Deal*, about the *Middle* of *September*; which is *ſeven Months* after the *Letter* in debate was writ, and almoſt *ſix Months* after the *Letter* which incloſed it was writ. And therefore, by Mr. *Kelly's* own Conceſſion, *Neynoe* might very eaſily make ſo ſlight a Miſtake, as that of remembring the *Date* of the *Laſt* for the *Date* of the *Firſt*, which was incloſed in it; and this without invalidating his Evidence at all.

Ibid. That *N. declared* that Mr. *K.* was a *Month out of Town* [i. e. from the latter End of *Nov.* to *Dec.* following] without his knowing any thing of it, muſt be added to the Number of his *Falſe Aſſertions:* becauſe *N.* (in E. 7,) does expreſly mention Mr. *Kelly's* returning from *France* about that Time; which ſhews He knew of his having been abſent. Of the ſame ſort is the Affirmation [*ib.*] that it *had been fully proved that* Neynoe's *Viſits at Mr.* Kelly's *Lodgings were NEVER to Him, but ALWAYS to another Perſon.* For *Malone* depoſed, that whilſt He lived with Mr. *Kelly*, *Neynoe* had *often* called and aſked for *Him*, (and not for the *Other* Perſon) under the Name of *Johnſon*; and by Mr. *K's* own Evidence it appeared, that there was ſuch an Intimacy between them, that when Mr. *K.* was not at home, *Neynoe* was without Scruple let into his Room, to ſtay till He came in. *Ib.* His *ſolemn Affirmation* about not knowing any Perſon who went by the Name of *Watſon*, can be of no more Value, than *That* as *ſolemn* One, upon Another Subject, which I have lately ſhewn to be abſolutely incredible.

Page 6, Mr. *Kelly* comes to the *Charge* againſt Him for acting under the late *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter*, in the *Conſpiracy*, as it lies in the *Report*; though it was not at all urged againſt Him at his *Trial*. His firſt *Defence* is taken from the groſs and notorious Falſhoods He has ſhewn *Neynoe* guilty of, under the *former Article*; which therefore make his Teſtimony of no Value, in this Point, *viz.* that Mr. *Kelly* had often told Him He uſed to write treaſonable *Letters* for that *Prelate*. But this *Defence* muſt be uſeleſs to Mr. *K.* becauſe I have not only ſhewn that there is nothing of that *Falſhood* in *N's* Evidence upon the former *Article*; but that the Charge of *notorious Falſhood*, in that very *Article*, lies upon Mr. *Kelly* too cloſe to be wiped off. Nay, even here, whilſt He is charging *N.* with *Falſhood*, He utters One of the greateſt, in affirming *Neynoe* to be *the only Evidence* of this Charge; unleſs He trifles egregiouſly with the Word *Evidence*. For leaving all *N's Examinations* out of the *Queſtion*, the Names of *Illington*, and *Jones*, the Circumſtance of the *Dog*, and Mrs. *Barnes's* poſitive Evidence about it, and the Proof of Mr. *Kelly's* writing the *Three Letters* ſigned *Jones*, &c. are unanſwerable Arguments againſt Him. But it ought to be remembered, that *Neynoe* not only affirmed This from Mr. *Kelly's* Mouth, but gave Mr. *Walpole* ſufficient Proof of it, by acquainting Him (as He, upon Oath, gave Evidence) with the very *fictitious Names* by which the *Biſhop* went in that Correſpondence; and by giving Him a particular Account of the *ſeveral ſorts* of *Cyphers* by which it was managed: the *Former* of which the *Miniſters* at that Time knew to be true, though *Neynoe* had not the leaſt Hint that They knew it; and the Latter They then had found in part, and afterwards found in the whole, to be exactly true. Theſe, and many other concurring Circumſtances, are far from *Proofs* of *mere Invention.*

Ibid. Mr. *Kelly's* next *Defence* (not of *Himſelf* indeed, ſo much as of his *Reverend Maſter*) conſiſts of *ſolemn Declarations, upon the Faith of a Chriſtian,* of the very ſlender Acquaintance between Them; and of his having never once either wrote or received a Letter for the late B. of *R.* and the like. I muſt repeat, that in a *former* Paper I have ſhewn how free of *Solemn Affirmations* this *Gentleman* can be, againſt the moſt *poſitive* Evidence. But I will now take Notice of *two Particulars* in this very *ſolemn Declaration,* in this Place: and if the *Reader* can believe *theſe Two*; I give Him leave to believe all or any of the reſt. The One is, *That He never went privately in a Chair to that* Prelate's *Houſe*; the direct contrary to which was ſworn at the *Biſhop's* Trial, by *Two Chairmen*; both of which were poſitive to the carrying Mr. *K.* thither, and *One* of them ſaid, at leaſt two or three Times. And indeed, the Acquaintance and Correſpondence was ſufficiently proved. The *Other* Particular is this, *ib.* "*And as for the* Dog, *which has been brought as a Circumſtance to prove this Matter, I do, in the ſame ſolemn Manner,* declare, *HE was given Me by a Surgeon at* Paris—*and that He never was deſigned for any body but the Perſon I gave him to.*" An inward Contempt of every thing ſacred and ſolemn, muſt be the Foundation of ſuch *Declarations* as This. For it was *ſworn* afterwards at the *Biſhop's* Trial, by Mr. *K's* own Friend Mrs. *Barnes,* that when He gave her *that Dog,* which was the only One ſhe ever had from Him, ſhe was in hopes it was for *Herſelf,* (according to a Promiſe of his,) but that He told Her, This was not the *Dog* He deſigned for Her; that *this* was for the *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter,* and only to be kept by Her till the Leg ſhould be well; but that, upon her Importunity, He told Her, (which had been hitherto a Secret) that a Surgeon at *Paris* had promiſed Him a *Dog* of the ſame ſort, which was deſigned for Her. Theſe *Circumſtances* were ſo very remarkable, that She could not forget, or be miſtaken in them. And no One, who knows what had paſſed between Mr. *K.* and *Her,* could ſuſpect Her to be inclined to hurt Him. So far from that, that when She was before the *Houſe* of *Commons,* and Mr. *Kelly's* Fate alone was depending, and She was *not* upon her Oath, *She* endeavoured to palliate this Matter, and to appear as if ſhe remembered no ſuch Circumſtances as Thoſe She had before owned to the *Lords* of the *Council.* But when *She* came before the *Houſe* of *Lords,* and had taken an *Oath* to ſpeak *Truth,* She Herſelf gave That as a *Reaſon* why She could not conceal or deny theſe *Circumſtances,* viz. becauſe She conſidered Herſelf under the ſolemn Obligation of an *Oath.* This was in the *Biſhop's* Trial: which coming *after* Mr. *Kelly's,* and *after* She had in another Place appeared inclined to hide the Truth as much as poſſible, muſt have been the *ſole* Ground of Mr. *Kelly's* truſting ſo far to her Denial of theſe Circumſtances again, as to venture to *declare ſolemnly, upon the Faith of a Chriſtian, a Notorious Falſhood,* which his *She-friend,* in two or three Days, abſolutely contradicted upon *Oath.*—Go now, and truſt to ſome Mens *ſanctified Declarations.*—What He adds about the *Surgeon's* Certificate of a *Dog* ſent for Mrs. *Barnes,* is now accounted for, by the Diſcovery that there were *Two Dogs*; and the *Meaneſt Prevarication* diſcovered at the ſame time, both in Mr. *K.* and the *Prelate,* who could ſtoop ſo low as to alledge a *Certificate* about *One Dog,* (of which the *Surgeon* who ſent it ſays He never heard any thing after it was ſent,) as relating to *Another Dog*, of whoſe Arrival and Miſchance frequent Accounts are given in the *Letters* writ back to *Thoſe* who ſent it. *Ib.* That the *Biſhop* never *ſaw* the *Dog*, nor ſent for Him, *&c.*—I can eaſily believe, when ſoon after He arrived, and before his Leg was cured, this Matter was known by Himſelf to be a *Circumſtance* which pointed at Him. Nor do I wonder therefore at what Mrs. *Barnes* atteſted, That whilſt ſhe was once out of Town, the *Dog* was made away with: which no One will believe would have come to paſs, if this had been the very *Dog*, which Mr. *Kelly* impiouſly affirms, upon the *Faith* of a *Chriſtian*, to have come from a *Surgeon* at *Paris*, and to have been originally deſigned for Mrs. *Barnes* only. A *Dog* ſo innocent might have been permitted to live: but *One* that threatened Danger to a *Great* and *Holy* Man, muſt be put out of the Way, as other *Evidences* ſometimes have been. But I cannot help wiſhing here, that for the Sake of Appearance, if not of Religion, They who are inclined to make ſuch *ſolemn Declarations*, would only ſtay, before They do it, till They know the whole *Evidence* which will be produced upon the *Subject* of ſuch *Declarations*.

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER XLI. LONDON JOURNAL, July 6, 1723.

THE *remaining Particulars* of Mr. *Kelly's* Speech, here follow. *P.* 7, He wanders again from the ſtrict *Charge* againſt Him, at his *Trial*, to that *Depoſition* in the *Report* of the *H.* of *Commons*, in which Mr. *Pancier* ſwears *that Another* [Skeen] *told Him of this Conſpiracy*, with the following Circumſtances; *That* Six *or* Eight Battalions *of* Iriſh Forces *were to come from* Spain, *to aſſiſt the Conſpirators*; *That* 200,000 l. *were raiſed, and* 800 *Men regularly ſubſiſted in* London, *for this Purpoſe*. The *Incredibility* of theſe Particulars, is his Argument here againſt the *Truth* of the *Depoſition*. But granting this to be in great meaſure a good Argument; it is indeed no more to Mr. *Kelly's* Innocence, than if He had quoted a Paſſage out of any *Romance*. It was the *Wiſdom* of the *Government*, to publiſh what was brought before Them in the way of *Diſcoveries*, eſpecially ſuch as were given in upon *Oath*: but it was their *Wiſdom* likewiſe to lay no Streſs upon any thing, but what the Nature of it would bear. Mr. *Pancier* comes and ſwears that one *Skeen*, giving Him an Account of the *Conſpiracy*, told Him Theſe Particulars. And it is known to be a very common thing for *Conſpirators*, who have a Mind to engage Others in their Deſigns, to *magnify* all their *Real Strength*, and to *invent* whatever They pleaſe, to encourage thoſe Others, and poſſeſs Them with a great Opinion of future Succeſs. But what is all this to Mr. *K.* whom this *Depoſition* of *Pancier's* did not in the leaſt affect? Does any thing Mr. *K.* has ſaid prove, or pretend to prove, that *Skeen* did not tell *P.* theſe *Particulars*; which is the only Point depoſed by *Pancier*? Or rather, (which is the only Point of Importance to Mr. *K.*) Will He be willing to appear ſo weak as to argue thus. One *Skeen* told One *Pancier* Things about the *Conſpiracy*, that could not be true. Therefore, I am innocent—Therefore, Points of quite *another* kind, laid to my Charge, upon *Other* Grounds, and by the Concurrence of *Other* Evidence, are all Falſe likewiſe. Or thus, It is falſe, (what

One Man ſays,) *that* 200,000 l. *was raiſed for the Military Cheſt*, &c. Therefore, It is falſe that *I wrote and received treaſonable Letters*: which does not depend upon *That Man's* teſtimony. Away with ſuch Wandring and Impertinence of *Argument*.

Ibid. But Mr. *K.* would not ſeem ſo diſtant from all *Shew* of Argument; and therefore, gives it in this Place as a *Reaſon* for taking Notice of this *Depoſition*, That "*Theſe—are called, in the* 38*th p. of the* Report *of the* Lower Houſe, *the* Concurrent *and* Corroborating Proofs *of his Accuſer's* [Neynoe's] *Examinations*." By which He has only ſtill more ſhewn either his *Tendency* to Blunder, or his *Reſolution* to Miſrepreſent. For whoever will look into that *Report*, will ſee that *thoſe Words* refer expreſly to the *Sequel* of the *Report*; and not particularly to the *Paragraph* immediately following them, to which Mr. *K.* is pleaſed to make them refer, though that *Paragraph* has manifeſtly no relation to *Neynoe's Examinations*. And as Mr. *K.* knows that this *Diſcourſe* (whatever it was) between *Skeen* and *Pancier*, was not in the leaſt urged, as even a *corroborating Proof* of *his* Guilt, He might have ſpared his *Tragical Exclamation* in this ſame Place, about the Danger to *Life* and *Liberty* from *ſuch Hear-ſay Evidence*;—and from any *Two Men talking a Third Perſon into High-Treaſon*: and He might have ſpared his own Conſcience the uneaſy Reflection upon ſo Groſs and Willful a Miſrepreſentation of his *Judges* and *Superiors*, as does in expreſs Words lead the *Reader* to think that this very *Evidence* had been urged, even as a *ſufficient Evidence*, (for that is his Expreſſion,) againſt *his Life* or *Liberty*, whilſt He was conſcious it was not ſo much as mentioned, but by *Himſelf*; and *that*, becauſe He thought He could *abuſe* this *ſuppoſed Evidence*, much more eaſily than He could *anſwer* the *Real*.

But ſince We are ſpeaking of what was *not* at all urged, as any *Corroborating Proof* of *Neynoe's Examinations*, there comes into my Mind a *Matter* not yet mentioned, which afterwards appeared at the *Bar*; and which was indeed, a *Corroborating Proof* of that Part of *Neynoe's Examination*, in which He declares that He Himſelf frequently left Mr. *Kelly* at the late *B.* of *R's* Houſe; and waited for Him thereabouts, till He came out again. This was the *Teſtimony* of one Mr. *Lloyd*, that keeps the *Star* and *Garter* in *Old Palace-Yard*, who *voluntarily* offered Himſelf; and gave Evidence upon Oath, that, being related to *Neynoe*, He frequently came to his Houſe; and particularly *laſt Summer* three times juſt after the Death of *Lord Sunderland*; (which is a *Critical Time* in one of the *Treaſonable Letters*;) and ſtayed at his Houſe an Hour or *more* at a Time; giving it as a *Reaſon* of his calling there, and *ſtaying*, that He had left a Friend at the *Biſhop's* Door, who uſed often to go to that *Prelate* about Buſineſs of Conſequence, and had free Acceſs to Him at all times; and adding, that He muſt go to the *Cloyſters* to meet that Friend again, as ſoon as he ſhould have done his Buſineſs with the *Biſhop*: Which is indeed a *Corroborating* Proof of the Truth of what *Neynoe* had ſaid. To return.

In *p.* 11, He comes to *Another Point*, mentioned indeed at his *Trial*, but not charged expreſly and poſitively upon *Him*; viz. "*A Letter to Mr.* Gordon *at* Bologne, *with* Two Affidavits, *ſuggeſted* (ſays He) *to be ſent by my Directions, in order to have* Him *and* Mr. *Birmingham* perjure Themſelves upon my Account." This *Letter* with the *Affidavits* was brought to the *Secretary* of *State* by one *Garth*, to whom it was delivered (to be carried to *France*) by one *Akenhead*. And the Suſpicion is very natural, that the *Perſons* who were to profit by ſuch *Affidavits*, did either Themſelves ſend them; or that their *Friends* contrived to do it for Them. But, How does Mr. *K.* handle this? He does not deny that ſuch *Letter* and Infamous *Affidavits* were going to *France*; and thus ſtopped from going. But he firſt attempts to clear Himſelf, thus: "*This Letter* (ſays He) *is dated the* 20*th of* March; *at which Time, and for five Months before, I was ſo conſtantly guarded, that I could not have given Orders for this End, without being diſcovered.*" And yet, All this is overthrown by one *unlucky Circumſtance* which He hides, *viz.* That though the *Letter* is dated *March* 20, yet it was not *delivered* to *Garth* to be carried abroad, till ſeveral Days after Mr. *Kelly's* Sollicitor had Acceſs to Him: and therefore, *might*, notwithſtanding this Argument, be a *Management* of Mr. *Kelly's*; and the *Date* put *backwards* out of Art and Cunning. "*Beſides*, He argues, *A Perſon was diſpatched to* France, *who brought an* Affidavit *in a different Form from* Theſe *in queſtion*." As if a *Perſon*, to whom it was of the utmoſt Importance to be ſure of an *Affidavit* in *One* Form or *Other*, might not ſend a Meſſenger for *One* in a *Form* leſs offenſive; and at the ſame time, ſend for *Another* in a more groſs Form, and in a Way, in which, if it ſhould be diſcovered, it could not be demonſtratively fixt upon Himſelf. But, as We paſs, a *Queſtion* here ariſes, upon Mr. *K's* own Argument, very hard for Him to anſwer; *viz.* Since *a Perſon was thus ſent on purpoſe*, Why did not this very Perſon appear, and atteſt that Mr. *Gordon* ſigned the *Affidavit* at *Bologne*, in *his* Preſence? And why was this *material Point* left deſtitute of all Manner of Proof?

But to proceed, Mr. *K.* after having thus cleared Himſelf, and then his *Sollicitor*, by ſaying, That he can teſtify *that no Draughts were ſent by Him*; (which, to be ſure, Whoever ſent ſuch *Draughts*, would not ſcruple to depoſe;) ſtill is not content: but with the Uneaſineſs of Guilt, and *Shameleſſneſs* of Iniquity, has recourſe to his *Old Art* of laying That, as a *Forgery*, upon his *Superiors*, which otherwiſe muſt lie too ſtrongly upon *Himſelf*, or his own Friends. He ſpeaks of *the groſs Management of the Perſons concerned in this Affair*, as an Argument that *This Forgery* muſt be likewiſe added to *Their* Account: than which abominable Way of treating Every thing which touches Him, there is nothing more Impudent, nor more truly demonſtrative of the *Guilt* of him who makes uſe of it. If He had ſaid, that He hoped He ſhould not be made anſwerable for what ſome officious Ignorant Friend, unknown to Him, might have done, under a falſe and miſtaken Hope of ſerving Him; there had been ſome Modeſty and Senſe in it. But, to throw it upon his *Accuſers*, as *their* Wickedneſs; that is, to repreſent *Them* as *forging* a Thing, which He ſaw, at the ſame time, They Themſelves treated only as a remarkable *Matter* of *Fact* that had happened in the Affair of *Gordon*, without poſitively charging Mr. *K.* with the Contrivance; What can One ſay? Such an Inſinuation ſhews at once the *Malignity* of the *Heart*, and the *Weakneſs* of the *Head*.

He concludes this *Article*, according to Another of his *Inexcuſable Cuſtoms*, with *ſolemnly Affirming*, *That* He *never knew any thing of theſe Affidavits*; *that* He *never heard of the Name of* Akenhead *before*; *and* (obſerve what He adds) *nor can I find out any Perſon, beſides the Maſter of the Veſſel, that ever did. Solemn Affirmations* are of no Force from Thoſe who have ſhewn their Diſregard to *Truth*. But in *theſe*, He is peculiarly unfortunate. For the *Laſt* of the *Three* is, of itſelf, enough to convince all his *Readers*, either of the *Falſhood* of the *Other Two*; or of the great Negligence and Eaſe with which He permits Himſelf to ſay what He pleaſes. For the *Woman* of the *Houſe* where this *Akenhead* lodged, had been at the *Bar*, before this Speech was delivered; and upon Oath gave an Account how long He had lodged with Her; and declared that, upon the Diſcovery of this Matter of the *Affidavits*, and the firſt Noiſe about it, He ran away, though He had *Wines* and other *valuable Goods* in her Houſe; and choſe to loſe the *Sale* of them, rather than ſtay. Let any *Reader* of *Common Senſe* judge whether this Circumſtance, and the Silence of Mr. *Kelly* upon it, make this Contrivance of the *Affidavits* look like the *Forgery* of his *Adverſaries*, or the *Wicked Deſign* of *Himſelf* or his *Friends:* And, Let any One of *Common Honeſty* determine, What is to be thought of a *Man*, who *heard* this *Account* given *upon Oath* at the *Bar*, and immediately could permit Himſelf to pronounce a *ſolemn Affirmation*, that He could "*find out* NO *Perſon*, *beſides the* Maſter *of the* Veſſel, *who ever heard of ſuch a Man as* Akenhead.

The *Other Point* He mentions, *p.* 12, is "a Crime ſet forth in one *Levett's* Depoſition in the *Report* of the *Houſe* of *Lords*—viz. That Mrs. *Barnes* told her, Mr. *K. was inſtrumental in, or privy to, the ſhutting up a Perſon in a Dungeon, for fear of his turning Informer*;" and the like. This *Depoſition* was indeed printed, becauſe it was ſo depoſed by Mrs. *Levett:* And from the printing This, and the like *Depoſitions*, which were only Accounts of what had paſſed in Converſation between *Women*, and *Men*, juſt in the natural Manner in which They were made; I think it may be argued, that there was no *Art* or *Trick* put in Practice either to procure ſuch *Evidence*, or to conceal what They ſaid. No Uſe was made of This; nor was it ſo much as mentioned againſt Mr. *Kelly*; but officiouſly by Himſelf. And if He will chuſe to fight with *Shadows*, inſtead of *Subſtance*, it will only ſtill more ſhew, that He well knows on which part his own *Weakneſs* lies. All that Mrs. *L.* ſays is, that Mrs. *B.* told Her this Story. And Mr. *K.* I dare ſay, has not convinced any One Perſon that *She* did not tell *Her* ſo. He propoſes, They ſhould be confronted. Let it be ſo. Mrs. *L.* affirms: Mrs. *B.* denies. Which of the Two ſhall be believed? At the Time indeed, when this *Speech* was ſpoke, Mrs. *B.* was, in Mr. *K's* Opinion, a very *Credible* Perſon. But a Day or two afterwards, when upon *Oath*, She diſcovered the Secret of the *Two Dogs*, One of which only was come; and when upon *Oath* She invalidated all her Friend's *Solemn Affirmations* about the Relation between the *Biſhop* and the *Dog*; her *Credibility* from that Moment muſt have ceaſed with Mr. *Kelly*; and it muſt have become equal to *Him*, Which of the *Two* Women is *believed:* unleſs perhaps He had rather *now*, Mrs. *L.* ſhould be believed; becauſe if Mrs. *B.* be a Credible Perſon *againſt* Mrs. *L.* She muſt be equally a *Credible* Perſon againſt Mr. *Kelly* and his *Eminent Friend*; and do much more *hurt* to their Cauſe, by her Teſtimony, *One* Way, than She can do *good* Another.

By this Time it ſufficiently appears, with how great and how ſhameleſs Diſingenuity Mr. *K.* at the Opening of his *Defence*, charges the *Two* printed *Reports*, with *Inconſiſtencies*, *Contradictions*, *Falſe Concluſions*, *Weakneſs*, *Abſurdity* and *Sophiſtry*, in almoſt *Every Page* of them; and this, as an *Introduction* to the *Juſtice* and *Favour* of the *H.* of *Lords*, whoſe *Reports* They were *Both* in effect now become. For I have followed Him, though wandring out of his Way, to *Every particular Paſſage* of the *Reports* He has tried his Skill upon; and have ſhewn that, even in *Theſe*, which He has choſen out as *Weakeſt*, He has not given Proof of *One Contradiction*, or One ſingle *Falſe Concluſion*; nor of the *leaſt Abſurdity*, as far as the *Intention* of putting them into thoſe *Reports*, or the *Uſe* there made of them, extended themſelves: but that on *his own Part* indeed, He has, all along as He paſſed, added a Heap of *Incidental Inconſiſtencies* and *Abſurdities*, to the Guilt of his main Cauſe. I can think of nothing to equal the *Bluſtring Rudeneſs* of this *Attack* at the *Entrance* of his *Speech*, but the *Unbluſhing Aſſurance* of his *Aſſertion* at the *End* of it, That *it was not pretended that He had tranſgreſſed any Law yet in being:* as if the *Law* againſt all *Treaſonable Correſpondence* with *Enemies* were not, in its own Nature, One of thoſe *Laws*, which co-exiſt with Humane Society, and are *always* in being; and as if our *particular Law* about it did not ſufficiently declare it a *Criminal Point* deſerving Puniſhment, though an *Offender* may be ſo *Cunning* as to preclude the *Oral Teſtimony* particularly required in it; and as if his own *Conceſſion* of the *Reaſonableneſs* of *Proceeding* by *Bill* in *Extraordinary* Caſes, did not itſelf take from Him the *Benefit* of ſuch a *Falſe Allegation* as this. But it was fit, that the *Good Manners* and *Good Senſe* of the *Beginning*, ſhould be equaled by the *Modeſty* and *Truth* of the *Concluſion*.

I have now made an End of the *Remarks* which offered Themſelves upon Mr. *Kelly*'s *Defence*, in which I have not omitted even the ſlighteſt *Trifles*; that the Whole may be ſeen in its full Strength. I enter not, at preſent, into any of his *Obſervations* upon the *Method* of *Proceeding*, upon this Occaſion, by *Bill* in *Parliament*: Every One, as well of them who favoured the *Perſons* accuſed, as of Them who did not, allowed the Reaſon and Juſtice of it, upon proper Occaſions. All the Difference was, *Some* thought the preſent a neceſſary Occaſion, *Others* thought not. For my own part, I can ſee no Uſe of ſuch a *Power* at all in our Government; unleſs it be exerted, whenever a *Conſpiracy* appears *undoubtedly* to have been carrying on; and whenever the *Conſpirators* have uſed all their *Caution* and *Cunning* to manage their Parts ſo, as not to have put it in the Power of any *Two Oral Witneſſes* to the *ſame Species* of *Treaſon*, to teſtify againſt Them. That there may be *Evidence* as *ſufficient*, and as *convincing*, even in *Capital* Caſes, as the *Teſtimony* of *Two Witneſſes* to an *Overt-act*, is paſt all doubt; and is proved from the Practice of the *Courts* below Themſelves, in the Caſe of *Trials* for *Murther*. That it is incomparably *harder* for any Perſons in Power, (were They as *Wicked* as Mr. *K.* and his *Maſter* have for their own Ends painted them out,) to invent and forge a vaſt number of *Concurrent Circumſtances*, all conſpiring uniformly to prove the ſame *Facts*; than to *bribe* and *corrupt* Two *Witneſſes*; muſt be granted by *All* who will think over the Matter deliberately. That there is a *Multitude* of ſuch *Concurring Circumſtances* in the Caſe of Mr. *Kelly*, the *Reader* has ſeen. And as to the *main Art* of his Defence, It has been proved too plainly to be doubted of, That, whilſt He has attempted to throw the *Invention* of what was impoſſible to be *invented*, upon his *Superiors*; He has run Himſelf into *Irreconcileable Abſurdities*; falſifying the *Evidence* He thinks fit to produce; hiding from his *Reader* All that was *ſtrong*, and chiefly inſiſted upon; running out into *Matters* entirely foreign to what was truly alledged againſt Him; making the *Whole* a *Contrivance* between a *Great Man* and *Another*, which *Other* Perſon was not ſo much as heard of by that *Great Man* till above *Three Months* after many *Letters* relating to the *Conſpiracy* were intercepted: and all the while carefully paſſing over in Silence (let not this be forgot) Every *Circumſtance* which could not poſſibly be a Part of any ſuch *Contrivance*. For Inſtance, If *Neynoe* could have *forged Letters* for Mr. *Kelly*; yet *Neynoe* and the *Greateſt Man* in the World, with *all the Power* of the *Greateſt Man* in the World, could not, by any Contrivance between *Themſelves*, make *Correſpondents* abroad for Mr. *Kelly*, to his own Mind; and cauſe *Letters* to be writ back by ſuch Correſpondents, with ſuch *Directions* as Mr. *Kelly* had in his *Pocket-book*; and theſe *Letters* to be left at ſuch *Houſes* as Mr. *K.* ſhould expect Them to be found at; and even much leſs could They force Mr. *K.* whether He would or no, to call *Himſelf* at *One Coffee-houſe* for an *Anſwer* to *Letters* forged by *Neynoe*; and, after ſeeing Himſelf detected there, force Him to order *Other Perſons* to take in ſuch *Anſwers* for *Him*; and force Him to *pay* for theſe *Letters* ſo taken in: All which was ſo plainly proved, that Mr. *K.* does not attempt to give any

Anſwer to theſe *Facts*, but ſuch a One, as ſhows He could give none. But no more.

When I think of *Him*, as a *Subject* of *Great Britain*, thus attempting, with a deſperate and ſedate Reſolution, the Ruin of his Country; When I think of *Him*, as a *Clergyman*, thus voluntarily throwing off the Cares of his Function, and mixing Himſelf ſo ſcandalouſly in the *vileſt* Affairs of this World's *Politicks*; When I think of *Him*, as a *Chriſtian Preacher*, proſtituting the Sacredneſs of *Solemn Affirmations* pronounced upon the *Faith* of a *Chriſtian*, and making vile his *Holy Profeſſion* in the Eyes of *Infidels* and *Enemies*; When I think of—But I can go no higher.—It is Time for *Him* to *think* of *Himſelf* under theſe Views, in another-guiſe Manner than He appears to have done yet: And if He does, He will beſt judge, what *Reparation* He can make to his *Injured Country*; What *Reſtitution* to *Thoſe*, whom He has, without Mercy or Juſtice, againſt all *Truth* and all *Modeſty*, ſo infamouſly traduced; and above all, What *Amends* to the Cauſe of Vertue, Morality, Conſcience, and Honour; to the Intereſts of the *Beſt Religion*, and the moſt *Holy Profeſſion*—which muſt all bleed from the Wounds He has reſolutely and inhumanely given them.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XLII. LONDON JOURNAL, July 13, 1723.

THERE is nothing more Unhandſome, or Unmanly, than to aggravate the Misfortunes of an *Unhappy Man*; Nothing more *Inexcuſeable*, than for Any who are in *Proſperity*, to add to the Load of the *Afflicted*; or to take a Pleaſure in purſuing *Thoſe*, who are in a *State* of *Suffering*. This is a good general Rule; and every well-diſpoſed Mind will in all ordinary Caſes conform to it. But, Whenever the Conteſt lies between the *Profeſſion*, or the *Perſonal Character* or *Conduct* of Any Man, on *One* Side; and the Safety or Honour of the *Publick*, on the *Other*: Whenever the Reputation of a Man's *Abilities*, *Learning*, *Manner* of *Speaking*, or *Art* in colouring over a Bad and Deſperate Cauſe, are oppoſed, and cried up by Many in Oppoſition to the *Juſtice* of a *Nation*; and by Many, in direct Deſign of carrying forward the *Ruin* of it: *Whenever* this is ſo, It then becomes as true and as certain that *Right* and *Duty* require ſuch an *Oppoſition* to Attempts of this Nature, as at the ſame time preſerves itſelf within the *Rules* of *ſtrict Juſtice* to the *Perſon* concerned, whilſt it ſhews its firſt and principal Care to be the *Good* of the *Whole Society*.

This is the *Caſe* between the late *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter*, on one Side, and his *Country*, on the other; between the *Reputation* of the *Perſon* condemned, and the *Reputation* of his *Judges* who condemned Him; between the *Attempts* of Some ſtill to make uſe of *his* Name, and *his* Fate, to the Diſturbance of the *Government*; and the *Intereſt* of that *Government*, upon the Quiet and Security of which all our Hopes of worldly Happineſs do and muſt depend. For the *Scene* of this Affair is not yet ſuffered to come to an end. But though it be very remarkable, that *before this*, (whether through ſome Unhappineſs or other in his own Conduct, in the ſeveral Stations He had paſſed through, or through the Stupidity and Inſenſibility of Others to his *Merit*, I do not determine,) He ſeemed not to have conciliated the inward Affections (I had almoſt ſaid) of *Any One Man* of *Any Party* to *Himſelf*: Yet, as ſoon as *One certain Cauſe* appeared to be ſtruck at through *Him*, Numbers immediately are become his *Advocates*; and a great

Perſonal Opinion of Him, is now to be created and heightened; leſt the contrary ſhould a little ſink *that Cauſe* in which He ſuffered, or help to beget any Favour towards *Thoſe* who joined in condemning Him. *Sometimes*, We are told of the *Sacredneſs* of his *Profeſſion*; as if *That*, which is the blackeſt Aggravation of *Civil Guilt*, can poſſibly be a *Protection* againſt *Civil Puniſhment.* Sometimes, his *Learning* and great *Talents* are ſet forth as ſufficient, if rightly divided and ſpread abroad, to enrich the *Whole* Unhappy Lump of Common Mortals, He has left behind Him; though before this, his *Learned Abilities* were thought rather *Pretty* and *Entertaining*, than *Deep* and *Subſtantial.* Sometimes, the Whole Frame of the *Government* is threatened with *Shocks*, and almoſt with a *Total Diſſolution*, for the crying Preſumption of defending itſelf. *Sometimes*, the *Whole Parliament*, the *Repreſentatives* of the *People*, and the Guardians of *Public Liberty*, are expoſed to the *Multitude* without Doors, as *Abject Mercenary* and *Dependent* Machines, moved entirely by the Will and Pleaſure of a Mighty Hand, or Two, behind the Curtain; which only *pointed out* a *Prelate* to *Deſtruction*, and the *Herd* obeyed, and deſtroyed Him. *Sometimes*, the *Fire* of *Rage* is particularly kindled and ſtirred up againſt *Thoſe* of *his own Order*, who gave their Voices for ſuch a *Sentence* againſt a *Brother*: as if Any thing could be a greater Glory to Them, than to be zealous in a particular Manner to return that *Security* to the *State*, which the *State* alone can give and continue to *Them*; or Any thing more for the *Honour* of the *Church*, than to pay back, in the Duty and Gratitude of *Faithful Service*, the *Obligations* of Quiet and Endowments, owing to the *Benevolence* of the *Civil Society*, and the *Protection* of the *Civil Power*: or, as if the very *Reproach* itſelf were not a ſufficient Reparation for its own Injury, whilſt it repreſents Them as Men ſo hardened and abandoned, as to prefer *Juſtice* againſt a *State Criminal* (where They think it is due) before the *Affectation* of their own *Superiority* over the reſt of Mankind, or *Independency* on the *State* in *Criminal Matters*; or any *Imaginary Privilege* of not being touched, till They had been *firſt* leveled with the *Lay-World* by a *Judgment* purely *Eccleſiaſtical.* Sometimes, the *Heart-Strings* are played upon, and the *Tone* of *Pity* and *Commiſeration* towards the *Criminal* is aſſumed, to melt down the ſoft and tender Affections of Thoſe, whoſe Underſtandings cannot be convinced: whilſt all *Pity* and *Commiſeration* are denied to an Injured Country. And then again, *Satire* and *Invective* take their Place; and all the *Springs* of *Indignation* and *Wrath* are put in Motion, againſt *Thoſe* in *Power*; in whom their *Power* alone is *Guilt*, ſufficient of itſelf to make all the Guilt of *Traitors* and *Conſpirators* vaniſh, and be forgot.

They, who act, and talk, and write, in this Manner, muſt not wonder if there be *Others*, who are ſo far provoked by the *Danger* to their *Country*, and to its *Government*, from Heats and Paſſions, artfully continued and revived by theſe Methods, as to enter into the *Cauſe*, and ſhew it in its true State. The only *Point* is, on which Side *Truth* and *Juſtice* lie; and in ſettling this, the *Perſon* accuſed, Great or Little, has a ſtrict Right to the Impartiality of our Judgments; and the *Perſons* who accuſed and condemned Him, have the ſame. And this ſhall be my *Aim*, in the following Papers; to which I will ſtrictly keep, without deviating to the Right Hand or to the Left, through Favour and Affection, or through Prejudice and Ill-will. The *Speech* of the late *B.* of *R.* is now publiſhed. I call it ſo, though it appears to be done from a *Copy* written very haſtily in *Short-hand* from his Mouth, becauſe it agrees with *other Copies* ſo taken, and is really, in the *main*, what He ſaid; though not always expreſſed in a perfect Manner. It wants ſometimes *Words*; ſometimes the right ſtopping;

and ſometimes the proper Particles of Connection. But it is truly his *Whole Defence*; in which not *One* thing that He alledged for Himſelf is omitted; as far as my *Memory*, compared with the *Memory* of *Others*, can reach back; who, as I told the *Reader* in a *former Paper*, attended, as Many Others were permitted to do, upon that Affair. I will endeavour, as I go along, to ſupply the *Defects* of the *Copy:* though the *Errors* are of that ſort, that Every Man of *Common Senſe* may eaſily, without Help, ſee what *Supplies* are neceſſary to make the *Senſe clear*; and very readily perceive what Tranſitions, what Stops, or what connecting Words are wanting. And to make all the more *Methodical* and *Diſtinct*, I ſhall divide it as naturally as I can into its *ſeveral Parts*. The *Firſt* will contain his *Complaints* of the *Uſage* He met with in his *Confinement*. The *Second*, his *Account* of the *Reaſons* He had for not appearing before the *Houſe* of *Commons*. Both which relate to what paſſed *before* his Appearance at the *Lords* Bar. The *Third* will contain his Complaints of his Ill Uſage, and Hardſhips put upon Him, at that *Bar*, during his *Trial*, before his *Defence* was made. The *Fourth* will ſhew His State of the *Charge* againſt Him, and his Direct *Defence* of Himſelf from it. The *Fifth*, His more Indirect *Defence*, taken from the *Improbability* of it, deduced from ſeveral *Circumſtances*. The *Sixth* will relate to his *Objections* againſt the *Nature* of the *Puniſhment* inflicted. The *Seventh*, to the Danger of the *Precedent* of ſuch a Manner of Proceeding, as He repreſents this to be. And the *Laſt* will regard His *ſolemn Aſſeverations*, and *Concluſion*.

As We paſs through theſe Particulars, and after We have done with them, ſeveral *Remarks* will ariſe upon thoſe Parts of his own *Behaviour* at the *Bar*, both with regard to his *Judges* and the *Witneſſes*, which cannot be underſtood from any thing in his *printed Speech*; as well as many *Obſervations* upon the *Speech* itſelf, which will ſhew on which ſide *Truth*, *Honour*, *Temper*, and *Juſtice* lie. And as I think it my Duty to ſpeak with Freedom; if, upon the *Whole*, it ſhall plainly appear, (as I can almoſt promiſe it will,) That, in his *Defence* of Himſelf, both as to the *Matter* and *Manner* of it, there is not *One* Sign of *Innocence*, but *Many* of *Guilt*; and (which is of more Account to ſome Tempers) that there are in it *very few* Marks of any thing like a *Great* or *Uncommon Genius*, ſo much celebrated by *ſome* Perſons; but *Many* of ſomething quite *contrary:* This will make ſtill more evident the ſuperior Glory of All that is Good and Right, by ſhewing that a *ſtrong Underſtanding* conſtantly dwells with *Integrity* alone; but that it *abandons* Thoſe who firſt *abandon* it; and gives up Thoſe to the Guidance of their own *Choice*, who prefer *Wit* to *Good Senſe*, and the crooked By-paths of *Craft* to the Strait and Unblemiſhed Conduct of *Wiſdom*. If the *Remarks* ſhall at any time ſeem a little hard, and in *Severity* ſomething too preſſing; I promiſe it ſhall be only ſuch a *Severity* as reſults from the *Nature* of *Things*; and ſuch as *Truth*, *Juſtice*, and the *Defence* both of the *Government* and of the *Governed Society*, make abſolutely neceſſary. For, to uſe an Expreſſion like his own, *p.* 11,—*He is gone—I deſire not to diſturb his* Memory, *any farther than what is neceſſary for the Defence* of my Country: which is of much more Importance, than the *Defence* of any particular Man. I call it the *Defence* of my *Country*; and ſhall ever think it ſo, to remove thoſe *falſe Colours*, to take off the Force of thoſe *Inſinuations*, to ward againſt thoſe *Miſrepreſentations*, to diſprove thoſe *Falſities*; which, if ſuppoſed and ſuffered to exiſt in their full force, muſt ſink and ruin the *Honour* of the *Supreme Power* of the *Nation*; leſſen all the regard due to It from *Inferiors*; and go on to diſſolve the preſent Frame of the *Whole Government*.

The *Two Leading* Complaints will not take up much of our Time. The *Firſt* was deſigned to make a ſtrong Impreſſion at the *Entrance* of the *Defence*. "The

Long and Cloſe Confinement He had been *under*—The *Severity and Indignity* he had been *treated with*; *ſuch as, He believes, no Priſoner—of his Age, and Function, and Rank, ever was—Such Uſage, ſuch Hardſhips, ſuch Inſults, as* He had *undergone*"—Theſe are repreſented, as what had made Him *very unfit to make his Defence againſt the Bill.*—It is very eaſy for One long uſed to the *Arts* of *Oratory*, to magnify all *Imaginary Evils*, and willing to forget the *True* Ones. This *Art* is ſkilfully managed here. The *Uſage* He had met with, is to bear the Load of his *Unfitneſs* for his *Defence*. But the true *Cauſe* of that *Unfitneſs* is paſſed over in Silence. The only Thing which could make ſuch a *Priſoner*, before ſuch *Judges*, with his *Counſel* about Him, and ſufficient *Time* allowed Him, *unfit* for his *Defence*, was his *Guilt*. One *Grain* of this would weaken his *Defence*, more than a *thouſand Loads* of External *Hardſhips* and *Inſults*. And had He been *Innocent*, *Innocence* had been Support enough, where He now ſtood; and He had had no need of theſe *Complaints* of *Strength decayed*, and *Spirits broken*. Not but that I can *truly* add, if I may have Leave to ſay ſo, that there was not the leaſt Sign of ſuch *Uſage*, from any ſuch viſible Effects. For, I believe, there never was ſeen in any *Accuſed Perſon*, more *Fierceneſs*, or *Vigour*, or *Vivacity*, (or whatever you will call it,) towards his *Judges* within, or the *Witneſſes* without the *Bar*, than ſhewed itſelf in *Him*. I cannot indeed call it the *Aſſurance* of *Innocence*, which always is within due Bounds; but it was ſomething which betrayed no *Decay* of *Strength*, or *Exhauſtion* of *Spirits*. His *Confinement* and *Uſage* were ſuch, as are unavoidable in the Caſe of *Perſons* apprehended for *High Treaſon*. Any other would be inexcuſable in a *Government*, in ſo high a Concern; and defeat the very *Ends* of taking up ſuch *Criminals*: and the *Expectation* of any other, abſurd in the *Criminal* Himſelf. But ſince He forces the Remembrance of Men to look back, I cannot forbear to remark that *One*, who knows the World, and the Way of treating *Priſoners* in ſuch Caſes, would not have mentioned This, but for *ſome other* Reaſon, than what here appears. There is an *Art* in being the *firſt* to *complain*, of what a Perſon knows to have been laid to his own *Charge*. He was ſenſible, *Complaints* and *Diſcourſes* had gone about of *his own* Behaviour in his *Confinement*, towards *Thoſe* to whoſe Care He was committed: and I cannot help thinking, that the Inward Conſciouſneſs of his having been Himſelf tranſported by the Frailty of Humane Paſſion, to do what had a little Appearance of *Inſulting* Others, might induce Him to *cry out* publickly firſt, and to enter his *Complaint* here, as ſome *Apology* at leaſt for Himſelf in thoſe Parts of his *Conduct*. However artful this may *ſeem* in *general*; it was far from being ſo in *reality*, to give it as a *particular Reaſon* for the *Defects* of his *Defence*; when his *Innocence* did not only rely upon his own *Vigour*, but was aided by the additional *Strength* of his *Learned Counſel*, who had not been thus weakened by *Inſults*; and when He Himſelf knew, there had been before a *proper Time* to have ſpecified to the *Miniſters* any Particulars of ſuch *Unbecoming Uſage*; and was well aſſured, that upon ſuch an Occaſion, They could not have denied Him *Redreſs*, even for *their own* Sakes. But it was not in his Power to give any ſuch Inſtances: and therefore, the *general Complaint* was reſerved for a *moving Exordium*, at once to *excuſe* and *ſtrengthen* the *Weakneſs* of his *Defence*.

The *next* Point is, His Account, Why He did not appear before the *Houſe* of *Commons*, as the *Lords* had left Him at *Liberty* to do. His *Reaſons* amount to this, "That the *H.* of *C.* had paſſed a Vote to this Purpoſe; That it appeared to "Them, that He was principally concerned in—a deteſtable Conſpiracy; and "therefore, that it was in vain for Him, who was thus *prejudged*, to enter into "any *Defence* before that Houſe; ſince He could not hope to have made any *Im-*

"*preſſion* there, let his *Innocence* have appeared never ſo clearly." But I ſhall not ſcruple to ſay, This could not be the *Reaſon*. For *He*, who knew *Parliamentary* Affairs ſo well, certainly knew that a *Vote* of that ſort is not at all *Definitive*; but only a previous neceſſary *Foundation* for a Bill, *againſt* the *paſſing* of which that *Honourable Houſe* are as much at Liberty to *hear*, and to determine, as if no ſuch *Vote* had paſſed; and no more in the leaſt precluded by it, from acquitting a Perſon who ſhall upon Trial appear *Innocent*, than a *Common Jury* is obliged to *condemn* every *Priſoner*, againſt whom a *previous Bill* is found, upon the firſt View and Appearance of Evidence. He might, with the ſame *Pretence*, have refuſed to come to the *Bar* of the *Houſe* of *Lords*; and might have argued that They had received the *Bill* againſt Him from the *Other Houſe*, and had unanimouſly agreed to the reading it *once*, and had ordered it to be read a *ſecond* time; by all which Steps They had *prejudged* Him; and therefore, that He could expect no Juſtice from Them; and therefore, that it was in vain for Him to *appear*. Another *Reaſon* therefore, muſt be ſearched after, for *this* Conduct; and I can think of *None*, but becauſe it was imagined to be more *Cunning*, and more for his *Intereſt*, *not* to diſcover the *Topicks* of his *Vindication*, or the *main Grounds* upon which his *Defence* ſhould go, till He could ſurprize and overwhelm his *Adverſaries*, with *All* at once, at the *Bar* of another *Houſe*. Had it not been for ſome ſuch Reaſon as this, He would not, by his *Refuſal* of appearing below, have furniſhed that *Honourable Houſe* with a *Compleat Juſtification* of their *Condemning* a *Man*, who diſdained to anſwer to their *Charge* againſt Him; and who would not ſo much as give *Them* any poſſible Opportunity of *acquitting* Him. But it is a *Reaſon* indeed, which is not any *Mark* of that *Innocence*, which can never be afraid of producing all its Strength and Light before the whole World. And if I am out in this, yet it is a much more *probable Reaſon* than That here given; which is attended with this *unfortunate Circumſtance* likewiſe, to prove it not the *true One*, viz. That *after* that *Vote* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, the *Priſoner* petitioned the *Houſe* of *Lords* to know their *Sentiments*, upon a *Member* of *their Houſe* appearing before the *Other*; and that He did not find out *this Reaſon* againſt it, till *after* They had left Him to his own *Liberty*: Whereas *This Reaſon* had equal Strength *before*; and, if good, took away all ground for his *applying* to Them, being ſufficient of itſelf to have hindered his *appearing* below. Theſe *Obſervations* fully ſhew the *Want* of *ſtrict Truth* in this *Reaſon* here alledged; and the Want of all Force in thoſe few Ill-placed and Ill-grounded *Expoſtulations* which immediately follow it, to the *End* of the *firſt Page*.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XLIII. LONDON JOURNAL, July 20, 1723.

THE *Art* of *Complaining* is of great Uſe to a *Speaker*, who is managing the *Affections* of his *Judges* to his own Purpoſes; if He can do it within the *Rules* of his *Art*, preſerving *Decency* to *Them*, and *Probability* of *Advantage* to *Himſelf*. But there is a *Nicety* in This, as well as Other *Inſtances* of *Oratory*, in a Man's *Defence* of Himſelf from an *Accuſation*. Suppoſe a *Priſoner* in any *Court*, going to his *Main Defence*, ſhould ſpeak to his *Judge*, and let Him know that He had already, through the whole Trial, injured Him greatly; that He had denied Him the Means of clearing Himſelf; and ſhewn a determined Reſolution to condemn Him, right or wrong: Would Any One ſcruple to affirm, that This was all an Artificial Deſign of covering the *Weakneſs* of his future *Defence*, by the *Hardſhips* pretended to be put upon Him; or rather, that the only *View* in This was, that it might hereafter *move* Compaſſion *without Doors*, it being impoſſible for Any One to imagine it could ſerve Him *within Doors*. Thus it is, in the *preliminary Complaints* of the late *B.* of *R.* about the *Ill Uſage* and *Hardſhips* put upon Him, at the *Bar* of the *Houſe* of *Lords*: Which is the *Part* of his *Speech* that is now in its *Order* to be conſidered. He is juſt going to begin his *Defence* of *Himſelf* from the great *Crime* of a *Treaſonable Correſpondence*; and He begs leave to ſpeak to his *Judges*, the *Lords*, before He enters upon it, to this Effect. "My Lords, I muſt be ſo free as to tell You, that You have already, "in the *Courſe* of this *Trial*, ſhewn Yourſelves *Unrighteous*, *Partial*, and *Determined*; You have denied Me many Inſtances of *Common Juſtice*; You have "refuſed Me what was neceſſary for my preſent Defence: and I expect nothing "from You, that is agreeable to Juſtice or Equity." What *Others* concluded from ſuch an *Attack*, I know not. But I remember, I concluded from it, That the *Speaker*, being conſcious within, that He had but a *thin weak* Defence of Himſelf to make, was reſolved before-hand to lay in ſome *Apology* for it: and *That*, as the *Speaker* was too experienced an *Orator* not to know, that this Uſage muſt rather exaſperate his *Judges*, than conciliate their Affections to Him; and too Cunning a Man, to do this without *any End* at all; there was an *End* in it: and theſe *Complaints*, and this *Speech*, (as well as Thoſe of his Friend Mr. *Kelly)* were calculated entirely for the *People*; and framed for the moving of the Paſſions *without Doors*, and not at all for convincing the *Judgements* or gaining the *Regards* of his Judges *within Doors*. In *this* View, there is *ſome Senſe*, though no *Honeſty*, in them; in the *other* View, there is neither *Senſe* nor *Honeſty* in them: as I ſhall make appear, by a few juſt *Remarks* upon Every One of them.

1. The firſt *Complaint* is, *Reading* Extracts *of* Anonymous Letters, *without ſuffering any other Parts of the ſame* Letters, *though relating to the ſame* Subject, *to be read*, p. 4. This ſounds a little hard at firſt Hearing; and carries along with it a very bad *Repreſentation* of the *Temper* of his *Judges*. But when the *Reader* comes to know the true *State* of the *Caſe*, it will not appear of very great Moment. In the firſt place, it gives a wrong Turn to the *Queſtion*, to call them *Extracts* of *Anonymous Letters*; which, properly ſpeaking, are *Letters* written by unknown Perſons, or by Perſons who will not be *known* to write them by Thoſe to whom They are writ. Whereas, Theſe *Letters* came from *Known Perſons* abroad, whoſe Names were ſubſcribed to them. And *then*, the Chief Point is, that this *Repreſentation* of the *Caſe* is exceeding *partial* and *unfair*. Theſe *Extracts* of *Letters* were read, not as *direct Evidence* againſt the *Biſhop*, whoſe Name was not (I believe) mentioned, or pointed at, in any One of them: but They were read wholly and ſolely in ſupport of the *Preamble* of the *Bill*, and of that general *Aſſertion* in it, that *there was a deteſtable Conſpiracy formed and carried on*, &c. The *Criminal* was no more affected by *This*, than if they had not been read; nor at all more hindered from any Proof of his own *Innocence*, than if no ſuch *Letters* had been produced. This is plain from the Nature of the Thing. For what Hurt could it poſſibly do *Him*, to prove from ſuch Intelligences from abroad, that there was a *Conſpiracy*, or a thouſand *Conſpiracies*, if He were *Innocent*, and could prove that He had no Part in them? And not only from the *Reaſon* of the thing; but in effect from the *Confeſſion* of All who oppoſed the reading thoſe *Extracts*. For one great *Argument* was, What need of *reading*

them; or what *Reaſon* for it, when the *Houſe* of *Lords* had already (and *that* unanimouſly) voted, That there has been ſuch a *Conſpiracy* carrying on? and when no One doubts it, or pretends to doubt it? But there was at leaſt *this* Reaſon for reading them, that it was more decent, and had a better Appearance, to *read* the Proofs of *Every Allegation* in the *Bill*, than to take Any One of them for granted. And I will appeal to any Impartial Judge, Whether, ſuppoſing theſe *Proofs* of a *Conſpiracy*, affirmed in the *Bill*, had not been offered and *read*; the *ſame Perſons*, who now were *againſt* reading them, would not very probably have been much more ſtrong in their *Demand* to have them *read*, as neceſſary for the Support of an *Allegation* in this particular *Bill*; and have repreſented the *Evidence* as defective without them.

I muſt not here diſſemble, that the *Point* principally urged in the *Argument* againſt the reading them, was, that they were the Support of a *Bill*, which was in the *End* to affect a *Man* in his *Liberty* and *Fortune*; and therefore, ought not to be read, in the manner they were. But the *Anſwer* to This is obvious. For, as the proving by theſe *Letters* a *Conſpiracy* in general, could no more affect the *Priſoner*, not named in them, than it could any Any One of his *Judges* themſelves; ſo, ſuppoſing it otherwiſe, it is evident that the *Conceſſion* of *Thoſe* who oppoſed the *reading* them, muſt have had the ſame *Effect* upon *Him*, in all *reſpects*. For where could be the Difference with reſpect to Him, whether the *Aſſertion* of a *General Conſpiracy* was put into a *Bill* which was to affect *Him*, if guilty, without any thing *read* to ſupport it, but merely as an *undoubted uncontested* Point; or whether it was put in, ſupported by the *Evidence* of *Letters* and *Intelligences* from abroad. And I cannot but think that *Every Member* of that *Auguſt Aſſembly* would much rather have the *Complaint* of the *Criminal* ſtand, as it does now; than to have heard Him too juſtly *complaining*, (as He would have done in the *other* Way,) that there was nothing *read* in *Evidence* of a very important *Aſſertion* in a *Bill*, which was deſigned to affect *Him* ſo greatly.

But I would not have the *Reader* here think, that the *Manner* of doing this, was the *Reſult* of an abſolute *Implicit Faith* in the *Miniſters*. For not only the Two *Secretaries* of *State*, but the *Nine Lords Committees*, to whom the *Papers* relating to the *Conſpiracy* were referred by the *Houſe*, gave the *Houſe* perfect *Satisfaction* in the following Points; That they had ſeen the *Original Letters*, ſubſcribed with the Names of Thoſe who wrote Them: That the PARTS of them, now offered to be read, were faithful *Extracts* of whole *Sentences* or *Paragraphs* out of them; not *Abſtracts* or *Abbreviations* of any Parts of them: That the *Other* Parts of thoſe *Letters* of *Intelligence*, and the Names of the *Perſons* who ſent them, could not, in *their* Opinion, be laid before the *Whole Houſe*, without the utmoſt Detriment to the *Publick*, and the utter Diſcouragement of *All* ſuch *Intelligence* for the future, as might be neceſſary even for the Safety of the *Nation*: and That, in the remaining Parts of thoſe *Letters* not diſcloſed, there was not any *Sentence* or *Word*, which either *contradicted*, or varied, or at all altered the Senſe of the *Parts* now offered to be read. Upon which *Satisfaction* given to the *Houſe*, upon the *Honour* of ſo many *Lords*, in a Caſe which, in the Nature of it, muſt be truſted as a *Secret* with *ſome Perſons*, it was reſolved to read them, in *ſupport* of the *general Aſſertion* of a *Conſpiracy*. And whether this deſerved the *Cenſure* of *Thoſe*, who would have had the ſame *Aſſertion* in its full Force kept in the *Preamble*, without any *Proof* read to it; or the *Outcries* of the *Politicians* without Doors, who knew not the State of the Matter; or the formal *Complaint* of the *Priſoner*, as of an *Injuſtice* to *Him*, whoſe *Cauſe* it could not alter, in the leaſt Tittle, one Way or other; Let All who pleaſe, now judge.

2. The *Second Hardſhip complained of*, is,—*Excuſing the* Decypherers *from anſwering* Queſtions *aſked by the* Priſoner, *and which He thought neceſſary for his* Defence, *leſt They ſhould reveal their Art*, p. 4. The *Hardſhip* of this is repreſented ſo, as to lie in theſe *Two Points*, That *He* himſelf thought theſe *Queſtions* neceſſary for his own *Defence:* and that the *Decypherers* refuſed to anſwer, merely for fear of *revealing* their *Art*; and were ſupported by the *Houſe* in ſuch *Refuſal*, upon *that Reaſon* only. As to the *former* of theſe, If every *Trial* were to laſt, as long as any *Criminal* could invent *Queſtions* to aſk, which He would affirm *Himſelf* to conceive to be neceſſary for his Defence, there is an *End* of all *Trials*; or rather, there never could be an *End* of any *One Trial*. But there is always a *Meaſure* in ſuch Things; and the *Judges* of the *Cauſe* are always ſuppoſed to be the *proper Judges* of what is ſo *neceſſary*, or ſo *uſeful*, that it ought to be admitted; and what not. And whoever conſiders the *Time*, and the *Patience*, conſumed in the *Trial* now before Us, will not think that the *Houſe* of *Lords* were ever backward to allow whatever was reaſonable and fitting. And that no Injury was done to the *Priſoner* in this Particular, I dare ſay, may be proved from his own Mouth. For though here, in the Tenderneſs and Paſſion of Complaining, He repreſents theſe *Queſtions*, as *neceſſary* for his *Defence*; yet, the *Reader* muſt not imagine from hence that He meant really *neceſſary* in the ſtrict Senſe of the Word. For We ſhall ſee that, without the *Anſwer* to theſe *Queſtions* from the *Decypherers*, or without any Regard to their Art, He has, in his own Opinion, fully demonſtrated his *Innocence*. That He had no part in the *Treaſonable Letters* charged upon Him; —*This*, ſays He, (which is indeed *all*) *hath been made out—by ſuch a Concurrence of Evidence, ſo clear, full, and legal, as I perſwade Myſelf, can have left no Doubt remaining*—&c. *p.* 5. From whence it appears, that He was in no Manner of *Want* of any thing farther from the *Decypherers*, than what They had already anſwered, in order to his *clear* and *undoubted Vindication*. And *this* He knew when He made this *Complaint:* which therefore, muſt not be taken *literally*, even for fear of hurting *Him* who made it, and running into the *Inconvenience* of ſuppoſing, that, what was *neceſſary* for his *Defence* having been refuſed Him, He was not able, and had not in effect, made out his *Innocence*; contrary to what He Himſelf, and Thoſe who upheld Him, ſtrenuouſly maintained. The *Argument* is ſtrong. He did, in *his own Opinion*, make out his *Innocence* clear and undoubted: Therefore, He could not in his Heart believe that Any thing *neceſſary* to his *Defence* had been refuſed Him.

But now, We will conſider the *Reaſon* ſaid here to be given for *excuſing* the *Decypherers* from anſwering farther, after They had already anſwered a Multitude of *Queſtions*, viz. *leſt They ſhould reveal their Art*. And, ſuppoſing *This* to have been the *ſole Reaſon* given; I ſay, the *Lords* would have been juſtified in not inſiſting any farther upon *Anſwers* from Them, by the Nature and Courſe of all ſuch *Proceedings* in all *Courts* of *Judicature*. For when *Artiſts* of any ſort are called to give *Teſtimony*, They are always called to do it under *Reſtrictions*; to do it in ſuch Manner only, as ſhall not hurt *Themſelves*; as ſhall not diſcloſe any *Secrets*, of which They are the *Maſters*, to *their own* Prejudice; and a ſort of *Implicit Belief* is always paid to what They anſwer upon *Oath*, if nothing appears to deſtroy it, without enquiring into thoſe *Depths* and *Springs* of their *Art*, which it is not fit for Them to lay open; and which indeed, if laid open, could not probably, during the *Time* of any *Trial*, be ſufficiently comprehended, or judged of, by *Strangers* to that *Art*.

But indeed, This was *not* the *ſole*, or *principal*, *Reaſon* given for the *Refuſal* of anſwering to ſome particular *Queſtions*. For it was urged ſeveral times by Mr.

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Wills, (who ſhewed a *Modeſty* equal to his *Skill*, in all He ſaid) that He apprehended the *particular Queſtions* propoſed went too far; that the *Anſwers* to Them might not only be a great *Prejudice* to *Himſelf* as a *Decypherer*, with regard to an *Art* which lay in very few Hands, and was of that Nature at preſent, as to continue ſo; but alſo of great Detriment to the *Publick*, the Safety of which might often depend upon this *Art*. And He gave a very judicious *Reaſon* for it, that if He ſhould *anſwer* Queſtions, which manifeſtly tended to nothing, but the laying open the whole *Ground* and *Method* of proceeding in the Affair of *Decyphering*; This itſelf, *viz.* the *Diſcovering* all his *Methods* of finding out the Meaning of the *Cyphers* He had interpreted, might the more readily lead *Conſpirators* and *Traitors* to invent a perfectly new *Cypher*, which it might be perhaps *impoſſible* for *Him*, or *Any One*, to *decypher*; in which Caſe, whenever it ſhould happen, the *Government* might ſuffer even a *Total Ruin* in ſome extraordinary Conjunctures. But *this* Reaſon the *Criminal* has thought fit artfully to conceal: Which, added to the Other, is fully ſufficient to ſhew the *Weakneſs* of the *Complaint*; and to juſtify the *Proceeding* of his *Judges*, whom He has here repreſented, with great *Partiality*, as acting a *hard Part*, where They did Nothing but what *Cuſtom*, and the *Nature* of the Thing, and the *Good* of the Publick, made reaſonable and neceſſary; and *Nothing* that at all affected the *Tenor* and *Strength* of his own *Defence*. Nay, as I ſhall quickly ſhew, notwithſtanding *Another* of his *Complaints*, They afterwards, upon *His Requeſt*, allowed Him a much longer Opportunity than He Himſelf aſked, of proving in *Another* Way the *Treaſonable Letters* to be *falſly decyphered*; which was the *Utmoſt End* of all his *Queſtions*; but which indeed at laſt, He would not ſo much as attempt to do. Judge from hence of the *Ground* of ſuch *Complaints*.

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER XLIV. LONDON JOURNAL, July 27, 1723.

THE *Third* Grievance which the late *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter* complains of, in the *Courſe* of the *Evidence* againſt Him, is, *The not ſuffering* Him *to be anſwered by the* Clerks *of the* Poſt-office, *leſt the Secrets of* that Office *ſhould be diſcovered.*— p. 4. Though *this* be not the *true Reaſon* of the Conduct of the *Lords*, here complained of; yet the *Fact* itſelf is *thus far true*, that, after the *Clerks* had anſwered many *Queſtions*, and the *Priſoner* was ſtill going on to *Others*, the *Houſe* thought beſt to ſtop, and enter into a *Debate*, whether it was fit that the *Queſtions* propoſed, and *Others* which might naturally be ſuppoſed to follow, ſhould be particularly anſwered; and, after a good deal of Time ſpent in conſidering the Matter, came to the following *Reſolution*, viz. “That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, “that it is *inconſiſtent* with the *Publick Safety*, as well as *unneceſſary* for the “*Priſoner's Defence*, to ſuffer any farther *Enquiry* to be made, upon this Occaſion, “into the *Warrants* which have been granted by the *Secretaries* of *State*, for the “ſtopping and opening of *Letters* which ſhould come or go by the *Poſt*; or into “the Methods that have been taken by the *proper Officers* at the *Poſt-office* in “Obedience to ſuch *Warrants*.” This deſerves to be conſidered a little, with ſome Accuracy, that it may not appear to the World, that *Unneceſſary Hardſhips*, or *Unjuſt Difficulties*, were put upon the *Priſoner*. And I can think of no better

Way of putting it in its due Light, than, after having ſet down the very *Words* of the *Reſolution* itſelf, to conſider the *Reaſons* urged againſt it by *Thoſe* who oppoſed this *Reſolution*; and the rather, becauſe theſe *Reaſons* have ſince appeared publickly abroad.

The *firſt* Reaſon was taken from the Neceſſity of *Croſs-examining* of *Witneſſes* for the *Defence* of the *Priſoner*, and for the *Satisfaction* of his *Judges*: and therefore, theſe *Clerks* having been brought as *Witneſſes*, relating to the ſtopping and opening *Poſt-letters*, the *Priſoner* ought not to be debarred the aſking Them any *Queſtions*; nor the *Lords* be denied Satisfaction in what might *help Them to form a Judgement,—the Validity of which* (it is ſaid) *muſt in a great meaſure depend on the Proof given of the Letters* (now in Queſtion) *having been TRULY ſtopped and opened, as aſſerted.* Whoever compares *this Reaſon* with the *Reſolution* itſelf, will preſently ſee that it proceeds upon a Miſtake of what was the *Point* really overruled by the *Houſe*. This *Reaſon* itſelf allows that *this Fact* had already been teſtified at the *Bar*, viz. that the *Individual Letters* then before the *Houſe* were true Copies of *Originals* ſtopped, opened, copied, and forwarded, at the *Poſt-office*. This, I ſay, had been already declared upon *Oath*, by the *Clerks* who Themſelves ſtopped and opened them. The *Secretaries* of *State* (or *One* of Them) added likewiſe the moſt Authentick Teſtimony that *Orders* were ſent from the *Secretary's Office*, to the *Poſt-houſe*, for this Purpoſe; *viz.* for the *opening Suſpicious Letters*, at this Juncture, according to the Power veſted in the *Adminiſtration* by *Act* of *Parliament*. The ſame *Reaſon* here alledged, not only allows, but aſſerts, that the *Judgement* of the *Lords* muſt *in a great Meaſure depend upon the Proof given of theſe* Letters *having been TRULY ſtopped and opened*, &c. And indeed, This was the only *Fact* of any *Importance*. Now if the *Reſolution* of the *Houſe* prevented no *Enquiry* relating to *This*, which could at all render *this* material *Fact* either more or leſs plain; then, it is evident, it was not liable to the *Cenſure* fixed upon it, nor a ſufficient Ground for the *Priſoner's* Complaint. And that it did not, is plain, becauſe the *Reſolution* was not made till after *repeated Queſtions* had been aſked upon *this Head*; not, till after the forementioned *Evidence* had been given upon *Oath* to *this* important *Fact* itſelf, *viz.* that theſe *Letters* were *ordered* to be ſtopped, and were accordingly ſtopped, and opened, and copied, and forwarded.

The *Reſolution* therefore, againſt farther *Enquiry*, was occaſioned by the *Priſoner's* Queſtions relating to the *Secretaries* of *State's* Execution of the *Powers* veſted in Them by *Law*; and to the *Perſons* concerned in conveying their *Orders* to the *Clerks*; and to the *Manner* and *Method* of ſtopping and opening *Letters*. Theſe were the *Points* that it was declared *Inconſiſtent* with the *Publick Safety* to examine into, or to lay open. And the Reaſon given was very powerful; becauſe, It was of no Importance to the *Houſe*, in the *Queſtion* then before *Them*, whether the *Secretaries* of *State*, or the *Officers* of the *Poſt-office*, had conformed Themſelves to the *Law* in every ſtep They took upon this Occaſion; or not: but it was fully ſufficient that, whether the *Clerks* had *Authority*, or not, to do what They had done, ſtill the *Fact* was ſo, and ſufficiently atteſted, that theſe *Letters* were *ſtopped*, and *opened*, and *copied*, at the *Office*. If the *Lords* ſhould think proper to enquire into the *Conduct* of the *Adminiſtration*, or the *Poſt-office*, upon ſuch *Occaſions*, there would be a proper Time for *That*; and They had an undoubted *Right* to do it, if They ſhould eſteem it for the *Publick Good*: but it could not be fit, or neceſſary, to *deviate* from the *ſole Point* now before Them, into what could not enlighten the *Fact*, but only create Suſpicion and Uneaſineſſes about the *Method* and *Manner* of Management; which could not come upon the *publick Stage*, without affecting the *Government* itſelf, the Security of which in ſome Meaſure *often* depended upon the *Secrecy* of ſuch Things, and the *Implicit Truſt* neceſſary in all ſuch ſort of *political Affairs*. So that You ſee, the *Reſolution* of the *Houſe* ſtopped no Enquiry about the Matter of *Fact*; the *ſtopping* and *opening* theſe *Letters*, which the now mentioned *Reaſon* againſt it aſſerts to be the *Main Ground* of the *Judgement* to be paſſed: but only prevented the wandring into *Other* Diſquiſitions, which might have made the *Trial* to have laſted till this *Time*, and have turned it at laſt into a *Trial* of the *Miniſters* and *Officers* of the *Poſt*, by the *Priſoner* and his *Aſſiſtants*, inſtead of a *Trial* of the *Priſoner* for *Treaſon*; and could have ſerved no Purpoſe of Upright Impartial Judgement, upon the *Caſe* then before the *Houſe*. I have not mentioned, upon this *Head*, the great *Injuſtice* it would have been, to have obliged the *Clerks* of the *Poſt-office* to have anſwered all the *Priſoner's* Queſtions; ſome of which were manifeſtly of ſuch a Nature, as that their *Anſwers* to them muſt have been *Self-accuſations*, had They been guilty of any *Unwarrantable Proceedings*; and have ſubjected Themſelves to the *Penalties* of the *Law* relating to this Matter: Which *Reaſon* alone would, upon the Foot of *Common Juſtice*, have juſtified the *Lords* in diſengaging the *Clerks* from all Obligation to accuſe or hurt Themſelves.

Another *Reaſon* given againſt this *Reſolution*, is founded upon theſe Particulars, "That the *Houſe* could not *determine* this *farther Enquiry* to be *Unneceſſary* for the *Priſoner's Defence*, till He ſhould come to make the Application; That He ought to have Liberty of aſking what *Queſtions* He ſhould think proper—without acquainting the *Houſe* what Uſe He intended to make of them—That this is *eſſential* to *Juſtice*, and agreeable to the Practice of the *Counſel* againſt Him, in which the *Houſe* had allowed Them." And the *Priſoner* Himſelf, in a very high Tone, deſired to be left the *ſole Judge* of what was *neceſſary* for his own *Defence*, and what Uſe to make of any of his own *Queſtions*; and the like. I have obſerved in effect, upon a former Occaſion, that if all *Priſoners*, in their *Trials*, could demand (in Juſtice) the Delay of their Sentence, whilſt They themſelves could invent *One Queſtion* to aſk, or one *Propoſal* to make, under the Pretence that They thought this *Queſtion*, or this *Propoſal*, neceſſary for their *Defence*, and that They were the only *Judges* of what was ſo,—Few *Trials* could ever come to an End. There muſt be a *Meaſure* laid down for ſuch Things: and to ſay that it is *impoſſible* to judge any Point to be *Unneceſſary* to the *Priſoner's* Defence; however it may ſound; yet does not rely upon any reaſonable Support. Let Us take the Inſtance now before Us.

If the *Priſoner* had propoſed by any of his farther *Croſs-queſtions* to have ſhewn that the *Clerks* of the *Poſt-office* had given falſe *Teſtimony* to the only *Fact* in Queſtion; and that the *Originals* of theſe *Letters* were NOT ſtopped, nor opened, nor copied, at the *Office*; Injury had been done Him, to have prevented the *Anſwer* to ſuch *Queſtions*. But when He goes on to aſk, How came you to open theſe *Letters?* By what *Authority?* By whoſe immediate *Order?* and the like; it cannot be unjuſt to *ſtop* Him. If any one aſks, How do you *know* but that this is *neceſſary* to the *Defence* of the *Priſoner?* I anſwer, I know it evidently, thus: becauſe, whatever the *Reſult* of ſuch farther *Enquiries* be; it is *all one* to the *Point* that affects the *Priſoner*. If it ſhould appear that the *Clerks* and *Others* had acted *illegally*, in coming at theſe *Letters:* yet ſtill the *Letters* were in *fact ſtopped* and *opened*; and are *Evidences* againſt the *Priſoner*, of the ſame Force exactly, as if They had been ſtopped *legally*, and in all due Form. Juſt as it is in another Caſe. Suppoſe a Perſon ſhould by *Violence*, *without Authority*; or by *Warrant* from a *Juſtice* of *Peace*; break into *Another* Man's Houſe, and *ſeize* in it *Papers*, or any other Things, which ſhould be produced afterwards as Proofs of ſome great Crime againſt Him; the *Priſoner* would not be allowed in his *Trial*, to aſk by *what Authority* they were ſeized; or, to enter into *Enquiries* upon the *Legality*, or due *Form* of the *Warrant* by which it was done: But if He could prove that theſe Things were *not ſeized* in *his Poſſeſſion*, this would juſtly be allowed; and this only would be judged *neceſſary* to his *Defence*. Nothing farther than this, in ſuch Caſe, can be *Eſſential to Juſtice*; which muſt be rendered precarious, and even ridiculous, if every *Individual Enquiry* which a *Priſoner* can invent, to aſperſe Others, inſtead of clearing the Difficulty in *Queſtion*, can come to be made a *Neceſſary Branch* of it.

As to the *Counſel for* the *Bill*, no doubt They were allowed to aſk their *Queſtions*, and examine *Evidences*, without declaring to the *Houſe* the *End* aimed at, in *Every Individual Queſtion*; becauſe the Nature of *Trials* requires this Method of Proceeding, that the ſumming up, and applying the Evidence come in Order *laſt*. But the *ſame* was allowed the *Priſoner* likewiſe; and I will add, within the ſame Bounds too. For if the *Counſel* againſt *Him* were never *ſtopped* in their *Enquiries*, it was becauſe their *Enquiries* were always within due *Limits*, and reſtrained to the *Facts* before the *Houſe*, upon which the *Judgement* was to rely: and if it had been otherwiſe, and They had launched out into *Diſquiſitions* about the *Rules* and *Methods* of carrying on *publick Affairs*, in the *Secretaries Office*, or the *Poſt-office*; I do not doubt, They would *not* have been permitted to have gone on, but called upon, with ſome Severity, to keep ſtrictly to the *Point* before them.

In a Word, As it was allowed that the *Judgement* of the *Lords* was to depend much upon the *Fact*, whether theſe *Letters* were TRULY *ſtopped* and *opened* at the *Office*, or not; and as no *Stop* was put to the *Priſoner's Enquiries*, till after the *Clerks* had given their *Evidence* upon *Oath*, as to this *Fact*, and been queſtioned upon it; nor till He wandered to thoſe *Circumſtances*, which did not at all alter *his Concern* in it; and as *All Lords* were ſtill at *Liberty* to judge whether *Full Proof* had been given of this *Fact*, or not: Certainly, Nothing can be imputed to this *Reſolution*, but what was for the *Honour* of the *Lords* who made it; That in it *They* ſhewed the Concern due to the *Safety* of the *Publick*, and the *Juſtice* due to the *Priſoner*, at the ſame time; and that They gave Him, in the preſent Point, all the *Indulgence* neceſſary to the *clearing* Himſelf; and ſtopped Him in *Nothing*, but either a *Wantonneſs* of *Queſtions*, wholly impertinent; or a Deſigned Attempt of aſperſing *Others*, rather than clearing *Himſelf*.

The *next Complaint* is much of the ſame Nature, *p.* 4.—viz. "*The not ſuffering a Perſon, who had been at leaſt Ten Years out of the Secretary's Office, to anſwer any Queſtions, about Matters which came to his Knowledge by means of having been in that Office.*"— This again is thus far true, that Mr. *Lewis* (who had been *Secretary* under the laſt *Adminiſtration* of the *late Queen's* Reign) being called to the *Bar* by the *Priſoner*, and aſked a *Queſtion*; it was judged by the *Houſe*, that a *Gentleman* who had been in a *Poſt* of ſuch Importance to the *State*, ought not to give an Account of *Matters* which came to his Knowledge by his having been intruſted with Buſineſs of the higheſt Nature; and which, being ſo long ago paſt, could not directly, or in any degree, affect the *Priſoner's* preſent *Guilt* or *Innocence*, with regard to the *Treaſon* laid to his Charge. But, leſt the *Reader* ſhould think this *Complaint* of greater Importance than it was, I will acquaint Him, that the Whole of the *Priſoner's* Deſign here, appeared to be no more than to prove that *ſome Perſons* Hand-writing had been exactly *imitated* by *Others*. Accordingly, He aſked Mr. *Lewis* this weighty *Queſtion*, *Whether he did not once know a Perſon* (naming his)

Name) *who was very exact at this Imitation?* And it was very remarkable that, *after* the *Reſolution* of the *Houſe* was declared to Mr. *Lewis*, He took upon Him to tell the *Lords* a long Story of what had paſſed, and what He had ſeen of *This*, when He was in the *Secretary's Office*; and that the *Lords* (ſo much complained of) had the *Patience* to hear their own *Order* broke, as ſoon as it was made; and *ſuffered* Him to anſwer, at full Length, about this very *Matter*, which came to his Knowledge by his having been in that *Office*; and to give a tedious, and to the Cauſe in Hand an impertinent, *Account* of the Dexterity of a *Man* in imitating Hands, who Himſelf had been dead *many Years* ago.

What the *End* of the *Priſoner* could be in all this, unleſs to ſhew his *Unweariedneſs* and *Sagacity* in aſking *Queſtions*, One can hardly imagine. For no *Letters* pretended to be in the *Priſoner's own Hand*, were now laid to his Charge. And as for Mr. *Kelly*; neither *He* nor his *Witneſſes* would allow any ſort of *Similitude* to Mr. *Kelly's* Hand-writing, in thoſe charged upon *Him*: Nor did *He* accuſe the *Adminiſtration*, or any employed by Them, of any *Imitation* of his *Hand-writing*. And I preſume, had it been otherwiſe, it would have made but a poor Appearance of Argument, for the *Priſoner* to have urged, "There was a Man alive, *above Ten Years* ago, that Mr. *Lewis* employed to imitate a *Gentleman's* Hand; (for that was what Mr. *L.* teſtified concerning Himſelf;) therefore, there is *One* now employed by *Others* to the ſame purpoſe:" Or thus, "There is a *Poſſibility* of *imitating exactly* the *Hand-writing* of *Perſons*; therefore, the *Letters* now in Queſtion were all forged in the exact Reſemblance of Mr. *Kelly's* Hand:" Or thus, "There has been *Forgery* in theſe Affairs *ſometimes*; therefore, there is *Forgery* in them *always*." This Way of Arguing would, I believe, have been accounted very miſchievous to *Truth* and *Juſtice* in all *Courts*; as ſerving only to deſtroy all *Moral Certainty*, by virtue of a bare *Poſſibility* of *Error*; and to invalidate all *Teſtimony* in many very *important Queſtions* relating to the *Rights* and *Properties* of Mankind. And beſides, it muſt have ended to the Prejudice of the *Priſoner* Himſelf; and his Friend Mr. *Kelly*. For, as this *Allegation* muſt go upon a tacit Suppoſition that the *Three Letters* charged upon Mr. *K.* as *His Hand-writing*, were forged in *exact Imitation* of it; *This*, unleſs ſome Proof could be added of the *Fact*, could not but have led his *Judges*, from this expreſs Allowance that they were *exactly like* his *Hand*, to believe them really to be *his Hand-writing*. And indeed, *This* I take to be the *Reaſon* why no Manner of *Uſe* was made, either by Mr. *Kelly*, or by the late *Biſhop* Himſelf, of this pretended great Art of *counterfeiting Hands*; or of all the ſeveral *grave Queſtions* aſked, and *important Hints* given, upon that *Subject*. For all ended, without a Word of *Application* to the *preſent Caſe*.

BRITANNICUS.

* * *

LETTER XLV. LONDON JOURNAL, Auguſt 3, 1723.

THE *Fifth Complaint*, made by the *late Biſhop* of *Rocheſter*, relating to his *Treatment* in the *Houſe* of *Lords*, is, *The Reading Examinations neither dated, ſigned, nor ſworn to*, p. 4. This is expreſſed ſo, as to lead the *Reader* to imagine that there were *ſeveral Papers* of this ſort *read* at his *Trial*; whereas there was but *One* that can be here meant. This was the *Examination*, or rather *Confeſſion*, of *Neynoe*; drawn out of *Three* other Papers; read *twice* to *Neynoe*, diſtinctly Sentence by Sentence, at the *Committee* of *Counſel*; and owned, every

Word of it, by *Him* to be *True* before the *Lords* of the *Committee*, who all atteſted it: not indeed, *ſigned* or *ſworn* to, for this Reaſon, alone, becauſe He pretended to be at that Time preparing a more full and perfect *Confeſſion*, which He would both *ſign* and *ſwear* to. But, I muſt here refer the *Reader* to the *Remarks* upon Mr. *Kelly's Speech*, relating to *Neynoe:* and to what muſt ſoon follow, when I come to that Part of the late *Biſhop's* Defence, in which He ſets Himſelf to invalidate this *Evidence*. But as to the *Reading* this *Paper* at the opening of the *Trial*, it is enough to obſerve that it was not read with any falſe or deceitful Appearances added to it; but on each Side, underſtood and allowed to be accompanied with the *ſame* Circumſtances; to be the *Paper* of a Man now *dead*, not *ſigned*, not *ſworn to*; and the like: and, (what ſtill more ſhews the little Ground there was for this *Complaint*,) that it was permitted to the *Priſoner*, in his *Defence*, to *read* the *Three* former Papers of *Neynoe's*, though neither *ſigned* nor *ſworn to*; in order to make what *Obſervations* from Them He thought proper, to invalidate the Force of this *Fourth* Paper, upon which alone his *Accuſers* laid any Streſs.

The next *Complaint* is, *Reading* Letters *ſuppoſed to be Criminal, writ in another Man's Hand, and ſuppoſed to be dictated by the* Priſoner, *without* offering *any Proof that He either dictated them, or was privy to them*, p. 4. This *Complaint* is expreſſed with ſome *Obſcurity*. One of the *Learned Counſel* for the *Bill*, in his *Reply*, ſeems to underſtand it, as a *Complaint* that *no Proof* had been given of his having had the leaſt Concern in the *treaſonable* Letters *writ* in Mr. *Kelly's* Hand. But I preſume, the *Priſoner* would have been ſo far from *complaining* of This, as an Inſtance of *Unjuſt Treatment*; that He would have been *thankful* for it, as an *Inſtance* of the *Juſtice*, or *Blindneſs*, of his *Proſecutors*; and that He would not have put it into the *Catalogue* of his *Complaints*, but of his *Triumphs*. Beſides, the *Complaint* is not that NO *ſufficient Proof* had been actually made through the *Trial*; but that *No Proof* at all had been *offered*; which muſt refer *only* to the *Time* of *reading* the *Letters*. And therefore, As He is in this Place *complaining*, not of the *Weakneſs* of the *Evidence* produced; but of ſeveral Inſtances of *Unjuſt Treatment*; I ſuppoſe, He muſt intend by *This*, that theſe *Criminal Letters* had been *read* in ſupport of an *Accuſation* againſt Him, without a *previous Proof* that He had either dictated them, or was privy to them; and that his *Meaning* was to lay it down, That there ought to be a *Proof* made of a *Priſoner's* Concern in any *Letters*, BEFORE ſuch Letters are read *againſt* Him. In the *former* Senſe, Mr. *Wearg* very well obſerves, That this *Complaint* begs the *Queſtion* entirely, upon the whole *Trial*; and ſuppoſes *No Proof* given, through the Courſe of it, of what was the *only Point* of any great Importance againſt the *Priſoner:* and therefore, is too abſurd to be ſuppoſed to be the *Meaning* of it from *One*, who in his *following Defence* directly ſets Himſelf to *anſwer* the *Proofs* alleged for that very *Point*.

In the *latter* Senſe, (which yet muſt be the true one) the *Complaint* is *frivolous*, I own, to a degree almoſt of *Abſurdity*. For of what Importance is it to the *Innocence*, or *Guilt*, of a *Priſoner*, whether the ſuppoſed *Proofs* of his *Concern* in *Treaſonable Letters*, are made *before* the *Letters* are read, or *after?* The *Proſecutors* of the *Charge* read thoſe *Letters*, under a double Conſideration: as *Letters* which manifeſtly proved in general a *Conſpiracy* on foot; and as Letters which They ſhould, in the *Courſe* of the *Trial*, bring *Evidence* to prove to have been dictated to Mr. *Kelly* by the *Priſoner*. And ſince it could not affect either the *Method*, or *Clearneſs*, of the *Priſoner's Defence*, whether They produced their *Evidences* of this particular *Charge*, *before* the reading the *Letters*, or *after*; No

Injuſtice, or *Hardſhip*, could poſſibly be done to *Him* in this Caſe: and therefore, no Ground given Him for the leaſt *Complaint*. On the *other* Hand, It may be ſuppoſed very right, on many Accounts, for the *Proſecutors* to chuſe the *Method of Proceeding* They did; particularly, becauſe Some of the Proofs of a Perſon's Concern in any *Letters*, often ariſe from the *Internal Characters* of them; from ſome *Expreſſions*, or *Circumſtances*, contained in them, which help to fix them upon Him; which ſort of *Proofs* cannot ariſe but *after* the reading and conſidering the *Letters*: and becauſe, in the *other Method*, the *Evidence* upon the whole, muſt have lain in a leſs compact and methodical Compaſs; and its ſeveral Parts have been much more *disjointed* and *diſperſed* from one another. I ſhould not at all wonder therefore, at the *Priſoner's* wiſhing the *Counſel* had taken a leſs effectual Method than They did: but I ſhould indeed, wonder at *His* making their *Prudent Conduct* the *Subject* of a *Complaint*, if I had not learnt that a very *Weak Defence* from a *Real Accuſation*, ſometimes ſeems to be helped out even by a *Weaker Complaint* of any *pretended Hardſhip*; becauſe the *Paſſions* of Many make Them much more attentive to the *One*, than regardful of the *Other*.

The *next Complaint* of the *Priſoner* is, *Not allowing* Him *Copies of the* Decyphered Letters, *(though petitioned for,) till the Trial was ſo far advanced, and* He *ſo employed and weakened by it, that He had not ſufficient Time to conſider them*, p. 4. But in this *Complaint*, I muſt freely ſay, I know not whether moſt to admire the *Artfulneſs* of *one* Part of it; or the *Falſhood* of the *Whole*: Both of them little becoming the Character of *Him* who made it! The *Artfulneſs* lies in the *Choice* of *Words* which, *literally taken*, cannot be ſaid to ſignify an *Untruth*; but yet which deceive and impoſe upon the *Reader*, as much as if They did, by giving Him a *Notion* of the *Thing* as diſtant from the *Reality* of it, as *Falſhood* is from *Truth*. In the firſt place, That the *Priſoner* aſked for the *Original Decyphered Letters* themſelves to be put into his Hands, in order to examine the *Truth* of the *Interpretation* put upon them by the *Decypherers*; is, I believe, true. Whether He aſked for *Copies* of them, at firſt, I am not certain. If He did, then this firſt Part of his *Allegation* is literally true, *That He aſked for Copies of thoſe Letters*. But in the next Place, that *Copies* of them were not *allowed* Him, *till the* Trial *was ſo far advanced, and He ſo weakened by it, that He had not ſufficient Time to conſider them*, is at beſt a Groſs *Prevarication*, and unworthy *Miſrepreſentation*; which cannot do *Him* nor his *Cauſe* any Service, proportionable to the Miſchief and Scandal, the *Detection* of ſuch *Low Art* muſt bring along with it. The *Fact* was thus. The *Priſoner* Himſelf (I remember it very well, becauſe the *Aire* and *Manner* of his ſpeaking made an Impreſſion upon Me;) *He Himſelf* ſtood up, and declared, in his uſual Tone, that He ſaw enough, by caſting his Eye upon the *Decyphered Letters*, as He ſtood at the *Bar*, to make Him confident They were not *rightly* interpreted. And, *My Lords*, (this was his very manner of Expreſſion) "Let Me but have Copies of them this *Evening*; and I undertake, by "*To-morrow Morning*, Myſelf to demonſtrate to You, that they are falſely *de*-"*cyphered*." Upon this immediately, *Copies* (true undoubted *Copies*, to his own and his *Counſel's* entire Satisfaction) were ordered to be delivered to *Him*. They were ſo: and He had not only his own *Great Skill* in that *Art* of writing in *Cyphers* to have recourſe to; (which He really was ſo free as to own, and ſhew Himſelf in ſome degree a Maſter of;) but he had *then* in *Town* with Him, a *Perſon* from *Oxford*, very learned in the *Art*, and who without doubt was ready, as it was his Duty to be, to give Him all the *Aſſiſtance* which his *Skill* and *Labour* could afford Him. But what became of this *great Boaſt?* The next *Morning* came; and the whole Day paſt, and the *Houſe* heard nothing of the *Decyphered*

Letters: only at the *Cloſe* of it, (or of the *next*, I cannot exactly remember *which*,) One of the *Priſoner's Counſel* let the *Lords* know, that They ſhould go upon that *Subject*, the next Morning. The *next Morning* came, and the ſame *Counſel* acquainted the *Houſe*, That the *Biſhop* would not give their *Lordſhips any Trouble upon that Head*; but reſt Himſelf upon the general Obſervations formerly made at the *Bar*, when the *Decypherers* were there. So that, You ſee, the *Priſoner* had the *Copies* of thoſe *Letters*, *a Day and a Night* (at leaſt) longer than He Himſelf had aſſured the *Houſe*, was neceſſary to *his own* ſhewing the Miſtakes of the *Decypherers* in interpreting them; that the doing this *effectually* did not depend upon *his own* Abilities, or at all fail by the Length of the *Trial weakening* Him; but depended upon a much more *Skilful Man* in that *Art*, who was all the while aſſiſting Him, and could have found out theſe manifeſt Miſtakes, if there had been any; and conſequently , that *This Complaint* at once is a manifeſt *Argument* of his own *Inſincerity*, and leads to an *authentick Teſtimony* to the *Truth* of the *Decyphering*. It is made by *One*, who at the Time of making it *knew* it to be *Groundleſs*; and dreſſed it up in *Falſe Colours:* and it ends in this, That the moſt *Skilful Man* He could ſummon was not able to find One *Error* in the *Decyphering*, worth mentioning to the *Houſe*.

Before I leave this *Subject*, I will add one *Obſervation* more, *viz.* That this ſame *Complaint* will itſelf furniſh a *Proof* that the *Art* of *Decyphering* is not of that *Uncertain Deceitful* and *Precarious* Nature, that ſome Perſons were willing to make it, whilſt the *Fate* of the *Priſoner* depended in any Meaſure upon it. *He Himſelf* aſſured the *Houſe*, that He ſaw ſo much into thoſe *Letters*, that He could undertake Himſelf to *demonſtrate* their being *falſly decyphered.* And this ſubſequent *Complaint* goes upon this Suppoſition, that, if He had had *Copies* of them earlier in the *Trial*, He could have done it. All this amounts to a plain Acknowledgment that there are *Rules* belonging to that *Art*, which have a *Certainty* in them, though neglected or tranſgreſſed by *Some* in their *Operations.* Juſt as it is in *Arithmetick.* No One can undertake to ſhew the *Errors* of *Another* in any *Arithmetical Operation*, without ſuppoſing there are *Rules* belonging to that *Art*, which are in themſelves *Certain*, though *tranſgreſſed* by particular Perſons. Nor is this ever eſteemed any *Reflection* upon the *Art* itſelf; but only upon *Thoſe* who profeſs it, and fail in their Application of its Rules. This will help to ſhew Us, in what Senſe the *Art* of *Decyphering* may be ſaid to be *Uncertain* or *Deceitful*, viz. ſolely, as it is profeſſed and exerciſed by fallible *Men*, who through haſte, or inadvertency, *may err* in their *Operations* in *that Art*, as well as in *Arithmetick*; but not conſidered in itſelf, as it is founded upon numerous *Rules* and *Methods*, which, when applied by different *Perſons*, and in repeated *Trials*, cannot *all* be ſuppoſed ever to coincide and centre in a Senſe which is not the *Real Senſe* of the *Writer*. Accordingly, *Both* the *Decypherers*, employed by the *Adminiſtration*, (who had at a great Diſtance from One Another agreed in the *ſame Senſe* of the *Cyphers* uſed in theſe Letters,) did declare that They looked upon the *Art* as having a *Certainty* in it, which might in ſome Senſe be called *Mathematical Certainty:* They had for many Years tried it, by the Rules They had laid down, and it had always anſwered: That They had undergone Multitudes of *Trials*, to convince *Themſelves* and *Others*, and that They had *all* ended to their Satiſfaction, and in the *Diſcovery* of the very *Key* by which thoſe *Cyphers* deſigned to prove their Skill were formed, and acknowledged ſo to be by Thoſe who formed them. Nor did the *Priſoner* Himſelf, at laſt inſiſt upon the *Uncertainty* of the *Art:* Nor had his own *Decypherer* ſo little *Judgement* as to furniſh any *Argument* to that Purpoſe. He would have proved the Letters *falſely decyphered*, if He could. But if He *had done* this, He would only have ſhewn *Himſelf* a *greater Artiſt* than Thoſe on the other Side: and This (as in the Caſe of *Arithmetical Operations)* would have been to the *Glory*, and not the *Diminution*, of the *Art* itſelf.

I have thought it proper to ſay thus much, becauſe *this Point* has been much *miſrepreſented*, eſpecially by the *Advocates* for the *Priſoner* without Doors; who have *falſly* laid it upon the *Decypherers* themſelves, That They allowed their *Art* to be *Deceitful* and *Uncertain*; whereas Neither of Them allowed any thing, but that there might be an *Error* committed by *Themſelves*, in their *firſt Trials*, which itſelf is corrected afterwards by their own Rules. Thus Mr. *Willes* candidly acknowledged that He had miſtaken *Two Words*, *(Care* for *Concern*, and *provide* for *procure*, or the contrary) but *both* much to the ſame Senſe. But this did not make Him accuſe the *Art* itſelf of being *Uncertain* and *Deceitful*. And that the *mere poſſibility* of *Miſtake* is no *Argument* againſt the *Teſtimony* given upon *Oath*, in *Courts* of *Judicature*, by *Perſons* ſkilled in this *Art*, and allowed to be canvaſſed by *Others* profeſſing the *ſame Art*, is plain, becauſe this *Argument* if allowed, would tend to deſtroy all *Teſtimony* of *Witneſſes*, founded even upon their *Senſes* of *Seeing* and *Hearing*: For *theſe Senſes* may be proved, by a *thouſand Inſtances*, to have been frequently and groſsly deceived; and therefore, not *infallible*; and therefore, not to be depended on. Such *Reaſonings* are utterly inconſiſtent with the *Well-being* of *Humane Society*. But as for the wretched *Miſrepreſentations* of *this*, and every other Part of this *Trial*, in *Papers* without Doors, One cannot long wonder at them, when One ſees, in the *ſame Papers*, *all* the Laws of *God* and *Man* violated every Day, rather than *Treaſon* ſhall not be vindicated; and the faithfulleſt *Servants* and *Friends* to their *King* and *Country*, beyond all Example, and without all Truth, abuſed and expoſed to *popular Rage*.

The *laſt Complaint* is, *The not allowing the* Priſoner *to read out of the* Collection *of* Papers *before the* Houſe, *any Part of them, in order to diſcharge* Himſelf, *but what had been read by the Clerks*. To which I ſhall only ſay, It is in *part falſe*, and in the *whole* entirely *groundleſs*. *Falſe*, becauſe *He* was *permitted* to *read ſeveral* of thoſe *Papers*, which were *not read* on the other Side; particularly, the *Three firſt Examinations* of *Neynoe*,—the *Papers* taken in *Neynoe's* Pocket,—the *Certificate* of the *Surgeon* ſent over by Mr. *Crawford:* and *Falſe* again, becauſe He was told, He might *read any* of thoſe *Papers*, which He could think neceſſary to his *Defence* from the *Charge* which was actually laid againſt Him: and *Groundleſs*, becauſe He was only refuſed the *reading* of *One Paper*, upon his own Acknowledgment that He deſired it in order to raiſe an *Objection*, or make his *Defence*, NOT againſt what the *Bill*, or the *Counſel* for the *Bill*, had at all laid to his Charge; but againſt quite *Another* Point, not in the leaſt inſiſted on, or urged againſt Him. Let the World judge, whether *This* were hard or unjuſt, to keep the *Priſoner* to the *Charge* which *was made* againſt Him, and not to ſuffer Him at his own Pleaſure to wander to a *Charge* that *was not made* againſt Him: *that is*, to allow Him every thing neceſſary for his *Defence* againſt the *Former*, which was the only Point of Concern to Him; and only to *debar Him* from abuſing the *Patience* of his *Judges* with what was of no more Importance to the *Bill*, than if He had deſired to read *Proofs* of his being a *Proteſtant Biſhop*, or any the moſt diſtant Point imaginable.

We are now come to an End of his *Complaints*, by which He intended to enter into the *Compaſſion*, not ſo much of his *Judges*, who knew how groundleſs They were, as of the *World* afterwards. I have been the more particular in conſidering Them, becauſe *They* are apt to *move*, more than *Argument* is to convince: and becauſe, it is much more fit His *Judges* ſhould be *juſtified* in what They did right, than that He ſhould be *pitied* for what He repreſents *wrong*; and laſtly, becauſe Thoſe *Excellent Arguments*, now in Print, in Anſwer to the *Priſoner's Speech*, do hardly at all concern *Themſelves* with the *Complaining Part* of it.

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER XLVI. LONDON JOURNAL, Auguſt 10, 1723.

SINCE the *Writing* of my laſt, Mr. *Wynne's Defence* of the *late Biſhop* of *Rocheſter* is come to my Hands. And finding that in *p.* 17, He ſets Himſelf to confute the *Evidence* againſt his *Client*, taken from the *Art* of *Decyphering*, of which I ſaid a good deal in *that Paper*; I thought myſelf obliged not to paſs over what He alledges, upon a *Subject*, I had undertaken to conſider; though in Truth He only touches upon it very ſlightly and tenderly. He begins his *Argument* with a Name of very great *Authority*. "Dr. *Wallis*, (ſays He) who is allowed to be the *Father of the Science* (ſuch as it is) and was the Wonder and Envy of all Foreigners, directly owns that the Whole was built upon *Conjectures*, and He that had the beſt *Gueſs*, was the beſt *Artiſt*. Such, my Lords, is the Science of *Decyphering*. And from ſuch *Uncertain* and Conjectural *Premiſſes*, what Certain Concluſion can be drawn?—And it is plain Mr. *Willes* is not ſo *infallible* as He pretends to be, by that *Number* of Paſſages not yet decyphered." After which He *inſinuates* ſomething againſt its being allowed as *Evidence* in any *Trial*. But this way of Repreſentation is not at all exact. Dr. *Wallis* was a very *Great Man* in all reſpects, and a very great Maſter of *Decyphering*; but never could be thought to be the *Father* of an *Art*, which was in Being *many hundred* Years before He was born. He knew it, and had experienced the *Truth* of it, in Multitude of *Important Trials*, too well, to ſay that the *Whole was built upon Conjecture*; in any ſuch Senſe, as would repreſent it a mere Imaginary, Slight, Deceitful *Art*. In *another* Senſe, it may indeed be juſtly ſaid to be founded upon *Conjecture*; as the *Firſt Trial* of an *Artiſt* to find out the *Key* to a *Cypher*, may be called *Conjectures*, or *Gueſs*; which *Conjecture* He tries by his *Rules*, applied to the *whole Writing*, and does not receive it as *Truth*, conſidered as his *Conjecture*, but only as it ſhall be found to *anſwer exactly* in all reſpects, applied according to the *Rules* of his *Art*. If it does not ſo anſwer, He has recourſe to *Another* and *New Conjecture*, till He meets with *One* that does; or till He finds by the ſame *Art* the *Diſcovery* to be impoſſible. But indeed, the *Whole* of this is a *Satire* upon Dr. *Wallis*, under the Pretence of a *Complement*. For He little deſerved to be ſtiled the *Wonder* or *Envy* of *Foreigners*, or the *Admiration* of his own *Countrymen*, if He could ſpend ſo many weary Hours of *hard Study*, in an *Art*, which He Himſelf, according to Mr. *W.* muſt have eſteemed ſo contemptible, as to be unworthy of a *Wiſe Man*; and in aſſiſting the *State* in *Diſcoveries*, which it muſt have been Unworthy of a *Good* and *Honeſt* Man to have done, if He had thought them founded upon *Nothing* but *Vain Conjecture*, and *Uncertainty*.

With the ſame *Juſtice*, Mr. *Wynne* repreſents Mr. *Willes*, as pretending to be *Infallible*: Whereas, on the contrary, He had owned, that it was poſſible for *Himſelf* to err; but this, without diſgracing the *Art* itſelf, as an *Uncertain, Deceitful Art*. As to the *Number* of *Paſſages* ſtill left *undecyphered*, (by which Expreſſion, a Common Reader would imagine ſome *important Defect* to be meant;) Let Any One but look into the *Report*, and particularly upon the *Three Treaſonable Letters* in *queſtion*, and He will ſee preſently, by the *Strokes* made where the *Undecyphered* Words were, of how ſmall Account, as to the *Whole*, thoſe are. But, as far as the *preſent Objection* againſt the *Art* is concerned, This is not the leaſt *Proof* of the *Uncertainty* of it. This ſhews indeed, that there are *Cyphers*, which come ſo ſeldom over in the *Correſpondence*, or are ſo artfully framed, that the *Decypherer* could not be *poſitive* what They ſignified; though in this Caſe, He was well ſatisfied what They *probably* meant. And Who ever denied this? Nay, Who ever denied that it is *poſſible* to frame even an *Entire Correſpondence* in *Cyphers*, which ſhall not be detected? But this does not ſhew, that the *Art* of a particular Man, as far as it reaches and profeſſes to go, is *Uncertain* or *Deceitful*; no more than it would prove *Mathematical* or *Aſtronomical Knowledge*, as far as it reaches, to be *Deceitful* and *Uncertain*, to alledge that there are *ſome Things* ſtill out of the Reach of the greateſt *Mathematician* and *Aſtronomer* of this or former Ages.

But I would not have it thought, from my uſing the *Inſtances* of *Arithmetick* or *Mathematicks*, that I put the *Art* of *Decyphering* exactly in the ſame Rank. I have only made uſe of Them, to ſhew the *Frivolouſneſs* of the *Objections* made againſt that *Certainty* in it, which it is reaſonable, and agreeable to all other *Maxims*, in *Affairs* and *Trials* relating to *Humane Society*, to receive, and acquieſce in, as a ſufficient Ground of *Judicial Proceedings*; unleſs overturned by *contrary Evidence*, or *contradictory Circumſtances*. And I will add one *Obſervation*, which I ſhould hope might have ſome Weight, *viz.* That if the *Art* of *Decyphering* be judged to have ſo little of *Certainty* in it, (when duly applied and examined,) as to make it *Unjuſt* and *Unrighteous* to build any thing upon it in *Judicial Proceedings*; then, *Every Government*, and *Every Civil Society* in the World, muſt of Neceſſity be undone, without any *Remedy* to be had from all the *Beſt Laws*, which the *Wiſeſt Heads* could contrive, or put in Execution. The Reaſon is plain: becauſe, upon this Suppoſition, All *Traitors* and *Conſpirators* might *ſecurely* carry on the Worſt of their Deſigns, by enjoying the Benefit amongſt Themſelves of a *Correſpondence* in *Cyphers*; whilſt the *Government* that is to be deſtroyed by it ſhall have no Poſſibility of acting, till the *Blow* is ſtruck, without tranſgreſſing the Rules of *Juſtice*; if it be *Unjuſt* to take *That* for the *Meaning* of *Letters* in *Cypher*, which ſeveral Perſons moſt ſkilled in the Art of *Decyphering* ſhall agree, after repeated *Trials*, to be the *Senſe* of them. And it being *abſurd* to ſuppoſe that the *Caſe* of *Society* and *Government* can be left in ſuch Unhappineſs, that there ſhall not be, in the Nature and Reaſon of the Thing, a *Security* for it againſt the *Ruin* of *Treaſon*; it muſt therefore be true, that a *Government* is juſtified in having Recourſe to the *only Method* of detecting *Treaſon* under the *Covert* of *Cyphers*; and that *that Method* is as juſt and well-founded, as it is *uſeful*, and abſolutely *neceſſary*. This Conſideration has made Me the longer upon this *Subject*; becauſe if this ſort of Evidence be exploded, there is an End of all Hope of *Safety* to any *Government* in the World.

Before I wholly leave the *Head* of the late *Biſhop's Complaints*, I muſt not omit what He alledges at the *End* of them, as an *aggravating Circumſtance* of all theſe *Hardſhips* laid upon Him by his *Judges*; and at the ſame time, as a *great Inconſiſtency*

ſiſtency in the *Conduct* of his *Proſecutors*, and the *Counſel* for the *Bill*. "And "all this (ſays He) in a *Proceeding*, where the *Counſel* for the *Bill* profeſs They "have *no Legal Evidence*, and that They are not to be confined to the *Rules* of "any *Court* of *Law* or *Equity*; though, as often as it is for their Service, They "conſtantly ſhelter Themſelves under thoſe Rules." How true it is that the *Counſel* allowed that *They* had no *Legal Evidence*, We ſhall ſee when We come to the *Remarks* upon this Method of *Proceeding:* where We ſhall find, in what prticular Senſe *One* of the *Counſel* did allow *This*, whilſt the *Other* expreſsly and juſtly affirmed the *Evidence* to be *Legal*, in the Place where it was produced. That in the Matter of *Evidence* before the *Legiſlature*, They ought not to be confined to the *Rules* of *Inferior Courts*, will come likewiſe there to be conſidered. According to this *Maxim*, I have heretofore ſhewn, in Anſwer to his *Complaints*, that the ſame (or greater) *Latitude* was indulged to the *Priſoner*, which was allowed to the *Counſel* for the *Bill*; free from the *Reſtraints* uſed in *Inferior Courts*, and bounded only within the Limits of the particular *Charge* laid againſt Him, to which He was indeed, in ſome meaſure, confined; only not ſo ſtrictly, as in Juſtice He might, and ought to have been.

I ſhall only now ſpeak *one Word* upon that ſuppoſed *Inconſiſtency* here mentioned, and to my great Wonder, often in the *Courſe* of the *Trial* objected to the *Counſel* for the *Bill*, as if They unfairly took the *Privilege* of going into the *Methods* of the *Courts* below, whenever it made *againſt* the *Priſoner*; and of rejecting the ſame *Methods*, whenever They could be to *his Advantage*. Whereas the Caſe was nothing like this; and their *Argument* upon this Head juſt, and of quite another Frame. In the Proceſs of the *Trial* it was often objected to the *Counſel*, that the *Methods* taken by *Them* would not be allowed in the *Inferior Courts* of *Weſtminſter-Hall*. The *Anſwer* was juſt and natural. "We allow this. But We are now in a *Place*, where all *Kinds* of *Evidence* have a *Right* to be produced; and where We are not at all confined by *Rules* framed for *Other* Places; but by *Reaſon*, and *Common Juſtice* only." When, on the other Hand, the ſame *Objection* happened, in the Opinion of the *Counſel*, to be applied in a *miſtaken Inſtance*; or when They could maintain that ſuch and ſuch *Papers* or *Evidence would be* received in *Courts below*; They had then a *Right* to argue unanſwerably, "This which We now offer would be received *even* in the *Courts below*; *confined* as They are: much more ought it to be received in a *Place*, not confined by ſuch *Rules*." No *Two* Propoſitions certainly can be more *Conſiſtent* than theſe Two. "We have a *Right* to produce *This or That Evidence* before the *Parliament*, though the *Parliament* itſelf, or *Cuſtom*, has for the Convenience and ſhortening of *Trials*, forbid *Inferior Courts* to receive it; becauſe We are not *here* tied up to thoſe *Rules*." And again, "This or That Evidence certainly may of Right be produced before the *Parliament*, becauſe it would be allowed, even in an *Inferior Court*:" Which muſt be a *good Argument*, even to *Thoſe Lords* who were willing to confine *Themſelves* to the *Rules below*, as well as to *Thoſe* who were not; and therefore, very *proper* to be made uſe of at *Their Bar*, when there was a *Juſt Occaſion*. And This was *All* the ſuppoſed *Inconſiſtency*, all the *ſheltring Themſelves* under *Cover* of the *Inferior Courts*, that I could obſerve in the *Counſel* for the *Bill*; with which the *Priſoner* yet thought it worth his while, though very unjuſtly, to reproach Them. We are now coming to ſomething much more *Material*.

According to the *Diviſion* I at firſt made of the (late) *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter's* Defence into its ſeveral Parts; *after* his *Complaints* of *Unjuſt* and *Hard* Uſage at the *Bar*, next in order comes the *Fourth*, and indeed the *Principal*, *Head* of the *Whole*; and that is, "His *State* of the *Charge* againſt Him, and his DIRECT

"*Defence* of *Himſelf* in Anſwer to it." I call it *Direct*, in Oppoſition to that *Indirect Defence*, taken from a Number of *Probabilities* urged againſt the *General Imputation*, which follows it, and will in its order, make *another Head* of *Diſcourſe*. I ſhould perhaps make ſome *Apology* for entring now upon a *Province*, in which the *Arguments* of *Both* the *Learned Counſel* for the *Bill*, and of a *Right Reverend Prelate*, now *publiſhed* to the World, might well appear to make every *Attempt* of this ſort *Unneceſſary*, and almoſt *Inexcuſable*. But as I had begun my *Deſign*, before the *Publick* was happy in *their Thoughts*; and as all the ſeveral *diſfering* Lights, in which ſo *Important* an *Affair* can be placed, may be of great Uſe to *Different Perſons*; and as *theſe Papers* may, in the Nature of them, come into Multitudes of *Common Hands* to which *All Others* do not reach; I have perſuaded Myſelf not to interrupt my *firſt Deſign* of going through *Every Branch* of the *Speech*, as it lies now before the World; and of *contributing* the *little* in my Power towards a *Right Judgment* concerning a *Procedure*, than which *None* ever was more *miſrepreſented*, or *miſunderſtood*.

The *Charge* (ſays the *late Biſhop*) is divided into *Two* Heads. *Firſt*, "*That I* "*traiterouſly conſulted and correſponded with divers Perſons, to raiſe an Inſur*"*rection*, &c. *in this Kingdom, to procure Foreign Forces to invade it*, &c." p. 4. In *Anſwer* to this, He might well have ſpared all the Pains and Time He ſpends in obſerving that "the *Counſel* for the *Bill* had not attempted to prove Him at "One *Conſultation*; that there was nothing tending that Way, except the ex"ploded Story of the *Burford Club*, and two or three *Hearſay Informations*." He might have ſpared his *Hiſtory*, how often, or how ſeldom He had ſeen *ſuch* and *ſuch Lords*, whoſe Names were not ſo much as *mentioned* in *his* Cauſe: Nor need He have told his *Judges*, *when* and *where* He met Sir *H. Goring*; or what Profeſſion Sir *H.* deſigned any of his Sons for; or what Engagements He had entered into with Him, to get his *Son* upon the Foundation at *Weſtminſter-School*. As *Nothing* leading to theſe *Important* Particulars, had been alledged by the *Counſel* againſt Him; ſo, if Any *Other Perſon* in the like Circumſtances had thus wandred from his Cauſe, except ſuch a *Genius* as *He*, who was already in poſſeſſion of a Great Name for *Wit* and *Abilities*; I am fully perſwaded, ſuch *Digreſſions*, void both of *Uſe* and *Entertainment*, would not have been accounted *Arguments* either of his *Capacity* or *Dexterity*: Nay, I believe I may ſay, would have been numbered amongſt the *Impertinencies* of a *Guilty Man*. For there is but *One* Way of ſolving ſuch *Appearances*, That an *Innocent* Man needs them not; and that a *Guilty* Man only makes uſe of Them, in hopes of diverting his *Judges*, or his *Readers*, from the *Things* of *greater Importance* which touch Him too cloſe in the *Real Charge* made againſt Him. It was to *This*, which the *Counſel* for the *Bill* had, with all their Might, applied *Themſelves*. They laid the Streſs of their *Charge* againſt the *late Biſhop*, upon his having employed *Kelly* in writing *Treaſonable Letters*; and the like. This when made out, They eſteemed ſufficient Evidence of his being engaged in the *Deſign* and *Conſpiracy* charged upon *Him*, and mentioned in theſe very *Letters*, as a *Thing* in which *Others* had been concerned with Him. But They laid no *Allegation* againſt *Him*, of any particular *Place*, *Time*, and *Company*, for *treaſonable Conſultations*; juſtly eſteeming Themſelves to have *enough* againſt Him, from *Other Evidences*, to prove Him *Guilty* of the *Charge*. And indeed, He ſeems, Himſelf, to be conſcious that He was here far *out of his Way*, and only *avoiding* the *Blow*. For when He comes to the *other* Branch of it, He introduces it in theſe Words, "The next, and the *only* "*Material Part* of the *Charge*, is *Correſponding* abroad with the *Pretender*, &c." Let us therefore, at length, leave *Digreſſions* and *Amuſements*, in ſo weighty a *Point*;

Point; and come cloſe to that *Real Charge*; upon the *Evidence* or *Non-Evidence* of which, the *Guilt* or *Innocence* of the *Perſon condemned*, as well as the *Juſtice* or *Injuſtice* of his *Judges*, muſt depend, in the Opinion of all Mankind. *This* will be the *Subject* of the *next Paper*.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XLVII. LONDON JOURNAL, Auguſt 17, 1723.

IN p. 5, the late *Biſhop* of *R.* comes to what He rightly calls *the only material Part* of the *Charge* againſt *Him.* And this He opens in the following Manner. "The true State of this Part of My Charge, as well and as fully as I can "recollect, is this, (I will not in any degree diſſemble before You:) 1ſt. That "I did, the 20th of *April* 1722, dictate Three Letters, to Mr. *Dillon*, the late "Lord *Mar*, and the *Pretender* Himſelf, under the feigned Names of *Chivers*, "*Muſgrave*, and *Jackſon*; to which Letters the Names of *Jones*, *Illington*, and "1378, were all by my Direction ſubſcribed." This He makes *One Branch* of the *Charge* againſt Him; though it may indeed be in ſome Senſe called the *Whole*, being *That* upon which his *Innocence* or *Guilt* muſt depend. And therefore, I ſhall now conſider it as ſuch. The *Firſt* Step is, to *ſtate* it *right:* for I muſt take the *Liberty* to obſerve, that *Some ſort of Perſons* never deceive You more, than when They make Profeſſions of *not doing* it; and never *diſſemble* leſs, than when They aſſure You, They will not *diſſemble* at all. *Look carefully upon me*, (ſays the *Man* who deals in *Legerdemain-tricks*,) *You ſee all is fair*; and immediately, puts the *groſſeſt* of all his *Deceits* upon You. *I will not* (ſays the *Biſhop) diſſemble* the Force of the *Charge:* and immediately, before your Face, as ſoon as He has ſo ſaid, He *ſtates* it in a Manner the moſt *diſſembling*; and *artful* enough, till it is detected. The *Charge*, if You will believe *Him*, was, That He did, on the 20th of *April*, *dictate* the forementioned *Letters:* Whereas, in truth, It was quite otherwiſe; and the *Real Charge*, if You will truſt *Thoſe* who made it, was, That He *dictated* Thoſe *Three Letters*, which were afterwards put into *Cyphers*, and dated *April* 20, and ſo ſent away. There is ſo great a Difference between theſe *Two* Propoſitions, that I do not wonder, an *Accuſed Perſon* ſhould chuſe *That*, (as the *Charge*) to which He was moſt ſure of giving an *Anſwer.* According to the *former* of them, He repreſents his *Accuſers* as little better than *Ideots*, undertaking to prove the *Fact* of his having *dictated* thoſe *Letters* at ſuch a particular Time: which would have been the *Abſurdeſt Attempt* in the World, unleſs They had had the *Teſtimony* of *Him* to whom they were dictated; which They knew They had not. According to the *latter*, His *Accuſers* undertake to ſhew, that He did ſome Time or other, *before* the 20th of *April*, *dictate* thoſe *Letters*; that He was the *Perſon*, in whoſe Name They were writ; and privy to the writing and ſending them; and therefore, guilty of this *Correſpondence.*

In ſupport of *This Charge*, as I have with ſtrict Juſtice ſtated it, I ſhall now put into *Form* the *Evidence*, or *Proofs* of it: and then, conſider his *Defence*, and ſhew how *little* it affects the *true Charge*; or any other, than his *Diſſembled Falſe Repreſentation* of it: adding at this Time only one ſhort natural Remark, That, as *He* who could give a ſufficient Anſwer to the *Real Charge* made againſt Him, needed not to have invented and framed a *Falſe One*; ſo, *He* who has taken Refuge, at the very Beginning, in a *Wrong State* of the *Charge*, was conſcious He could give no *Anſwer* to *It*, fairly and *rightly ſtated.* The *Arguments*, as They appear to me, here follow. “ Mr. *Kelly* wrote theſe *Three Letters*. He wrote “ them in the *Perſon* of the *late Biſhop*. Circumſtances in them deſcribe *Him* “ to be the Perſon. The *Names* ſubſcribed are the *fictitious Names* by which “ the *Biſhop* was denoted in this *Correſpondence*. Mr. *Kelly* was an Acquaintance, “ and Friend of the *Biſhop's*. Therefore, the Guilt of the Correſpondence is “ juſtly fixt upon the *Biſhop*, as employing Mr. *Kelly* to write them.” That Mr. *K.* wrote theſe *Letters* is proved, not only from *Witneſſes* to his *Hand-writing*; but (what is never to be evaded) from *Kelly's* calling at a *Coffeehouſe Himſelf*, for an *Anſwer* from abroad; and from his employing one *Andrews* to receive *Anſwers*; to which two *Particulars* He Himſelf has never pretended to give any *Reply*. That Mr. *K.* was an *Acquaintance* and Viſiter of the *Biſhop*, was proved and owned. Nay, It was acknowledged by the *Biſhop* that Mr. *K.* furniſhed Him with *Beaver Stockings* and *Gloves*: which not only proves an *Acquaintance*; but that the *Biſhop* was privy to his *Foreign Journies*, in which He procured Him theſe Things. But He gave no *Account* at all, how He came to have this *Free* Correſpondence with a *Young Nanjuror*, who had deſerted his own Profeſſion, and turned *Traveller* for the Good of the *Pretender's* Cauſe.

That the ſame Mr. *Kelly* did ſometimes write for the *Biſhop*, was plainly proved from a *Letter*, directed to one Mr. *Dubois*, found in the *Biſhop's* Houſe, in which it is expreſsly ſaid, That He had writ an *Anſwer* to a Letter from Mr. *Dubois*; IN the *Hand* of Mr. *Johnſon*, which was the Name Mr. *Kelly* owned Himſelf to have aſſumed. By what Accident this *Letter* was not ſent, but kept; with the *Seal* of it broken in the Middle; does not appear: But the *Fact* is beyond diſpute, that ſuch a *Letter* there was, written in a feigned odd Hand, with a *few peculiar Letters* like the *Biſhop's*; and ſealed with the *ſame Seal* with *That* of the *Letter* which was ſeized coming from Him at the *Tower*. That *this Letter* to *Dubois* was, in the *Biſhop's* own Opinion, a *ſtrong Proof* of his making uſe of Mr. *Kelly* as an *Amanuenſis*, was put beyond all diſpute with me by *his own* Way of anſwering to this *Allegation*; and to the *Identity* of *Seals* upon this *Letter* to *Dubois*, and upon *That* from the *Tower*, which He owned to be his own *Hand-writing*. For We ſee, the *Two Queſtions* which pinch Him upon this Part of the *Evidence*, are theſe. 1. What *Account* is to be given of *this Letter* found in *his Houſe*, in which Mention is made of his anſwering (not BY but) IN the *Hand* of Mr. *Johnſon*? 2. What *Account* is to be given of the ſame *Seal* being upon a *ſubſequent Letter*, acknowledged to be the *Biſhop's*, which was upon *This* to *Dubois*? To the *former* Difficulty, No *Anſwer* could be got from the *Biſhop*, but, in a high Tone of Voice,—“ I know nothing of this Letter. They that “ found it in my Houſe, can beſt tell how it came there. Beſides, My *Accuſers* “ have not known what to make of it. By the *Committee* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, it was ſuppoſed to be a *Letter* TO Me: Now, It is treated as a *Letter* “ FROM Me. I know no ſuch *Perſon* as *Dubois*, or any One who went by “ that Name:” Which was the Subſtance of what He ſaid in his *Speech*; and afterwards in a more diſturbed Manner, when He had the Liberty to ſpeak again after the Counſel for the Bill had finiſhed their Replies. But, How abſurd all this is, I need not ſay; or how little becoming either an honeſt, or an ingenious Man. What! *Miniſters* forge a *Letter* for the Support of an *Accuſation*, and make it ſo obſcure as *This!* and then, direct it to *One*, by a Name, not mentioned in the whole Correſpondence beſides! and this, before They had determined amongſt Themſelves, what Interpretation to put upon it! before They had reſolved what uſe to make of it! and then, convey it into his Houſe with the

Seal broken! and, all this Time, the *Letter* not forged either in *His* or any other *Perſon's* proper Hand, throughout the Whole of it!—Theſe are *Impoſſibilities* utterly incredible in the Way of *Forgery*; and utterly deſtructive to the *Cauſe* of *Him*, who had the Vanity to think to put them upon his Judges. For the Argument returns upon his own Head, unanſwerable. If the *Miniſters* did *not forge* this Letter; (which it is the higheſt Abſurdity to ſuppoſe, upon the foregoing Reaſons;) then, it was a *Letter* really found in the *Biſhop's* Poſſeſſion; (which was likewiſe proved by the *Oaths* of Thoſe who ſeized it;) and, if it was a *Letter really found* in his Cloſet, of which He can give no *other* Account; and a *Letter*, with ſome few peculiar *literal Reſemblances* to his own Hand; We are juſtified in thinking it *His own* Letter: And, if it be *His own Letter*, it proves to a *Demonſtration*, that He ſometimes ſent *Letters* to his *Correſpondents*, (under *Fictitious Names*,) IN the *Hand-writing* of Mr. *Kelly*, alias *Johnſon*. And conſequently, the *Three Letters* in queſtion being proved to be written by Mr. *Kelly*, and plainly in the *Biſhop's* Name; *This* will be a *great Proof* that He was truly *Amanuenſis* to the *Biſhop* in *Theſe*, as He had been in *Others* before.

The *ſecond Difficulty* was, *What Account* could be given of the *Identity* of *Seals* upon *this Letter* taken in his *Houſe*, and *Another* acknowledged to be *his own*, ſeized upon his *Servant* at the *Tower? What Account*, do You aſk! The ſame *Anſwer* ſerved here too; and it was thought ſufficient to cry out, *Seals may be* forged, to a great Nicety of *Reſemblance*; and therefore, this *Seal* upon the *laſt Letter* actually *was* forged in order to make the *former Letter* appear from the *Seal* to be the *Biſhop's* own Writing.

Forgery, We ſee, *Miniſterial Forgery*, is the *Darling Topick*; and here applied, firſt to the *Letter* to *Dubois* found in the *Biſhop's* Houſe; and then to the *Seal* being the ſame with *That* upon a *Letter* of his own. *This*, We are now conſidering: Of which the leaſt I will ſay is, That He was very unfortunate in *this Evaſion*. I muſt not tire the *Reader* with every thing He may find in *other* Places; but muſt here refer Him to what Mr. *Reeve* and Mr. *Wearg* have judiciouſly obſerved upon this Subject. I will only here make *Two ſhort Obſervations*. The *Firſt* relates to the *Judgment* of the *Engravers* called to the *Bar*. *Thoſe* of that Profeſſion, who ſpake of making a *perfect Seal* from an imperfect broken *Impreſſion* of a *Letter*, as a thing *poſſible*; yet Themſelves ſpake with ſome Diffidence of it, as a Thing *hardly poſſible*; very difficult; and ſometimes, as next to impoſſible to be done, ſo as to deceive a great and *ſkilful Artiſt*. One of the Others, who declared it *incredible* that the *perfect Seal* which had been uſed upon the *Letter* taken at the *Tower*, could be *formed* from *ſo broken an Impreſſion*, as That upon the *Letter* to *Dubois*, was tried, by a very great *Artiſt*, brought by the adverſe Party, who made *ſix Impreſſions* with *differing Seals*, with all his Dexterity, in order to deceive Him: and, after a careful Examination, He anſwered ſo exactly, and ſo truly, that the whole *Houſe* was really in an *Amazement* at the Exactneſs of his Skill. As far therefore as the Judgment of *Artiſts* in their own *Art* is of Moment, it was infinitely *more probable*, (if not ſtrictly *certain)* that the latter *Seal* could not be a *Forgery*, than the *contrary*.

But my *other Obſervation* is, That the late *Biſhop* Himſelf utterly deſtroyed his own *Accuſation* of *Forgery*, which He would fix either upon the *Miniſtry*, or (which is, if poſſible, *more monſtrous)* upon the *Committee* of the *Houſe* of *Commons* who had the *Letter* to *Dubois* in their *Cuſtody*, by his own *Argument* drawn from his *Accuſers* having varied in their *Interpretation* of this *Letter* to *Dubois*. For thus ſtands the Caſe. Finding this obſcure *Letter* open, with a *broken Seal*, in the *Biſhop's Cloſet*, the *Miniſters*, and the *Committee*, both thought at firſt that it was a *Letter* TO the *Biſhop*; as it was very natural for Them to do. In this Opinion They were, even till after the *Report* of the *H.* of *Commons* was *printed.* Being of this Opinion, had They been diſpoſed to a *Wicked Forgery*; They would without doubt have *forged* ſomething, to have ſupported their *Opinion* now *printed* concerning this *Letter*; which would have been leſs liable to *Objection*, than their varying from that *Opinion* about it. On the contrary, upon conſidering the Matter again, and comparing the *Seals*, They found, from the *Similitude* of the *Impreſſions*, as well as of a few *peculiar Letters*, that the *Two Letters* muſt both be *from* the ſame Perſon, who owned the *ſame Seal*. It was the careful *Obſervation* of the *Seal*, which made Them alter their *firſt Conjecture* about the *Letter* to *Dubois*. This is a natural and a fair *Account*. But for an *Accuſed Man* to cry out, *No:* They forged this *Seal* from the *broken Impreſſion*, in order to ſupport an *Opinion*, which *Opinion* They had not in Them; nay, the contrary *Opinion* to which They had declared publickly; and which *Opinion* therefore, They could not be conceived to have, till the *Seal* upon the *Letter* from the *Tower* put it into their Minds, *prepoſſeſt* before by that other and *contrary* Opinion—This is *unnatural* Nonſenſe, and Self-contradiction. And therefore, This *Forgery* is an *impoſſible Suppoſition*; the mere *Invention* of *One* who had nothing elſe to ſay: And therefore, *He*, who had nothing elſe to clear Himſelf by, but ſuch an *Abſurdity* of a *Fiction*, muſt be the *Writer* of that *Letter* to *Dubois:* And conſequently, uſed to write to his *Correſpondents*, IN the *Hand* of Mr. *Kelly*, who went by the Name of *Johnſon*.

It being then certain, that *Kelly*, a *Nonjuror*, was a particular Acquaintance of the *Biſhop's*; that He had formerly *written* Letters from his Mouth; and that theſe *Three Letters* in queſtion were *his Hand-writing*; Nothing remains but to ſhew that the late *Biſhop* of *R.* is the Perſon to whom the fictitious Names of *Jones*, *Illington*, and the Number 1378, agree; and in whom *All* the *Circumſtances* in theſe *Letters* plainly centre; and conſequently, that He *dictated* them, or ordered the writing and ſending of them. The ſeveral *Particulars* which concur in the proving this, beyond any reaſonable Doubt, (and which the Reader will find at length in Mr. *Reeve's Reply*, p. 3, and 4,) may all be collected into this one *Argument*. "Whenever in theſe *Letters*, and throughout *Kelly's* Correſpondence, *Jones*, or *Illington*, is deſcribed, as *indiſpoſed*, or in *Pain*; the *Biſhop* of *R.* is proved to be *indiſpoſed*, and in *Pain:* When *Jones*, or *Illington*, is under a *Domeſtick Affliction*; the *Biſhop* of *R's Wife* is *dangerouſly ill:* That *Week*, in which Mrs. *Jones* died, in the *Correſpondence*; the *ſame* Week died the *Biſhop's Wife* at *Bromley:* Thoſe *ſeveral Days*, in which *Jones*, or *Illington*, is in the *Correſpondence* ſaid to be *out of Town*; on thoſe *ſame Days*, the *Biſhop* of *R.* is proved and acknowledged to be *out of Town:* When *Jones*, or *Illington*, is ſaid to be *in Town*; on thoſe very Days of the *Month* and *Week*, the *B.* of *R.* is proved to be *in Town:* When a little *Dog* was ſent over from abroad, for *Jones*, or *Illington*; his Name *Harlequin*, and his *Leg* broke in the Journey; at that ſame time, a *Dog* with that *Name*, and *Accident*, was ſent, and came to Mr. *Kelly*, which He Himſelf told his Friend Mrs. *Barnes*, (as *She* profeſt over and over again, upon *Oath*,) was a Preſent to the *Biſhop* of *R.*; and agreeably to this, the Receipt of the *Dog*, and his *Miſchance*, and *Illington's* Concern for it, are expreſſed in other Parts of *Kelly's* Correſpondence: The *Third Letter* was writ in the *ſame* Hand, and ſent abroad at the ſame time, under Cover to the ſame Perſon, with the other *Two:* It deſcribes the *Perſon* dictating it, to *dictate in Pain*, and to be under ſome other *melancholy Circumſtances*; it is ſuperſcribed *To Mr. Jackſon*, One of the Names of the *Pretender* in *Plunkett's Cyphers*, and ſubſcribed by *Figures*, which denote a Perſon whoſe *Name* or *Title* begins with an *R:* and whom no One can doubt to be the ſame with *Jones* and *Illington*, as being under the like *Circumſtances*, at the ſame time.—The *Induction* therefore, from all theſe *Particulars*, is ſtrong.—The *Perſon* to whom not only *One*, but *Every One*, of theſe *Circumſtances* does, at the ſame time, exactly agree, muſt be the *Perſon* who *dictated* theſe *Letters*. Now the *Perſon* in whom they ALL thus agree, is the late *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter*. And therefore, the late *Biſhop* of *R. dictated* theſe *Letters* to Mr. *Kelly*; and conſequently, is *guilty* of this *Treaſonable Correſpondence*." This is the *Argument*, in its ſeveral Branches, againſt Him. And as to theſe ſurpriſing *Circumſtances*, which are the great Foundation of it, there is *One Thing* very remarkable, that *He* has Himſelf *unhappily* owned that They do *All* ſo *wonderfully* concur in *Him*, as to furniſh *Him* with an *Argument*, that *His Adverſaries*, having found out theſe *Circumſtances* of *Himſelf*, his *Family*, and his *Journeys*, forged a *Correſpondence* which was, by Means of *theſe Circumſtances*, to be fixt upon *Him*. So conſcious was *He Himſelf* of the Strength of an *Argument* of his *Guilt*, brought from the Concurrence of ſo many odd and accidental Circumſtances. I enter not into the *Weakneſs* of this *Allegation*, at preſent. I only *now* bring it, as an *Acknowledgment*, from *his own* Mouth, that *He* is very plainly, and very ſingularly, pointed out by this *Coincidence* of perſonal *Circumſtances*; upon which is founded (as we ſhall hereafter ſee, in *Reply* to his own *Cavils*, and thoſe of his *Counſel*,) an *Unanſwerable Proof* of his *Guilt*.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XLVIII. LONDON JOURNAL, Auguſt 24, 1723.

I HAVE *ſtated* the *Charge* againſt the late *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter*, and laid before the *Reader* the great *Argument* upon which it is founded, in the ſeveral particular *Branches* of which it conſiſts. I will now conſider what *He Himſelf* has alledged, to invalidate or weaken that *Argument*. He begins his *Defence* againſt the *Charge*, p. 5, at Bottom, with the Affair of the *Three Letters* of *Apr.* 20, in this Manner: "That it could not be poſſible that I *dictated* theſe *Letters*, has "been made out to *your Lordſhips*, by ſuch a Concurrence of Evidence, ſo clear, "full, and legal, as I perſwade myſelf can have left no doubt remaining.—A "plain *Matter of Fact* ſupported by ſuch Teſtimony, cannot be overthrown by "little Gueſſes, and conſequential Surmiſes." He goes on to applaud his own Happineſs in ſome peculiar Circumſtances, which made him capable of performing that *known Difficulty*, of *proving* a *Negative*. "His being diſabled in his "Chamber; his being attended before and after *that Time*, [viz. *Apr.* 20.] by "ſome of his Servants, and receiving frequent Meſſages from others—Their "agreeing Teſtimony, that no Stranger came near Him about that Time, and "for ſome time before and after—The Circumſtance of the *Weſtminſter-election* "enabled his ſeveral Servants to recollect the Time, and to furniſh a Proof of "his Innocence, and of the *Impoſſibility* of the contrary." Theſe are very big Words——It is no leſs, we ſee, than the *Impoſſibility* of the *Charge*, which He maintains; and his *Innocence* relies upon no weaker a Foundation, than *Matters* of *Fact*, ſupported by a ſurprizing *Concurrence* of *full*, *legal* Evidence: Which, if truly ſo, I own to be ſtronger than All *Conſequential Surmizes*, or a Thouſand *little Gueſſes*; though I muſt beg his Leave to obſerve, that the *Argument* of his

Guilt is made up, neither of *Surmizes*, nor *Gueſſes*, but of a Number of *coincident Circumſtances*, which (morally ſpeaking) can centre but in *One Man*; and That *One Man*, in which they *All* centre, is *Himſelf:* which makes the *Proof* againſt Him of the *ſtrongeſt ſort*, and of quite a different Nature from *Surmizes* or *Gueſſes*.

But let us now examine what He here ſays; and We ſhall find that *ſuch* as was *his own State* of the *Charge*, *ſuch* is his *Anſwer* to it: the ſame *Partiality* running through *both*. It pretends not to reach to the *True Point:* nor indeed does it reach ſo far as it pretends. For I ſhall ſhew, 1. That even according to his own *falſe State* of the *Charge*, and his *partial* undertaking to *anſwer* it, the *Evidence* of his Servants did not prove the *Impoſſibility* of the *Guilt*. And, 2. That much leſs did Any thing, or Every thing that They ſaid, at all affect the *Real Charge* made againſt Him by his *Accuſers*. As to the *firſt*; (referring the *Reader* to the *Particulars* of his *Evidence*, as the *Counſel* for the *Bill* have collected and anſwered them,) I only make this *One* Remark. His principal *Servant*, and *All* his *Servants* which He brought, (even to a *Stable Boy*, and his *Wife's Nurſe*,) did indeed pretend to ſwear that He was ſo ill, and ſo attended, at and about *that Day* [*Apr.* 20.] that neither Mr. *Kelly*, nor Any *One* elſe, could poſſibly come to Him without *their* knowing it. That *They* neither ſaw, nor heard of, ſuch a *Perſon* as Mr. *Kelly* or *Johnſon*, being with Him, at or about that Day of *April*. Therefore, He concludes, No ſuch Perſon was with Him. Now, I ſay, this will not ſo much as prove, what He pretends to, the *Impoſſibility* of *Kelly's* being with Him, even that very 20th of *April*, upon which the *Letters* are dated. For when that *principal Servant*, and ſome of the *Others*, were aſked, Whether the *Apothecary*, or the *Miniſter* of the *Pariſh*, (who They ſaid uſed ſometimes to come to their *Lord*,) never came, without their *ſeeing Them?* Whether They thought, They might not have come to Him, without their Knowledge? They allowed the *Poſſibility* of it. They did not pretend to deny, but that *thoſe two Perſons* might come to Him, even at *that Time* when He was ſo *ill*, and ſo *attended*, without *their Privity*. From whence it follows, that, notwithſtanding their Evidence, Mr. *Kelly* Himſelf might have been with *Him* on *Apr.* 20, without their Knowledge. For if thoſe Two Perſons, whoſe Affairs did not require ſuch Secrecy, might *ſo* come to the *Biſhop*; certainly *Another Perſon* might come too; and it might be contrived, in a Caſe which required more Secrecy, that He ſhould do ſo, notwithſtanding any thing They ſaid to the contrary. The late *Biſhop* therefore, might have been content to have put it upon the *Improbability* of the Thing; and not have boaſted of a *Demonſtration* of the *Impoſſibility* of a *Matter*, which his own *Evidence* owned *in Effect* to be *poſſible*, after They had *ſworn* it was *impoſſible*. And as to *that Time*, in which the *Biſhop* was ſo ill at *Bromley*; it was proved, from the *Days* and *Hours* of Mr. *Kelly's* Abſence from his own Lodgings, that He might *poſſibly* be with the late *Biſhop* at *Bromley*; the Diſtance of which Place from *London* did not at all make it impracticable.

But this is not the *Truth* of the Caſe. The *Real Charge* was, that the late *Biſhop dictated* thoſe *Three Letters:* and therefore, in the *ſecond* Place, ſuppoſing it had been proved that the *Biſhop* and Mr. *K.* had not the *Poſſibility* of ſeeing one another, from the *Twelfth* of *April*, to the *Twenty-firſt*, [which was the utmoſt that could be contended for,] yet This would not have given Him the Happineſs of proving the *Negative* He ought to have proved; No, not ſo much as to a *Probability*. For the *Negative* He was to demonſtrate, was, that He did *not dictate* theſe Letters; that He had not ſeen Mr. *Kelly*, in any reaſonable Time, in which we could ſuppoſe *Letters* of this Date might have been *dictated*, in order to have been firſt put into *Cyphers*, and then ſent away. Now, as to this, It was *demonſtrated* that both the *Biſhop* and Mr. *Kelly* were *in Town* the *Eleventh* and *Twelfth* of *April:* and as to the *Company* which on thoſe Days came to the *Biſhop*, or the Hours on which he came to Town the *Firſt* of thoſe Days, and left it the *Laſt* of them; his *faithful Servants* could give no manner of Account. Here then is evidently and inconteſtably (what was ſo much demanded) a *Day*, or *Two*, found and fixt, on which theſe *Two Perſons* might eaſily meet: And this anſwers very well to the Nature of theſe *Letters*, which required ſome Time to tranſcribe the Whole, and to put the proper Parts into *Cypher*; and are not ſuppoſed to be hurried away, when the Buſineſs of them did not require the greateſt haſte; nay, perhaps might be *delayed* a little, in *Expectation* of ſome faithful Hand to carry them over, and only truſted to the *Poſt* when that *Expectation* failed. However it was, the *Time* agrees very well with the *Affair*. Here then is at once an *End* put to this *boaſted Concurrence* of *Evidence*; which, at moſt, proved nothing *impoſſible* in their being *dictated* even upon *Apr.* 20, but which certainly proved *nothing at all* againſt the *Probability* of their being *dictated* ſome Days before *That*, and particularly *Apr.* 11, or 12. And the *Argument* drawn from that Number of *Circumſtances*, which agree *All* in the late *Biſhop* of *R.* remains in full Force, notwithſtanding the *Teſtimony* of his *Servants*. I never doubted, indeed, it would ſo appear in the End. And, I confeſs, I ſhould be in great Pain for *all Judgements* relating to the *Concerns* of *Humane Society*, if it could be otherwiſe. For if an *Argument* founded upon ſuch a Number of *Coincidencies*, which Themſelves are *Matters* of *Fact*, and not *Surmizes*, could be overturned by a *Concurrence* of other *Matters* of *Fact*, atteſted by *full legal Evidence*; I ſhould begin to deſpair of ever arriving at *Truth* in *Humane Affairs*; and think the *Buſineſs* of *Courts* of *Juſtice* muſt come at laſt to be determined by the *Caſt* of *Dice*, or the drawing of *Lots*. But the *Evidence* on the *Biſhop's* Part thus duly conſidered, will confirm and not invalidate the *Proofs* upon which the *Lords* proceeded in their Judgement.

This is not all I have to ſay. I will go farther to a *Third* Obſervation, *viz.* That, ſuppoſing his *Servants* to have all united in a *Teſtimony* much more to his Purpoſe; yet their *Teſtimony* was attended with ſuch *Circumſtances* in their *Behaviour*, as made it *Unworthy* of any Credit. I need not here repeat that *Contradiction* in ſeveral of them, who upon *Oath* firſt declared that *No One could* come to *Him*, without their *Privity*; and afterwards acknowledged that *Two Particular Perſons* might have been with *Him*, unknown to Them. But it will be of Importance to acquaint the *Reader* with the *particular Behaviour* of his *principal Servant*, upon whom He plainly moſt depended; which is not yet publick, and which moſt of all convinced me, how *prepared* He came, and how little Credit was to be given to him.

After he had taken an *Oath* to *ſpeak the Whole Truth*, and had been ſome time at the *Bar*, rather anſwering his *Maſter's* Queſtions, than *Thoſe* of his *Judges*; a *Noble Lord* put a *Queſtion* to *Him* relating [not to the *Letter* directed to *Dubois*, as it is by miſtake printed in Mr. *Wearg's* Excellent *Reply*, p. 21, but] to the *Letter* written by the *Biſhop* from the *Tower*, and taken upon that ſame Servant, as He was carrying it out. The *Queſtion*, one would have thought, very innocent, and very readily to be anſwered: for it was only, TO Whom was you ordered by your *Lord* to carry that *Letter?* which, it afterwards appeared, was writ to his *Son-in-Law*, Mr. *Morrice*. The *Man* was pretty ready to ſpeak at firſt, whilſt He imagined, or had been taught, that an *Evaſion* or *Falſhood* might paſs. And therefore, his firſt *Anſwer* imported that He did not *know* To *Whom* the

Letter was to be carried. This brought on a *Queſtion*, “ *What! not know?* Did “ your *Lord* give you a *Letter* to carry, without telling you to *whom* to carry “ it?” This was ſo abſurd, it required *another Evaſion*. And then his *Anſwer* was, “ My *Lord* gave me the *Letter* late at Night, with Orders to carry it *early* “ the next Morning; and did not *then* tell Me to *whom*; but bid me come to *Him* “ in the *Morning*, before I went with it, to *know* to *whom* to carry it.” This abſurd incredible *Evaſion* is alone enough to be charged upon the *Servant* as *Perjury*; and to deſtroy all his *Evidence*. For can it be believed that *Any One Maſter* upon Earth ever gave a Servant a *Letter* over Night, to carry *early* the next *Morning*, and bad Him come to Him, in the *Morning*, for the *Direction?* If the *Maſter* choſe to be diſturbed in the *Morning* for a *Direction*; Would not He have kept the *Letter* Himſelf, and bid his *Man* come to Him *early* for the *Letter* itſelf and not for the *Direction?* No One can believe this. Accordingly this *Evidence* was preſſed with this Difficulty; and aſked whether he did not gueſs, or imagine within Himſelf, to *whom* He was to carry it? and the like.

When theſe *Queſtions* thickened, and were urged upon Him, it is impoſſible to deſcribe the *Commotion* and *Shuffling* both of the *Servant*, who was upon his *Oath*, and of the *Counſel* for the *Biſhop*, in order to avoid giving an *Anſwer*. Sir *C. Phips* very *unwarily* apologized for the *Servant's* not anſwering it, from the *Right* every Witneſs had to take Care not to accuſe or hurt himſelf. But when he was anſwered by the *Lord Chancellour*, That this Excuſe implied in it an Acknowledgment of the *Letter's* containing *treaſonable Matter*, or ſomething relating to what was *Treaſon*; and ſuppoſing it had, that the *Servant*, not being privy to the *Contents* of it, had nothing to fear from any *Anſwer* He could give; this *Excuſe* was dropt. And the *Noble Lord* ſtill perſiſting in his *Demand* of an *Anſwer* to his *Queſtion*; the *Servant* was in the utmoſt *Diſtreſs* what to do, or what to ſay. He *trembled* all over. His *Countenance* was often *pale*, and then again *red*; and in this *Agony* of *Soul*, in which He was in a *Conteſt* between his *Oath* to ſpeak *Truth*, and his Deſire to avoid what He came prepared to avoid, He frequently turned Himſelf towards his *Maſter*, plainly ſeeking ſome Intelligence from his *Countenance*, or his *Words*. I believe this was ſo remarkable, that All the *Audience* was in pain for the *poor Man*, and pitied One torn to pieces within by ſuch contrary Emotions. The *Biſhop* ſuffered Him to remain in the *Criſis* of this Miſery, in the Sight of ſo many and great *Spectators*, for *ſome Minutes*; and at laſt, ſeeing the Queſtion *muſt* unavoidably be anſwered, and that the *Servant* had not Strength to perſiſt in his *firſt Lie*, there was a *Scene*—which, I own, ſtirred up *ſomething* within Me, more than *All* that had paſt—a *Scene* which, I believe, never before appeared in any Trial, at any Bar—The *Priſoner*, the *Biſhop*, I ſay, ſtood up Himſelf, and with a ſeeming *Indignation* at the *Reſolution* to have an *Anſwer* to the *Queſtion*, and in a very high Manner, [I cannot relate it without Uneaſineſs,] He publickly, and in a loud Voice, without a *Bluſh*, or any Mark of *Shame* upon Him, *gave his Servant leave to ſpeak the Truth*. It could be called nothing better than *giving* Him leave; for the *Man* looked *wiſhfully* upon *Him* ſeveral times for his *Relief* in ſuch Diſtreſs; and the *Maſter*, without the *Ceremony* of any other *Apology*, uſed ſome ſuch odd Words as *Theſe*, Since it muſt be ſo, ſince an *Anſwer* is inſiſted upon, let *Them* know the *Truth*. The only *Paraphraſe* I can put upon the *Action* and *Words* of the *Biſhop*, with regard to his *Man*, is this, “ You are ſworn to ſpeak the *Truth*, and the *whole Truth*. But do not be in haſte “ to regard your *Oath*. *Shuffle* and *evade* as long as You can, and forbear to do “ what You have ſworn to do, till I judge it to be *unavoidable*, and ſtand up, and “ give the Sign.” A *Behaviour* only befitting *One*, who had trampled under

Foot his own *Oaths* long before this; and had taught *Himſelf*, what He was now teaching his *Servant*, to undervalue the moſt *ſacred Ties* of *Religion* and *Society*! Only with this Difference, that He had reconciled Himſelf to *Perjury*, in order to *dethrone* the *Prince*, He pretended to own; but was now reconciling his *Man* to the ſame Crime, in order to *help* the Maſter, He profeſt to ſerve. I confeſs, I much wondered that This *Behaviour* paſſed off with no other ſort of Notice, but the *private Aſtoniſhment* of *Every Breaſt* which regarded it. I cannot, for my own Part, call it by a more favourable Name than that of an *Action*, in which a *Contempt* of what is *ſacred*, and a *Countenance* determined againſt *Shame*, diſcovered themſelves, in Perfection; and in which the *Guilt* of *Him* who acted ſo, appeared *equally* with them both. Nor could I think, I had ſaid enough of it, till I had left *this Mark* of *Infamy* upon it.

But if any thing could ſtill add to your *Wonder*, ſomething is yet behind to do it. For would you believe it? *After* this *Conduct*; *after* this *Servant* of his had thus *eluded* his *Oath*, and *ſhuffled* in his *Evidence*; and after He Himſelf had publickly ſhewn the *Lords*, before their *Faces*, the Influence He had over this *Evidence*, to keep his Mouth *ſhut*, or to *open* it, as He pleaſed; *After this*, the *Biſhop*, as if nothing of this ſort had paſſed, recommended the *Teſtimony* of this very Man to the *Houſe*, as the *Teſtimony* of the moſt *Impartial* Perſon, who had laid his *Evidence* together in the *Tower*, upon the firſt reading of the *Report*, of his own Accord, without having the leaſt Direction from his *Maſter*, and before he let him ſo much as know that He was capable of ſerving him ſo much as He was. *Good Man!* how careful He is, leſt there ſhould be the *leaſt Appearance* of that conſulting together for his own Vindication, which He had a *Right* to, and no One could have blamed Him for! ſo careful, that becauſe *Others* could not ſo well ſee *this*, He takes the Pains to *obſerve* it Himſelf! And yet at the ſame time, how little ſollicitous not to *appear* to *direct* and *inſtruct*, where it was inexcuſable to do it! But who indeed, could hear with *Patience* ſuch a *Deceit* attempted to be put upon his *Judges*, after They Themſelves had ſeen this *unbiaſſed Servant* at the *Bar*, and been Eye-and-Ear-Witneſſes, that even when He was upon *Oath*, He had a *Memory*, or *no Memory*, juſt as his *Lord* thought fit; a *Tongue*, or *no Tongue*, juſt as his *Maſter* gave the Word; and that He Himſelf gave Demonſtration that He came *inſtructed* how far to go, and where to ſtop; and ſtood at the *Bar*, *influenced*, not by his *Oath*, but by his *Lord*. This is no *hard Cenſure*, but unavoidably ariſing upon the Face of *his own* and *his Maſter's Behaviour*: Which at once ſhews the *Inſufficient Folly* of Low Cunning in the *One*, and the *Incredibility* of any *Teſtimony* from the *Other*. For to return to the *Point* now before Us,—*He*, who could permit Himſelf to anſwer a *Falſhood* to a *Queſtion*, after He had *ſworn* to ſpeak *nothing but the Truth*—*He*, who could refuſe at all to *anſwer* to a *Queſtion*, which could bring no criminal Charge againſt Himſelf, after He had *ſworn* to *ſpeak* the *whole Truth*—*He*, who ſtill perſiſted in his Silence, till his *Maſter* openly *gave Him leave* to *ſpeak*—This Man plainly ſhewed that He came prepared, and inſtructed; that He had more *Regard* to his *Maſter*, than to that *God*, in whoſe Preſence He had *ſworn*:—And therefore, that *He* was not to be *credited* in what He ſaid in *Favour* of his *Maſter*; and that all the *Evidence* He had given upon *Other Points* is ſo affected by *This*, as to be utterly void of *Credit*, as far as this *principal Servant* and *principal* Evidence is concerned. This was what I intended; to prove the *little Credit* due to the *Teſtimony* (ſo much magnified) of the *Biſhop's Servants*, and of his *Chief Servant* in particular. But as the *Man* was but *Partaker* in his *Maſter's* Crime, by being directed by Him in his *Evidence*; I could not ſhew what I deſigned, relating to the *Servant*, without detecting the *Management*, the inexcuſable Management, of his *Maſter* alſo; and without expoſing what muſt raiſe the *Inward Reſentment* of *All* who know what *Piety*, *Honour*, *Innocence*, and *True Wiſdom*, mean.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XLIX. London Journal, Auguſt 31, 1723.

I HAVE already anſwered the late *Biſhop's Demonſtration* (as He calls it) of the *Impoſſibility* of his having *dictated* the *Three Letters* dated *Apr.* 20, by ſhewing plainly, that his *Servants* ſaid nothing which (being allowed to be true) could prove That pretended *Impoſſibility*: and that, ſuppoſing They had, They gave too full a *Demonſtration* of *Their own* Prevarication, to be credited in any *Teſtimony* to *His* Innocence.

After the Affair of theſe *Three Letters*, He comes, p. 6, *at Bottom*, to the *Letter* to *Dubois*, found in his own *Houſe*; but ſays little to it here, becauſe the *Counſel* for the *Bill* had not then opened their *whole Argument* upon it. I have, in a *Paper* before, conſidered this *Letter*, as one *Foundation* of the *main Argument* of his *Guilt*; and have, under that View, ſtated the Matter, as it was fully handled; and anſwered all his *Objections*; both *Thoſe* which appear in his *printed Speech*, and *Thoſe* which He urged, after the *Replies* of the *Counſel* for the *Bill*: and therefore, referring the *Reader* back to that *Paper*, ſhall ſay no more upon it now, but that it ſtill remains a *Letter*, by all the *Circumſtances* of it, fixt upon *Him*; and a *Letter*, which at leaſt ſhews that He uſed to write to his *Correſpondents* IN the *Hand* of Mr. *Kelly*: which both *He* and Mr. *K.* abſolutely denied.

We come now to a *Fifth Letter*, p. 7, *viz.* the *Letter* writ by the *Biſhop*, from the *Tower*, and taken upon his *Servant*; and acknowledged by *Himſelf* to be his own *Hand-writing*. I did not mention *this Letter* in the *State* of the *Main Argument* againſt Him, becauſe I thought it would come in moſt properly as a *Corroborating Circumſtance* of *That Guilt*, the Proof of which relies chiefly upon the *Proof* of his having *dictated* Thoſe *Three Letters*. For, as I would do *Him* all the Juſtice in the World, I muſt own that this *Letter* from the *Tower* is no manner of Proof (ſtrictly ſpeaking) of the particular *Guilt* laid to his Charge; it having no relation to thoſe *Three Letters*, which contain his *Treaſon*, or to *Any One* of them; or to Any of *thoſe Circumſtances*, which help to fix them upon Him. But, I muſt likewiſe obſerve, on the *other* Hand, That *this Letter* is an undeniable and a moſt convincing Evidence of his *Guilt* in *general*; of his being conſcious to *Himſelf* of his own *Treaſon*; and of his *Fear* that ſomething or other was diſcovered to his Diſadvantage. Upon this Account, it is juſtly urged in this Cauſe: and may properly be alledged, as an Argument againſt Him, That, at *the ſame time*, that a *Number* of odd, accidental *Circumſtances* concur to prove thoſe *Three Treaſonable Letters* to be *dictated* by *Him*; there is a *Letter* ſeized under his own Hand, which plainly betrays *Him* to be ſenſible of his own *Danger*, and inwardly conſcious of *that ſort* of *Guilt* which was laid to his Charge. Nor do I wonder that, when He comes to ſpeak upon this *Subject*, He is ſo very *remarkably* ſhort in what He ſays. This itſelf is an *additional Proof* of what I am urging. All that He allows Himſelf to ſay about it is, That it was writ to his *Son-in-law*, which makes it not ſtand in need of farther Explication; that it was writ in *Anſwer* to a *Letter* of his, which was the Reaſon of not mentioning the *Names* of *Thoſe* (as not able to hurt Him) who were not mentioned in the *Letter* to which it anſwers; that Mr. *Reeve* had miſtaken the Senſe of *One Paſſage* in it: and then He leaves it to itſelf, without any more of his *Explanations*, or *Apologies*. No wonder, I ſay, He is afraid of *That Subject*, which, the more He had ſtirred it, would the more have confounded Him. For it is not upon *One Sentence* of it, whether rightly or wrongly underſtood, that the *Argument* againſt the *Writer* was formed; but upon the *Whole Frame* and *Tenor* of that *Letter*; which could no more come from an *Innocent Man*, than the groſſeſt *Treaſon* itſelf.

It is a very judicious and juſt *Obſervation*, which has been made upon *that* Paſſage of it, in which the *late Biſhop* tells his *Friends*, that neither *Layer*, *Sample*, nor *Neynoe*, could affect Him; *viz.* That an *Innocent Man* could not have writ thus, but muſt have expreſt Himſelf more largely, That let the Light which the Adminiſtration had into the *Plot* come from *Whomſoever* it would, and under whatſoever *Names*, it could not affect Him; becauſe He was totally Innocent; and therefore, not only that *Layer*, *Sample*, and *Neynoe*, could *not affect* Him: but that *All* the *Perſons* in the World, put together, could not affect *Him*, who was *clear* of *Every Degree* of *Guilt*. But becauſe an *Evaſion* may be found by *Wit* and *Cunning* for every Thing; and *He* may ſay, that He meant that, Even ſuppoſing it all a *Forgery*, if *thoſe Names* only were to be made uſe of againſt Him, He could the more eaſily ſhew the *Forgery*, becauſe they were Names of *Perſons* with whom He could prove that He never had the *leaſt* Acquaintance or Correſpondence: Whereas, if They had pitched upon *Others* that happened to be his *Acquaintance*, and ſhould produce *Theſe*, it would be ſomething harder to ward againſt the *Attack*, though it were all *Forgery*, &c. I ſay, Becauſe this weak *Inſufficient Evaſion* may poſſibly be made uſe of, to interpret *that Paſſage*; and becauſe ſome *Inadvertent Readers* may think ſuch *Evaſions* to be a Juſtification of that *Letter*; I ſhall therefore ſtate the *Argument* drawn from the *Whole Tenor* of it, before I go on to other Parts of his *Defence*. And in judging of it, let *Any One* of Common Senſe, put Himſelf in the *Circumſtances* of the *Priſoner* at that Time;—I deſire no more.

The *late Biſhop* was *then* in the *Tower* for *High-treaſon*. He knew the *Crime* laid to his *Charge* by Thoſe in the *Adminiſtration*; though He did not know what *particular Proofs* of that *Charge* They had in their Poſſeſſion. He could not but conſider *Himſelf*, as a *Perſon*, in ſuch *Circumſtances*, ſtanding in need of the *Aſſiſtance* of his Friends. In *this Condition* He writes a *Letter* (not only, or principally, for the Uſe of the *Perſon* it was ſent to, but) to engage and to direct the hearty *Aſſiſtance* of all his Friends. How therefore, upon ſuch an Occaſion, would an *Innocent Man* have expreſſed Himſelf! Can it be poſſibly ſuppoſed, that an *Innocent Man*, in *this* Condition, would not ſo much as *once*, throughout a *very long Letter*, have ſupported the *Spirits* of his *Friends*, by a ſolemn Aſſurance of his own *Intire Innocence?* Not once have declared his utter Guiltleſſneſs of *all Treaſon?* Not once have mentioned the Word *Innocence* on his own Part, or *Wicked Forgery* on the Part of his *Enemies?* Or, not once have begged their *Aſſiſtance* againſt a *Fictitious Charge*, and an *Invented Accuſation?* But let us ſee how He chuſes to make his Application. Juſt the contrary Way. He ſpeaks in the *Stile* of a *Man*, againſt whom *ſomething* may be alledged; of a *Man*, who thinks no *Legal Evidence*, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, or *Regular Impeachment*, can be produced; who is engaged in ſome *Cauſe*, for which his *Friends* have a *Zeal*; of *One*, againſt whom ſome particular Perſons could *not* furniſh Evidence; of *One*, who has nothing to fear but in ſome *leſs Ordinary* Way of Proceeding: Every Article of which implies in it *Guilt*; that there might be *ſome Evidence* againſt

Him, though not what is required in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; that the *Teſtimony* of *Others* might hurt Him, though that of *Sample*, *Layer*, or *Neynoe*, could not. This is the more remarkable, compared with his *Behaviour* afterwards. In his *Speech* at the *Bar* of the *Houſe* of *Lords*, when all other *Defences* failed, He does at laſt ſpeak (though ſomething faintly) of his *Innocence*; as all *Criminals* do at *every Bar*. But in his *private Letter*, where the *Real Thoughts* of his Heart are to be laid open to his *Truſty Friends*, the Word *Innocence* is ſollicitouſly avoided. Follow Him to the *Bar* of the *Houſe*, and there you will find Him, when He ſaw all other *Replies* out of his Reach, delighting perpetually to have Recourſe to the *Darling Topick* of *Forgery*, and *Invention*. Every thing that pointed Him out, and ſet Him in ſo ſtrong a Light, that All the World ſaw *Him* plainly to be the Man, was *there* pronounced to be *Forgery*, and *Miniſterial Contrivance*. But look upon Him, in his *Letter*, before He knew the Strength of his *Accuſers*; ſee Him in thoſe Tranſcripts of his retired Inward Thoughts, which he was ſending his Friends for *their* Direction in his *Diſtreſs*; and there is not a Word of *Forgery* or *Invention*; no Accuſation of the *Miniſters* for any Deſign of his *Ruin*, without *Guilt* or *Evidence*; not ſo much as *One Inſinuation* of any *Contrived Plot* againſt Him. It is to little Purpoſe to enlarge farther. Let the greateſt Friend He has *Now* in the World, (and I am ſenſible, He has more *Now*, than ever He had through his whole Life,) put *Himſelf* in theſe *Circumſtances*, in a *Priſon*, under the *Charge* of *High-treaſon*, writing a *long Letter* to his *Friends*, by *Stealth*; and let Him lay his Hand upon his Heart, and ſay, Whether it would have been *poſſible* for Him, in the Nature of the Thing, ſuppoſing Himſelf intirely *innocent*, to have written this *Letter* in ſuch Terms, as to avoid the leaſt *Inſinuation* of *his own* Guiltleſſneſs, or of the *Forgery* of his *Accuſers*; much more, to have dropped ſeveral Expreſſions, which plainly imply *ſome Guilt*, and *ſome ſort* of *Evidence*, ſomewhere or other, of that *Guilt?* I dare ſay, there is not a *Man*, of *All Thoſe*, who in *Either Houſe* voted *againſt* the *Bill* which affects the late *Biſhop*, who, conſidering this *Letter* in all its *Circumſtances*, could believe it could poſſibly come from an *Innocent Man*; at the ſame time that They might think fit, upon ſome other Accounts, to *vote* againſt that *Bill*. Thus much I thought proper here to ſay, about this *Letter*; in order to ſhew plainly that the *Perſon* who wrote It, in ſuch a Manner, in ſuch *Circumſtances*, was certainly, in *ſome* Inſtance or other, Guilty of *that Treaſon*, which He knew at that Time to be laid to his Charge.

After the late *Biſhop* has buried *this Letter* in as deep *Silence* as He could, He comes, *p.* 7, to ſpeak to Thoſe *Letters* from Abroad, which were received here, in *Anſwer* to thoſe of *April* 20. Which is indeed a *Circumſtance* too preſſing, and too keen, for Him to dwell upon. And therefore, He wiſely flies from it, as faſt as the Volubility of his *Wit* and *Tongue* can well carry Him. It is enough for *Him*, when He is pinched with ſuch a *Difficulty*, How came *ſuch Anſwers* from abroad, to the *Letters* from hence, if thoſe *Letters* were not really ſent by the late *Biſhop?—It is enough*, I ſay, for ſo *great* a Man, to cry out, as He does here, " *Any Man that pleaſes, may write to Me, and take thoſe Names upon Him. I did* " *not receive them—The* Letter *from* Motfield, *May* 11, *cannot be thought writ with* " *any other View, than that of being intercepted, and of fixing upon Me that of* " April 20." Then He goes on to talk of *Malicious Diſguiſes*, and the Injuſtice of making *Him anſwerable for Letters, which have been banded to and fro between Two unknown Correſpondents, on a Deſign to raiſe a Suſpicion of a Third Perſon, altogether a Stranger to what is writ*—The *Letter* here mentioned is indeed a remarkable One. It was under *Cover* of *One* to *Another Perſon.* It is directed to Mr. *Illington.* It ſhews *Muſgrave* to be the ſame with *Motfield*; and, from a *Scotticiſm* in the *Stile*, to be writ by a *North-Briton*, as the late Lord *Mar* is. It ſhews *Illington* to be the Perſon who wrote to *Muſgrave*, Apr. 20. It ſhews *Him* to be a *Clergyman*, and *One* who had a Loſs in his *Family* a few Days after *Apr.* 20; and *One*, who was under a painful *Diſtemper* Himſelf; and *One*, who had promiſed *Motfield* to be reconciled, and to act again, with a certain *Third Perſon, &c.* Theſe are ſuch convincing *Circumſtances*, that the *Biſhop* could not forbear to acknowledge, They point *Him* out very plainly. He has therefore, no Refuge left but this, That the *Miniſters* contrived that this *Letter* ſhould be *writ*, as in *Anſwer* to *Another*, which They had forged before; and that this *Anſwer* ſhould be firſt ſent to *France*, and from *France* back to *England* by the *Common Poſt*, in order to be intercepted at our *Poſt-office* here, and to fix the *Name* and *Letter* of *Illington*, upon an *Innocent harmleſs Prelate*. What a *Difficulty* muſt ſuch a *Refuge* as this bring upon the *Cauſe* of an *Accuſed Perſon?* For *He*, who dares to lay ſuch a *Crime* as This, to the *Charge* of *Miniſters*, muſt *firſt* ſuppoſe *All* Perſons concerned ready to think *Them Wicked enough* to attempt it; and not only this, but He muſt convince Them likewiſe, that the *Miniſters* really thought ſuch Inexcuſable Attempts ſo much worth their while, as to hazard their own *Safety*, (I may ſay, *their own Lives,)* for ſuch a *Forgery*: and after *all*, (which is ſtill as difficult,) *He* that ventures at ſuch a *Scandal* as This, ought to be prepared with *full Evidence*, That *All other Circumſtances*, which concur in the Proof of his *Guilt*, were likewiſe *contrived*, *invented*, and *forged*, to coincide exactly with this *Letter*, in pointing out *Him* for the *Guilt* They had deviſed to fix upon Him. For He muſt not think, His *Affirmation* can be taken for *Evidence* of the higheſt *Improbability*, or of a *Moral Impoſſibility*. *Forgery* is, in its Nature, inconſiſtent with itſelf; and full of *Flaws*, whenever it runs into a Number of *Circumſtances*. And *Innocence* can find Ways to diſcover, and make them as evident as the Light. But when a *Criminal* is encompaſſed with a Multitude of *Glaring Circumſtances*, which ſhew *Him* to every Eye in the principal Point of Light; when a great *Number* of *Particulars* centre in *Him*, and *Him only*; for *Him* to avoid the Force of *All*, by ſaying of *Every One*, as He meets it,—A *Forgery*, A *Contrivance* of *Great Men!*—The plain Meaning of *This* can be nothing, in other Words, but that He had *no other* Anſwer to make; and therefore, had Recourſe to this *Low*, *Poor*, *Improbable*, *Impoſſible Evaſion.* For He, who can believe the *Letter* now before Us *forged* and ſent *abroad*, to be intercepted afterwards *at home*, muſt believe ALL the *Other Circumſtances*, ſo nearly affecting the late *Biſhop*, forged alſo: and He, who can believe *This*, may believe, if He pleaſes, that *Falſhood* and *Truth* have the ſame Marks upon them; and that *Guilt* and *Innocence* are in *one* and the *ſame* defenceleſs miſerable Condition.

BRITANNICUS.

* * *

LETTER

LETTER L. LONDON JOURNAL, September 7, 1723.

THE late *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter*, in the Proſecution of his *Direct Defence* of Himſelf, againſt the *Charge* of his *Accuſers*, after having alledged what I have already conſidered about the *Treaſonable Correſpondence* by *Letters*, comes next to the remarkable *Circumſtance* of the *Dog*, which I have made one Support of the *Main Argument* againſt Him. It ſtands thus. A little *Dog* is ſaid, in One of the *Letters* to *Hatfield* from abroad, *to be ſent*, with Orders *to be delivered to Him* [Hatfield.] Accordingly, a *Dog* came to *Kelly*, with an Accident of a *broken Leg*. *Kelly* gives it to Mrs. *Barnes*, to look after it, till it is *cured*. She is in hopes it is for *Herſelf*, according to a former Promiſe. But *He* tells Her, there is *Another* coming from *Paris*, which He deſigns for *Her*; but that This was ſent to *Him*, to deliver as a *Preſent* to the *B.* of *R.* This was deliberately repeated, and atteſted upon *Oath*, by Mrs. *Barnes*, whom neither Mr. *Kelly*, nor the *Biſhop* ever pretended (nor I believe dared) to tax with *Corruption* or *Perjury*. The *Concluſion* from this is, that (as *Hatfield* in the *Correſpondence* was *Kelly*, ſo) *Jones* and *Illington*, to whom the *Dog* was ſent, were Names for the *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter*.

The late *Biſhop's Anſwer* to this is, 1. An *Aſſertion* of a *Fact*, directly contrary to what appeared at the *Bar*. "As to Mrs. *Barnes*, (ſays He,) She varies; and "ſometimes the *Dog* is for *Me*, and ſometimes for *Her*." Whereas She conſtantly, without Variation, affirmed, (and made an Apology for ſpeaking *Truth*, from her being then under the Awe of an *Oath*,) that *This Dog* in Queſtion, delivered to *Her* by Mr. *K.* with his Leg broke, was delivered to be cured, in order to be *then* preſented to the *Biſhop* of *R.* and that beſides This, there was *Another Dog* to come for *Herſelf*. It looks like too much *Guilt*, after this, for the *late Biſhop*, inſtead of anſwering to what ſhe ſaid, or charging Her with *Subornation* or *Perjury*, as He did *Others*; ſo groſly to miſrepreſent and falſify what ſhe ſwore.

2. Another *Anſwer* is the *Univerſal Remedy* againſt all *Attacks*; and that is *Forgery*. It is called an *Intercepted Dog*, by way of *Ridicule*; and ſaid to be deſigned to fix the Names of *Jones* and *Illington* upon *Him*. How low does *Guilt* ſometimes ſtoop, and all only to make itſelf more manifeſt? And indeed, If *Guilt* did not blind the *Eyes*, how could a *Man* of ſuch *Penetration* lay Himſelf thus open, by ſuch Abſurdities? For when We come to enquire into the Matter, We ſhall find that the *Miniſters* neither *intercepted*, nor *ſeized*, any ſuch *Dog*; nor perhaps thought of the Mention of a *Dog*, in the *Intercepted Letters*, any otherwiſe, than as of a *Cant-Expreſſion* to ſignify ſomething elſe; till Mrs. *Barnes*, being examined before the *Counſel*, gave an *Account* of a *Dog* in her Cuſtody, deſigned for the *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter*. This therefore, joined with the remarkable Circumſtance that He never dared to inſinuate a Word againſt Mrs. *Barnes's* Credibility, is a *Demonſtration* that the *Machine* of the *Dog* was no Invention of Thoſe in the Adminiſtration, but a *Reality* diſcovered to Them very naturally. But let Us take it in his own Way; that this very *Dog*, *which did come*, was the *Dog* mentioned afterwards by the *Surgeon*, *which never came*; and that it was for Mrs. *Barnes*; and that *She*, merely by Chance, unthinkingly, and falſly, brought the *Biſhop's* Name into this *Affair*: Where ſtill is the *Forgery*? Or how can this be called a *Contrivance* of an *Intercepted Dog*? Suppoſing the *Miniſters*

deceived by Mrs. *Barnes's* ſolemn *Atteſtation*: yet, in *This* They muſt be free from all *Deſigned Malice*, or *Wicked Invention* of their own. The *Whole* of their *Crime* muſt have been, their believing *Her* upon *Oath*, whom Mr. *Kelly* Himſelf contends, upon another Occaſion, to be a Perſon *worthy of all Credit*; and their farther tracing out the Perſon meant by *Jones* and *Illington* from this *Circumſtance* ſo atteſted.

But all the *Strength* of the *Defence*, I ſuppoſe, lies in this, That the *Miniſters*, knowing by this Means of a *Dog*, framed *ſubſequent Letters* ſo, as to ſpeak of that *Dog* in ſuch Terms, as to fix it upon *Jones* and *Illington*, under which *Names* they had before *forged* other *Letters* with Deſign to fix them upon the late *Biſhop*. *Incomparable Sagacity!* Were it not that *Facts* and *Dates*, (beſides *Probabilities* in the higheſt degree,) ſtand againſt it, and deſtroy it. Had theſe *Letters*, in which the *Dog* is mentioned, been written AFTER Mrs. *Barnes* had declared the *Dog* to be deſigned for the *late Biſhop*, there would have been a *Poſſibility* of the *Truth* of what is here alledged; though only a bare natural *Poſſibility*, againſt *All Moral Evidence*. But it ſo happens that theſe *Letters*, relating to the *Dog*, were all writ, and intercepted, and in the *Hands* of the *Miniſtry*, BEFORE Mrs. *Barnes* had given *Teſtimony* about the *Dog*. It was on *May* 23, that *She* gave her *Teſtimony* of the *Dog's* being deſigned for the *Biſhop* of *R*. And the *laſt* of the *Letters*, relating to the *Dog*, bears Date *May* 7. So that She was examined about a *Dog*, becauſe a *Dog* was found mentioned in the *Correſpondence*; and not the *Dog* put into the *Correſpondence*, becauſe *She* had fixt it upon the *Biſhop*. Either therefore, He muſt ſay that Mrs. *Barnes* was his *Enemy*, and in the *Plot* againſt *Him*, and *before Inſtructed* by the *Miniſters* to lie and perjure Herſelf, in order to fix the Names of *Jones* and *Illington* (which ſhe knew nothing of) upon *Him*; or He muſt acknowledge that there can be *No Forgery* in this Caſe. But neither He nor Mr. *Kelly* appeared the leaſt willing to repreſent Her under ſuch a *Character*, but the contrary. Therefore, There could be *No Forgery* in this Inſtance: and therefore, the *Circumſtance* of *this Dog* lies ſtill *ſtrongly* and *unanſwerably* againſt Him, and fixes the Names of *Jones* and *Illington* inſeparably to *Him*. And indeed, *He* Himſelf (ſo forgetful is *Invention* of its own Concerns) deſtroys his own Allegation. “The *Surgeon* (ſays He,) and Mr. *Kelly* only knew any thing of this “Matter, and They can beſt clear it.” If this be ſo, We have Mr. *Kelly's* Teſtimony, who aſſured Mrs. *B*. that this *Dog* was for the *Biſhop*. And as to the *Surgeon*; his *Two Papers* contradict one another; but Neither of them *contradict* the *Teſtimony* of Mrs. *B*. becauſe They plainly relate to *Another Dog* deſigned for *Her*. So that *Her Account* of the *Two Dogs* remains in full Force, a compleat Vindication from the *Charge* of *Miniſterial Forgery*.

3. He has *Another Argument* againſt the *Uſe* made of the *Letters* relating to *this Dog*, taken from That of *May* 7, in which it is ſaid, “*Mrs.* Illington *is in great* “*Tribulation for poor* Harlequin—*but* His *Obligations are never the leſs*: Which “*(ſays He)* being *Five Days* after the *Burial* of my Wife, cannot mean *Her*; “and being *but Five* Days after, can as little mean *Me*.” From whence He argues, that the *Writer* muſt be *One*, who knew little of his *Family Affairs*, but blundered in the midſt of his *Bad Deſign*; and ſaid an unnatural Thing, which could not be true of his *Wife*, or of *Himſelf*. Of his *Wife*, without doubt it *could not*, becauſe She was dead at that Time; and therefore could be in no *Tribulation*. But of *Himſelf*, (firſt called Mrs. *Illington*, and then *He*,) it might be ſaid, by a *Third Perſon* writing in return to the Sender of the Preſent, notwithſtanding this *Argument*. And I am the rather inclined to think it true, becauſe of the *little Artifice* here made uſe of in the *Expreſſion*. For obſerve, His Words are, *But Five Days* after

the BURIAL, (not, after the DEATH,) of my *Wiſe*. If He had made uſe of this *latter Word*; (which was ſo natural in this Caſe, that nothing but *ſome Deſign* could throw the other in his Way,) He muſt have ſaid, *Eleven Days*: and then it would not have appeared ſo aſtoniſhing, that a *Perſon*, to whom a *Preſent* had been ſent from very conſiderable Hands abroad, ſhould *Eleven Days* after the *Death* of his *Wiſe*, expreſs to a particular Friend ſome *Concern* for an unfortunate Accident to ſuch a *Preſent*; and permit Him to make that Complement in his own Way. The *Death* of a *Friend* is the *Time*, from whence Men date the *Violence* of their *Grief*: and when, inſtead of *That*, ſo Ingenious a Man dates *his* from the Day of a *Wiſe's Burial*, and not of her *Death*, I ſuſpect it is to cover the *Six preceding* Days, which, when added to the *Other Five*, might not have ſounded ſo well in his *Argument*: And then I cannot help thinking that *He*, who can deſcend to ſuch an *Inſtance* of *Art*, ſtands in need of it; and that *He*, who ſtands in need of it, has ſome *Guilt* to cover by it. The ſame *Correſpondence* repreſents Him, as very well diſpoſed for *Action*, and only waiting (not till the *Exceſs* of *Real Grief* ſhall have ſpent itſelf, but) till the *Days of Mourning are over*: and the ſame *Letter* ſpeaks of Mr. *Jones*, as *come to Town*: which was true of the *Biſhop* of *R*. What Room for the *Charge* of *Forgery*, in ſuch a Number of *Circumſtances* morally impoſſible to be *forged*, let every Man of *Common Senſe* judge.

And upon the Whole, If what the *late Biſhop* wittily obſerves be true, That "They are not much in the wrong, who think *One Intercepted Dog* of as much "Uſe, as *Ten Intercepted Letters*;" He muſt be content with the *Argument* of his Guilt, drawn from a *Dog*, fixed upon *Him*, not by the *Invention* of his *Enemies*, but the expreſs *Teſtimony* of his *Friends*; and this, ſtrengthened by a Manner of treating ſuch an *Allegation*, on his own Part, which ſhews he was conſcious of the *Impoſſibility* of giving a plain Anſwer to it. I have been the longer upon *this Circumſtance* of the *Dog*, becauſe it has not, I think, been ſo handled already, as to give a particular *Reply* to His *Cavils* againſt it.

The *next Page* (9.) contains *firſt* the *Old Inſinuation*, that it was an eaſy Matter for his *Enemies* to get an Account of his Motions to and from *Bromley*, and to make the *Correſpondence* anſwer to thoſe Accounts: Which is again an Acknowledgment, that if the *Treaſonable Correſpondence* be *not forged*, (which no One in his Senſes can believe it to be,) *He* is pointed out in it too plainly to be hid. After this, He comes to an *Acknowledgment* of his *Acquaintance* with *Kelly*; and then endeavours to prove, it cannot be very particular, from the *Evidence* of (not *all*, but) *almoſt all* his Servants, who knew Him not either by *Face* or *Name*: Whereas the Nature of their Correſpondence together was ſuch, that it made it neceſſary for *Him* to be known, or ſeen, by as *Few* of the *Servants* as poſſible; and therefore, *This* Argument rather proves a *ſecret Intimacy*, than the contrary. But of this I have ſaid enough ſome Time ago. After *this*, follows a *Remark* about *Legal* and *Reaſonable Evidence*; which will come to be conſidered in a more proper Place.

The whole *Tenth Page*, with Part of the *Eleventh*, is taken up in an *Inſinuation*, as if what *Neynoe* had reported, as ſaid to Him by *Kelly*, was the main Strength of the *Charge* againſt Him; in *Satire* upon *Hearſay Evidence*; and in leſſening *Neynoe's* Character, and Teſtimony; and ſome *Severity* upon Thoſe who received it. It would be unpardonable to tire the *Reader* with *Repetition*. I have handled the Affair of *Neynoe*, and his *Evidence*, at full Length, in the *Obſervations* upon *Kelly's Speech*: and thither I refer the *Reader*. I only ſay here, that it is a groſs unworthy Behaviour in the late *Biſhop*, to inſinuate as if the

Hearſay Evidence of *Neynoe* were the *Strength* of the *Charge* againſt *Him*, when he felt the Weight of ſuch a *Number* of *Concurring Poſitive Circumſtances*, too ſtrong for Him to elude; and the Force of *that Argument*, which I laid before the *Reader* at the opening of this Part of the *Cauſe*; and that I have long ago ſtated all the *Circumſtances* of *Neynoe*, and the Degree of *Credibility* of his *Evidence*, and the *Conduct* of that *Great Miniſter*, here ſtruck at, with relation to *Neynoe*, ſo as to put this Part of the *Cauſe* far out of the *Reach* of theſe Low and Bitter Reflections: which nothing can juſtify; and which *Guilt* alone could make neceſſary to *Him* who ſo freely made uſe of them.

From this, He wanders to the *Report* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*. But becauſe He fixes his *Obſervation* here, upon a *Letter* which made *Part* of the *Charge* againſt Him in *Both Houſes*; I ſhall ſtay to take Notice of it, though it is only deſigned to invalidate a particular *Interpretation* of *One Paſſage* in it; which *Interpretation* was not at all inſiſted on, as a Part of that *Charge*. So that, whether the *Meaning* put upon the *Expreſſion* in the *Letter* be right or wrong; it will be of ſmall Importance to his Cauſe. The *Paſſage* is in the *Letter* of *Apr*. 20, to *Jackſon*, in which the *Writer* expreſſes Himſelf thus, "*Notwithſtanding this Opportunity is elapſed, I agree with you, Another may offer before the End of the Year*, though not perhaps every way ſo favourable.—" The *Interpretation* put upon it it by the *Committee* is, that the *Opportunity elapſed* ſignifies the *Time* of the laſt *Elections* of *Parliament Men*, &c. His *Argument* to prove this impoſſible to be the *Meaning* of it, is this, "That this *Paſſage* being ſuppoſed to be writ *Apr*. 20, and in Anſwer to a *Letter* from the *Pretender* at *Rome*; and that *Letter* founded upon *Intelligence* from *hence*; the Diſtance from *hence* to *Rome* is ſo great, that the previous *Intelligence* ſent to *Rome*, which occaſioned the *Letter* to which this was an *Anſwer*, muſt have been ſent *Two Months* before *Apr*. 20. That *Two Months* before *Apr*. 20, the *Elections* were not ſo much as begun. And therefore, No ſuch *Expreſſion* could then be uſed by *One* at *Rome*, that *an Opportunity was elapſed*, which He muſt know was not *yet come*, when He heard laſt from *England*." But it is very eaſy to give an *Anſwer* to this *Imaginary Demonſtration*: and an *Anſwer* fully ſufficient to deſtroy the Force of it. For, the *Intelligence* given to the *Pretender* from hence, might very probably relate only to the *Reſolution* taken by his *Friends* here, *viz*. That it being propoſed to make the *firſt Attack* at the Time of the *Elections*, it was by *Many* not thought proper, and ſo the *Deſign* put off to *Another Opportunity*. Upon this, the *Pretender* may naturally anſwer, that though this Opportunity of the *Elections* ſhould be thought improper, and ſo *elapſe*; yet *Another* might afterwards offer itſelf for their Purpoſe, *before the End of the Summer*. Thus He might expreſs Himſelf, before He could know that the *Elections* were actually over. And his *Correſpondent*, anſwering Him *Apr*. 20, when *that Opportunity was actually over*, could not uſe the *ſame Expreſſion*; but would *naturally* ſpeak of it then, as a *Matter* actually over, *Notwithſtanding this Opportunity* IS ELAPSED, muſt be his Stile, *after* the *Elections* were over; and yet it might certainly be in *Anſwer* to *One*, who had only *ſpoke* in his *Letter* from *Rome*, upon the *Intelligence* He had received, *That the Deſign was not to be executed at the Time of the Elections*. Nay, This very *Expreſſion* in the *Letter* of *Apr*. 20, might be uſed, in *Anſwer* to *One*, who had received no *Intelligence* from hence; but only had writ his *Opinion* concerning the *ſeveral Opportunities* which might offer; and that if the *firſt* (viz. That of the *Elections*) ſhould not be judged proper, *Another* might ſoon offer itſelf. There is no manner of *Incongruity* in a *Perſon's* anſwering thus, *Apr*. 20, and ſpeaking of the Opportunity of the *Elections* as over; and agreeing that *Another may offer*, &c. And therefore, not the leaſt Shadow of an

Argument from hence, to ſhew that the *Interpretation* put upon that *Paſſage* was not natural and true. Theſe *Obſervations* are fully ſufficient, in *Reply* to *this Argument* of the *Biſhop's*, upon which He ſeems much to rely.

We are now come to an *End* of what I call his *Direct Defence* of *Himſelf* from the *Charge* againſt *Him*. We ſhall next come to the *Indirect* Part of his *Defence*, taken from a Multitude of *Improbabilities* heaped together: and ſhall ſoon finiſh what remains.

BRITANNICUS.

* * *

LETTER LI. London Journal, September 14, 1723.

THE *Fifth* Part of the late *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter's Defence*, is taken from a Number of *Improbabilities* heaped together; and extends itſelf through *Pages* 12, 13. And this *Part*, though it was not of Importance enough to be particularly conſidered by the *Counſel* for the *Bill*, whoſe chief Buſineſs it was to urge the *Direct Proofs* againſt Him, and to *Reply* to his *Anſwers* to *Them*; yet deſerves ſome Notice: becauſe, on *One* Side, a good deal of Streſs ſeems to be laid upon it; and on the *Other*, I think it naturally tends very much to the Juſtification of Thoſe who condemned Him.

I will begin with obſerving, that when a Man of a *great Capacity* leaves the *Direct* Part of his *Defence*, in *Obſcurity* and *Confuſion*; and turns the *Bent* and Force of his *Abilities* to *Topicks*, which neither the *Charge* againſt Him, nor the *Manner* of *proſecuting* it, gave Him the leaſt Pretence to mention: it is a certain Sign that there was ſomething too hard for Him in the *One*; and that He took Refuge in the *Other*, becauſe it was a more copious *Subject* for his *Invention*, and a more unconfined Field for his *Self-love* and his *Oratory* to diſplay themſelves in. I know the *Pretence* which He would willingly inſinuate, that, being attacked only by what He ſometimes calls *Conjectures*, ſometimes *Surmizes*, and ſometimes *Probabilities*; He has a Right to ſet *Probabilities* on *One* Side, againſt *Probabilities* on the *Other*. And if this be a true and juſt *Repreſentation*; it is paſt all doubt that He has this *Right*, and does well in making uſe of it. But then, He muſt take care that the *Probabilities* which He alledges *for* Himſelf, be of the ſame ſort with thoſe alledged *againſt* Him; and particularly, that They touch the *Facts* charged upon Him, as nearly as *Thoſe*, to which He oppoſes them: which We ſhall ſee not to be at all regarded by Him in this *Part* of his *Defence*.

But indeed, this Way of *repreſenting* the Caſe, is utterly *groundleſs*; not to ſay, *ſhameleſs*. For all who wiſh well to the Concerns of *Humane Society*, ought carefully to keep up a Diſtinction between the *Force* of a *Number* of *Concurring Circumſtances*; all centring in *One Point*, and all marking out *One* particular *Perſon*; and the *Weakneſs* of a *Parcel* of Looſe *Probabilities*, taken from *Circumſtances* that do not affect the *Point* in hand. If the *former* are to be called *Probabilities*, in Diſtinction to the *Evidences* of our *Senſes*, (in which *Themſelves* there is the bare Poſſibility of *Error*,) yet They are always to be looked upon, as thoſe *High Probabilities*, which create that *Moral Certainty*, or *Moral Evidence*, which is the Guide of *Courts* of *Juſtice*; and with which, if it be once taken away as Inſufficient, all Hope of *Juſtice* in the *Affairs* of *Humane Society* muſt be taken away at the ſame time. They are indeed the only Foundation of that *Moral Certainty*, upon which the greateſt Part of *Humane Affairs*, even of the *Higheſt Nature*, are, and muſt ever be, tranſacted. And *He*, who oppoſes to *Theſe* a *Catalogue* of *Looſe Probabilities*, all *general*, and all void of the leaſt particular Relation to the *Point* in hand; not only trifles in *his own* Cauſe, but does what in *Him* lies to deſtroy the *Cauſe* of *Humane Juſtice*, whilſt He attempts to invalidate the *great Foundations* of it, by comparing *Them* with ſomething which bears no ſort of Likeneſs or Proportion to them.

I will not inſtance here only in the *Caſe* of *Treaſon*, in which it is abſolutely impoſſible to preſerve any *State*, if a *Number* of *Circumſtances* which come cloſe to a *Perſon* and a *Fact*, ſhall ever come to be called *Surmizes*, and to be outweighed by a *Number* of *Circumſtances* of quite another ſort, which have no ſuch *Reſpect* to the Charge in queſtion. But I will add the Caſe of *Wilful Murther*; which could very ſeldom (perhaps *never*) be puniſhed, if that *Moral Evidence* of *Concurrent Circumſtances* pointing out the *Murther*, and the *Murtherer*, could be over-ballanced by *Any Circumſtances* which do not nearly affect the ſame particular Fact. For, ſuppoſing the Caſe of a *Wilful Murther*, carried on as darkly as *Conſpiracies* generally are; and that, by ſome Diſcoveries, it were plain that this *Murther* was committed by *One* who went by the Name of *Jones*—who was *in Town* ſuch and ſuch *particular Days*, and *out of Town* on *other particular Days*—who was laid up with a painful Diſtemper at *ſuch* a Time—whoſe Wife was *dangerouſly ſick* on ſuch a Day, and died in ſuch a *Week*—who had a *Dog* preſented to Him, which *Dog* was named *Harlequin*, and had his *Leg* broke in his *Journey*; or the like: And ſuppoſing, a *Perſon* was apprehended, and brought upon his Trial, in whom *All* theſe *Marks* united; and from whom a private *Letter* had been intercepted, with ſome Signs of a *Conſciouſneſs* of *Guilt* in it—Does Any One imagine, that his *Judge* would think it tolerable for *Him* to treat *Theſe* Particulars as *Surmizes*; or permit Him to ſet againſt *Theſe*, a Chain of *General Improbabilities*; and to plead in this Strain,—" *My Lord*, Is it *probable* that I ſhould be the *Man?* I had a good Education—I have a Family to look after—I was brought up to an honeſt Trade—I have been known *Thirty Years ago* to ſpeak with Abhorrence of ſuch Vices—I muſt have been *infatuated*, to have been *guilty* of ſuch a *Crime*, to the Ruin of myſelf and my Family; and yet I never paſſed for a *Madman*."—If a *Criminal* ſhould pretend to urge and inſiſt upon ſuch *Vain Empty* Allegations, He would, I doubt not, be told, That *Theſe* do not touch the *Point* in hand; That his Buſineſs is to bring Proofs that thoſe *Circumſtances* do *not* centre in *Him*; and that *No Circumſtances* can be of any Force, but ſuch as directly ward off the *preſent Charge*, by deſtroying thoſe other *Circumſtances* which are thoſe *Proofs* of it, upon which the *Court* muſt frame their *Judgement*. I have thought fit to ſay thus much; that ſuch *Moral Evidence* as is ſufficient to remove all Doubt, which is the *Foundation* of almoſt all *Social Actions* in Humane Life, and the *Guard* of *Humane Society*, may not be ill-ſpoken off, and put into the *Rank* of *General Circumſtances*, which ſatisfy the Mind in nothing *particular*, and can be the Ground of no *Judgement* againſt any *ſpecial Charge*. And having now premiſed this, I ſhall take a *View* of the particular *Caſe* before Us, and of the particular *Probabilities*, urged by the late *Biſhop* in his own *Defence*.

Only before I do it, I ſhall beg the *Reader* to ſtop a little, and imagine within Himſelf what it is he would naturally expect in this Place. Here is a *Clergyman*, a *Biſhop*, before his *Judges*, under the Accuſation of particular *Acts* of *Treaſon*. He undertakes to ſhew the higheſt *Improbability* of his being guilty of what is laid to his *Charge*. Would not One preſently expect *Him*, in ſuch Circumſtances, urging his *Judges* with ſuch an *Argument* as this—“Is it at all *credible*; Is it at all *probable*, that *I*, who am, and have long been, a *Preacher* of *Simplicity* and *Truth* to *Others*; that *I*, who have taught *Others* the *Sacredneſs* of an *Oath*, ſhould in Myſelf ſhew Them the Example of an Impious Breach of it?” This would have ſounded well, if He could with Confidence have appealed to his *Practice*; and have gone on thus—“My Lords, I have taken a *ſolemn Oath* to be faithful to K. *George*. I have abjured the *Pretender*. My *Conduct* has been always full of a *Zeal* for the *Former*, and againſt the *Latter*. I have ever ſhewn by my Behaviour, as well in the *Critical Time* of the *Late Rebellion*, as upon all other Occaſions, that my *Heart* went along with my *Lips*; and that I have acted *Myſelf*, and animated *Others* to act, with an inflexible Duty to the *King* I have ſworn to, and in a warm Oppoſition to *Him* I have *abjured*. The *Converſation* I have moſt entertained, the *Company* I have kept, are Proofs of the ſame *Fidelity* to K. *George*. And is it *probable*, or *credible*, that after *Years* ſpent in his faithful Services, I ſhould at laſt, on a ſudden, turn an *Enemy* to *Him*, and an *Enemy* to *God* Himſelf, by trampling under foot all the moſt ſacred *Ties* of *Duty* I am under?” I ſay, Could this have been ſaid *truly*, and with the *concurrent Teſtimony* of Thoſe who converſed with *Him*, that *ſuch* was his *Behaviour*; it would have furniſhed out *One Probability*, infinitely out-weighing *All* that He has taken the Pains to amaſs together. But when this *Argument*, taken from his *Profeſſion*, and from the *Obligation* of an *Oath*, is ſo far from being made the Support of the *Improbability* of his *Guilt*, that, throughout the *Whole Speech*, He did not think fit *once* to touch upon *that Subject*; or to ſay *One Word* of the *Senſe* He had, or ought to have upon his Mind, of the *ſacred Obligation* of his *Oath*: and when He had not indeed the *Courage* to appeal to *Any* publick *Marks* of *Zeal* for the *preſent Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment*, for many Years laſt paſt: Methinks, He had much better have let alone his *Apology* from *Improbabilities*; becauſe *Silence* upon ſome *Topicks*, which lay ſo plainly in his Way, is a much ſtronger Argument of his *Guilt*, than all other *far-fetched* Conſiderations can be, of his *Innocence*.

But ſince *theſe Particulars*, which every *Reader* would naturally expect, are all carefully omitted, or forgot: Let Us ſee *what* thoſe are, from which He thought it a Part of his *Dexterity* to fetch his Defence, as to *Improbability*. And I ſhall now put Them, as They offer Themſelves, into the *Form* of *Argument*; that their *Force*, or *Weakneſs*, may be the eaſier ſeen. This Part of the *Defence*, therefore, muſt run thus: “My Lords, The late *Duke* of *Ormond* was the *Perſon*, amongſt the *Traitors*, I had the *greateſt Reſpect* for; and of the *Two Perſons* to whom I am charged to write, *One* I never ſaw, and the *Other* I am ſcarce acquainted with; beſides that He was thought to have left the *Pretender*: and therefore, It is *improbable* that, if I were engaged in a *Treaſonable* Deſign, I ſhould not correſpond with the *Firſt*; but with the *Two* laſt; and *this*, by *Letters* ſent by the *Common Poſt*, without regard to *Caution* or *Secrecy*.” But here, I muſt obſerve as I paſs, that He ſhews much *leſs* regard to *Caution*, in mentioning the late D. of *Ormond's* Name, becauſe there was Proof of his having received from the *Dutcheſs* of *Ormond* a *Letter*, which plainly enough ſignified ſome *Correſpondence* with *Her Lord* abroad; as well as his having converſed with *Another* Perſon, juſt before his going for *Spain*. Beſides, The *Two* with whom He was accuſed of correſponding, were well known to be firm in the *Pretender's* Intereſt, by all Friends: and it is of abſolute Neceſſity for *Perſons* engaged in ſuch a *Correſpondence*, to carry it on with *Thoſe* who are in the *Situation* of forwarding the *Deſign* moſt, and who can moſt eaſily and readily be correſponded with. And as for *Caution*; it is manifeſt, He chiefly depended upon the Secrecy of *Cyphers* and *Cant Words*; and thought Himſelf ſafe, in the conſtant Care He took, of not coming within the Reach of ſuch *Evidence*, as would convict Him in *Weſtminſter Hall*. The *Cunningeſt Men* do ſometimes the moſt uncautious Things: and the only *Point* here is, about *Fact*, *Whether He did not dictate thoſe Treaſonable Letters*, to the *Pretender*, and to *Two* of his moſt faithful Servants; and whether the *Proofs* of that *Fact* do not infinitely outweigh a faint Shadow of a *Probability*, which is indeed *no Probability* at all.

But He proceeds thus, "Is it probable that when attending the ſick Bed of my Wife, and expecting her Death not daily but hourly, I ſhould enter into Negotiations of this kind?"—It is not *tolerable* to enter into Any Man's Private, or *Domeſtick Affairs*, but where He Himſelf officiouſly, unneceſſarily, and in prejudice to the *Cauſe* of the *Publick*, leads the Way; and makes it excuſable, by making it neceſſary. Thoſe who knew the *late Biſhop*, and had obſerved his *Conduct* in the *Relation* in which He here ſpeaks of Himſelf, are the *Beſt Judges*, whether Any Argument of this ſort could, in *his* Caſe, have any the leaſt Degree of Force in it. I can only ſpeak to what appeared at the *Bar*; and *there*, I muſt do Him the *Juſtice* to ſay, that He did not at all *affect* the Outſide of any ſort of *Concern*, or *Paſſion*, at the repeated Remembrance and Diſcourſe of her *Sickneſs* or *Death*. So that, I own, I concluded that *He*, who could *hear* and *ſpeak* of it often, in the Courſe of the *Trial*, ſo ſedately and compoſedly, only as a Matter of *Fact*, or a *Note* of *Chronology*; or as He might have done of *Harlequin's broken Leg*; could never have received any *Stop* from the *Thing itſelf* in *Any* of his great Deſigns, but only what *Common Decency* required, for his own Sake. And I will preſume to ſay that This ſort of *Apology* ought not ſo much as to have been mentioned upon any Occaſion by Any Man, but *One* inwardly conſcious of a *Real Perſonal Fondneſs*, paſſionate enough to have hindered all the Functions of the *Active Life*; nor by *One*, who knew as well as Thoſe who heard Him, that *All* great *Undertakings* go forward, and all the Affairs of this World are carried on, notwithſtanding the greateſt *Domeſtick Afflictions*. But how could He think that the commoneſt Reader would help obſerving, from the Nature of the Thing, that theſe *Negotiations* muſt have been entered into, long *before* this *Affliction* came ſo *near* Him; and that, in this very Correſpondece, He was to be in a State of *Inactivity*, during the *Days of Mourning*; and *after* them, to return to *Buſineſs* again; and that all Men of *Enterprizing Geniuſes* would take it very ill, to be thought ſo *abject*, as to ſink and ceaſe from their Duty, upon Events ſo common as the *Mortality* of *Friends* and *Relations*? And indeed, I cannot help judging that *No One*, but a *Guilty Man*, who ſtood in need of *every Twig* his Hands could lay hold on, could have mentioned *this Topick*, in this Manner, amongſt his *Improbabilities*.

As for all the *Circumſtances* that follow, They may be put together into *One Argument*, and truſted very ſafely.—"I was (*ſays He*,) carrying on *Publick Buildings* at *Bromley* and *Weſtminſter*—I was ſearching *old Books* about the *Foundation* of *Weſtminſter*—I was correſponding with *Learned Men*, and going to ſettle the *Time* of the writing the *four Goſpels*—I was always at home, and only at Dinner ſtirred out of my Chamber,—and received all who came to me, and ſo had no Opportunity of being thus engaged—Neither my *Servants*, nor Acquaintance, knew any thing of my being in this Conſpiracy—nor particularly Mr. *Pope*, who was my moſt conſtant and intimate Companion, and who has teſtified thus much for Me;—I have not been bred to *Arms*, but to *Learning*;—[and therefore, could not carry on a *Correſpondence* by *Letters*]—I have been in *Parliament*, but never was in a *Council* of *War*.—I have perhaps been thought *too active* in my own Buſineſs, but never meddled *remarkably* out of my own Sphere.—I had no Temptation to *This* which is laid to my Charge.——For, I am far from *Ambition*; and always was reſolved againſt *riſing higher*—I am ſo far from *Covetous*, that I *deſpiſe Riches* too much—I have laid out 800*l.* upon my Houſes, and took not a Farthing of my *Predeceſſor's* Widow for *Dilapidations*—and have ſpent the reſt as becomes a *Biſhop*.—I cannot be ſuppoſed to have an Affection for the *Church* of *Rome*. I have always oppoſed *Popery*. I began my Studies (*about Forty Years ago*) with *Chillingworth's* Immortal Book.—I wrote a *Defence* of *Luther*, *thirty* Years ago;—[and therefore, cannot *Now* be in a *Conſpiracy* in Favour of a *Popiſh Pretender*.]—I was always a Friend to *Liberty*; an Advocate for *Inferiors* againſt their *Superiors*; [and in this Character, I oppoſed Thoſe in K. *William's* Adminiſtration, and in Q. *Anne's*, at the Beginning of her Reign;]—and therefore, cannot be ſuppoſed Now to be an Enemy to K. *George*.

I hope the *Reader* will not think I have framed and invented this *String* of *Improbabilities*. He may ſee it in *Print*. And I aſſure Him, I have only filled it up with a *few Particulars*, which were ſpoken by the *Biſhop*, but are omitted in the *printed Defence*; and with a *Word* or *Two*, which He did not indeed ſpeak, but which are preſently ſeen to be abſolutely neceſſary to make the *Form* of that *Concluſion* which alone could be of any Uſe to Him.—To place *theſe Particulars* before the *Readers* Eyes, with the Mention of that *Concluſion* He deſired to be drawn from them, is enough of itſelf to expoſe the *Weakneſs* of them, and to make any more Words unneceſſary upon this Part of the *Subject*.

Had the Caſe been ſo, that His *Accuſers* had argued againſt Him from ſuch *Topicks* as theſe—You are a *Proud*, a *Covetous*, an *Ambitious* Man; a great Lover of the *Grandeur* of the *Church* of *Rome*; and conſequently of a *Popiſh Pretender*; and the like: and therefore, You was in this particular *Plot*, and acted the Part of a *Chief Correſpondent* in it:—All theſe *Inſtances* had been proper to be *urged*, if they could have been proved. But when on *One Side*, They inſiſt upon quite different *Matters* of *Fact*, which point out a *particular Treaſon*; and on the *Other*, He anſwers, That this cannot be believed, *becauſe* He is free from *All* thoſe *Vices* which could lead Him to it, being *All Humility, and Quietneſs, and Contentedneſs, and Charity*; What is This? or what can it be, but a *Mark* of *Guilt*, and an *Attempt* after *Popularity*? For, as what I have juſt now mentioned, could be the *only Good Reaſon*, to juſtify his running out into any one of theſe *perſonal Particulars*: So, the *only True Reaſon*, which, in the Circumſtances of his preſent Caſe, could move Him to ſuch a Conduct, muſt have been the *Inward Senſe* that He wanted more ſubſtantial Replies; and the *flattering Hope*, that *This Enumeration* would be more *moving* to *Common Minds*, than any thing He could offer of another ſort; and the *pleaſing Imagination*, that his *Adverſaries* had furniſhed Him with an *Opportunity* of giving the World a *Picture* of *Himſelf*, in ſuch Colours as He himſelf could beſt paint; and of publiſhing far and near, with the Trumpet of his own Voice, *Thoſe Virtues*, which *None* perhaps had ever before diſcovered; and of which, otherwiſe, the *World* had remained perfectly ignorant. And now They are all *publiſhed*, I can ſafely ſay this of them, “ That all united, are no “ more to the *probable Proof* of his *Innocence* of the particular *Guilt* laid to his “ Charge, than if he had argued, that He could not be ſuppoſed to be in the *Conſpiracy*, becauſe He was of a *freſh* Colour, or ſubject to the *Gout*—or becauſe “ He was a *Lover* of *Wit*, an *Admirer* of the *Claſſical Authors*; was very converſant

“ in the Beauties of the Ancient Poets; and ſpent many Hours and Days of his “ Life in the Company of the *Beſt Modern Poet* of our *Nation*, that this *Age* “ has produced.”

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER LII. LONDON JOURNAL, September 21, 1723.

AFTER *that* Part of the late *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter's* Defence, which conſiſts of a *Catalogue* of ſuppoſed *Improbabilities*, the *Next* which offers itſelf relates to the *Nature* and *Circumſtances* of the *Puniſhment* inflicted upon Him, by the *Bill*. And his *Complaints* on this Head are divided into ſuch as concern his Caſe, conſidered in the Rank of *Common Men*, and *Common Subjects*; and ſuch as affect *Him*, conſidered in the *Character* of a *Clergyman*. As to the *former*, it would be great Miſpence of Time, to go over all the Particulars here inſiſted on; and to follow a *Criminal*, ſuppoſed to be found *Guilty* of a very *High Crime*, arguing againſt the Reaſonableneſs of a *Puniſhment* greatly inferior to the *Crime* itſelf. For *this Part* of his Argument is not taken from his *Innocence*: if it were, it would, and muſt, run thus: “ My Lords, I am innocent, and muſt appear ſo; and therefore, I truſt, you will lay *No Puniſhment* at all upon Me.” This had been the juſt and undeniable *Inference*: becauſe where there has been *No Guilt*, there can juſtly be *No Puniſhment*. But the *Argument* here made uſe of is this: “ Suppoſing “ *Your Lordſhips* to think and find Me *Guilty* of the *Crime* alledged againſt Me; “ yet ſure You cannot be ſo hard as to *baniſh* Me from my native Country, and “ deprive Me of the Converſation of my Friends, and take from Me the Support of my *Temporal Revenues*.” The *Crime* here is no leſs than that of *High Treaſon*, the greateſt Crime known in our *Law*. The *Puniſhment* in the *Bill*, is not the *Uſual Puniſhment* of an *Ignominious Death*; but the much *leſſer Puniſhment* of *Exile*. And the *Criminal* begs of his *Judges* to think *This Puniſhment* vaſtly *Greater* than his Crime deſerves; and to change it into *Something lighter*; that is, either *Nothing* at all, or *Nothing* that could be called a *Puniſhment*. “ Find me “ *Guilty*, if you ſo think fit: but let me enjoy the Comforts of this World “ amongſt You ſtill, as I have hitherto done.” This is the *Voice* of this *Part* of *Speech*. To mention it, is enough to ſhew the *Abſurdity* of it; and therefore, I ſhall only add two *Obſervations*. *One* is, that ſome of theſe Circumſtances which He mentions, as the *greateſt Hardſhips* of his Caſe, were not abſolutely fixed by the *Bill*; but left in the *Breaſt* of the *Crown* to alleviate; and have been ſince alleviated by a *Royal Permiſſion*, that ſuch of his *Relations* and *Servants*, as He deſired, might accompany and attend Him. The *Other* Remark is, that upon the *Whole*, there never was a *Puniſhment* for ſo high a *Crime*, tempered with more *Mildneſs*; and that it would be much harder to anſwer the Complaint of his *Injured Country*, ſpeaking to his *Judges*, and demanding, “ Why They did not puniſh “ *ſuch Treaſon*, as *ſuch Treaſon* deſerved to be puniſhed;” than to reply to His Unreaſonable Complaint, “ Why do You puniſh me with *Exile*, when You “ might inflict *Death* itſelf?” Or, in other Words, Why do You inflict a *Leſſer* “ *Puniſhment*, when You have a *Right* to inflict a much *Greater*?”

The *Other Branch* of the *Complaint* againſt the *Puniſhment* was taken from the *Spiritual Character* of the *Criminal*. And this the *late Biſhop* uſhered in, with ſome ſort of Solemnity. “ What is moſt particular in my Caſe, (*ſays He,*) I will

“ repeat diſtinctly, that my *Reverend Brethren* may hear it. I am rendered incapable of uſing or exerciſing any Office, Function, Authority, or Power Eccleſiaſtical, not only in his Majeſty's Dominions, but any where elſe.” Then follows an Exclamation, “ Very hard! that ſuch ſpiritual Power as is not derived from Men, but from God Himſelf, ſhould be taken from Me!” His *Reverend Brethren* heard this; but were too wiſe to be impoſed upon, by the Sound of Words, and the Pretence of *Privileges*, inconſiſtent with the Safety of *Humane Society*. They very well knew that the *Right* of the *State* to defend itſelf againſt *Civil Criminals*, or *Traytors*, was the ſame; of whatever *Profeſſion* the *Criminal* might be. They knew that the *Supreme Power* had a *Right*, in ſuch Caſes, to inflict *Cloſe Impriſonment*, or *Death* itſelf; in both which Caſes all *Exerciſe* of *Eccleſiaſtical Powers* was effectually and certainly taken away. They had too much Senſe to think that a *Britiſh Act* of *Parliament* could extend its Influence beyond the Limits of *Britiſh Authority*; or operate out of its own *Sphere*, upon the *Privileges* or *Liberties* enjoyed under the Protection of *Foreign States*: And They ſaw, from the very Words of the *Act* itſelf, that All it pretended to, was to reſtrain, as far as the *Supreme Authority* of *Britain* could reach, that *External EXERCISE* of *Eccleſiaſtical* or *Spiritual Functions*, which might be of Prejudice to the *Civil Conſtitution* of theſe Kingdoms; without concerning itſelf with *Inherent Powers*, or *Indelible Characters*. They knew that *All State-Criminals*, as ſuch, are upon an *Equal Foot*: and that, as it is the *Will* of *God* that *Traitors* ſhould be puniſhed, and *States* preſerved from all future bad Effects from their *Treaſon*; ſo, it cannot be ſaid to take away any *Power* which could ever come from GOD, or ſo much as to be diſpleaſing to Him, to hinder effectually, as far as poſſible, *that Exerciſe* of any *Spiritual Functions*, which may ſtill be the great Nouriſhment and Inſtrument of the ſame Dangerous Treaſon, againſt which All Societies have a Right to guard Themſelves. They could not therefore, be weakly caught by theſe *enticing Words of Man's Cunning*; whilſt They conſidered that the ſame Way of Argument would lay open all the *Fences* of the *preſent Eſtabliſhment*, to *Papiſts* and *Nonjurors*; and muſt in the End root up every *Foundation* of the preſent *Government*. For if it be enough to talk of *Powers* coming from God—not to be *reſtrained* in their *Exerciſe* by *humane Laws*, without a Crime —What ſhall we think of thoſe *Laws*, which reſtrain the *Exerciſe* of *Spiritual Functions* in any Congregation, to ſuch Perſons only as pray for the preſent *Royal Family?* and the like. *Popiſh* and *Nonjuring Prieſts* have the ſame *Allegation* to make, of *Spiritual Powers* from *God*. And if a *State* cannot reſtrain and limit and hinder the *Exerciſe* of ſuch Power; there is an *End* of all Hope of its Safety. And this *Exerciſe* is no more hindered by ſuch a *Clauſe* as this *Act* contains, than it is by laying a *Condition* upon *Perſons*, which it is morally *impoſſible* for Them to comply with. Whoever, therefore, thinks the *State* to have a *Right* to do this *Latter*, muſt think *It* to have the ſame *Right* to the *Former*: whatever his *Notions* may be of *Eccleſiaſtical Powers*, or *Spiritual Characters*. In a Word, We may defy *Any Government* in the World, to ſtand, I will not ſay, *One Year*, but *One Month*, if this *One* particular *Right* be wreſted out of its Hands, under pretence of *Powers not to be touched*, even in the *Exerciſe* of them: Which *Exerciſe* of them is the only Thing, the *Act* concerns itſelf with. For the *Concluſion* is immediate. If the *Exerciſe* of *theſe Powers* is not to be touched; then the *Perſons* who have them are not to be touched. And if the *Perſons* who have them, are *not* to be touched; then, *They* are not only the *Guides* and *Inſtructors* of the *People* in what is properly called *Religion*; but All *Civil Government*, and *Right* to *rule*, muſt in Effect be at *Their* Command, and *Theirs* only. For, from the Moment of ſuch an *Exemption*, it muſt reſt in *Them* to *raiſe* and to *dethrone*, to *liſt up* and to *pull down*, as They ſhall think beſt. A *State* of Things, which the *Good Part* of that *Body*, I dare ſay, look upon with the utmoſt Abhorrence; and which the *Bad Part*, I truſt, and hope, for the Sake of my Country, ſhall never enjoy!

Before I wholly leave this *Argument*, taken from thoſe pretended *peculiar Privileges* of Men of the *Holy Order*; (which are ſo many Encouragements to *Them*, to deal in *Treaſon*, and all other Crimes, if they are ſo diſpoſed;) I will mention another Particular of the *ſame* Kind, made uſe of by the *ſame Mouth*, and for the *ſame* Purpoſe: but indeed, *Both* ſo exceeding weak, that I cannot but think, the *Perſon* who made uſe of them, knew perfectly well that He was, in theſe Parts of his Defence, only attempting to impoſe upon the *Ignorance* of *Others*, and not delivering his own *real Sentiments*.

In the *Argument* I have already conſidered, the *Privilege* of *Clergymen* is declared to be an *Exemption* from any *Civil Reſtraint* in the Exerciſe of their Function. As We go on, We ſhall find another *Privilege* is declared to belong to them. And that is, to have *Other Laws* of *Evidence* againſt *Them*, in *Criminal* Caſes, diſtinct from Thoſe by which *Laymen* may be convicted. For it is upon this *Foundation* that the *Argument*, p. 15, muſt rely. "Give me leave" (*ſays the late Biſhop*) "to make mention of a Text in Holy Writ. *Againſt an* ELDER *receive not an Accuſation, but before Two or Three Witneſſes*, &c." much more, ſays He, againſt One who is *more than an Elder*. I ſhall not ſtand here to ſhew, what has been ſufficiently ſhewn by *Others*, the great *Miſtake*, or *Ignorance*, of ſeriouſly applying a *Rule* given to *Timothy*, relating wholly to *Church Affairs*, and to the *Elders* then under *Him*; *of applying this, I ſay*, to the *Caſe* of *Treaſon* againſt a *State*. I might have added, *Something worſe* than *Ignorance*; for, One can hardly believe a Man of any Parts, in earneſt, in ſuch an *Application*. But what I remark is, that the *Argument* here urged is of no Importance, unleſs it relies upon this Suppoſition, that this *Rule* taken out of *Scripture*, relates to *Civil Trials* in *Courts* of *Judicature*; and conveys a Privilege to *One Body* of *Subjects* to be exempt from the *Laws* that bind and *affect* all Others, if thoſe *Laws* differ from this *Rule*: than which there cannot be a greater *Indignity* offered to the *Holy Scripture*, by the *greateſt Enemy* it has in the World; nor a greater *Abſurdity* advanced upon the *Subject* of *Civil Government*. Let Us apply this ſame Rule to the *Caſe* of *Murther*; to which it reaches as *truly* as it does to that of *Treaſon*. Suppoſing (only for *Argument's* ſake) that a *Clergyman*, or even a *Biſhop*, could be ſo wicked as to be *Guilty* of that *Crime*. In this Caſe our *Law* allows of *Evidence* from the *Concurrence* of ſeveral *Remarkable Circumſtances*, even without the poſitive *Teſtimony* of *One Witneſs* to the *Fact* itſelf. But let the *Criminal* have the *Benefit* of this *ſame Text*; and He may ſoon claim the *Privilege* of being even an *Habitual Murtherer*, without any Fear of *Puniſhment*. And He may urge with the ſame Strength of Reaſoning, "Your *Law* indeed, and your Method of Proceeding, "may be good with regard to *Laymen*, who commit ſuch *Facts*: But as to Us "*Elders*, or more than *Elders*, St. *Paul* has eſtabliſhed a *Rule*, from which You "ought not to vary; and expreſly ordered that This Accuſation itſelf ſhould not "ſo much as be received againſt *Us*, without the Evidence of *Two* or *Three* "Living Witneſſes." For, *One* of theſe *Two Points* muſt certainly be true: Either that *This* was the Deſign of St. *Paul*, to interpoſe and interrupt the *Publick Juſtice* of Mankind, in *Criminal Caſes*; whilſt he was giving a *ſmall Church* of *Chriſtians* ſome prudential *Rules* of *Behaviour* within itſelf: Which is too great an *Affront* to St. *Paul*, in his *Character*, either of a *Chriſtian*, or an *Apoſtle*, or a Man of Underſtanding, to be admitted into our Thoughts: Or, That *this Rule* relates no more to *Treaſon*, than it does to *Murther*; and no more to *Either* of thoſe *Crimes*, or to *Any Civil Proceſs* againſt any *Civil Criminal* whatſoever, than it does to the *Diſcipline* of an *Army*; or to the moſt diſtant Thing in Nature. It was in truth an *Inſult* upon the *Underſtandings* of his *Judges*, for the late *Biſhop* to mention it: and it would be an Inſult upon the *Common Senſe* of the *Reader*, to ſpend any more Time in ſhewing either the *Ridiculouſneſs* of the *Obſervation*, or the *Fatal Conſequences* of it to *Humane Society*, or the *little Wiſdom* of *One*, who would be thought a *Great Man*, in mentioning what is ſo ſoon detected, and ſo eaſily diſcovered, to carry a Load of *Abſurdities* along with it.

I will conclude therefore, this *Subject* with *One* plain Word. "Nothing can be more unrighteous, than to make any whole *Society* of *Men* anſwerable for the *Extravagant Pretences*, or *Mad Claims*, of ſome *One* or *More* of its Members. But if ever that unhappy Time ſhould come, (which, I truſt, never will,) when a *Body* of *Men*, devoted by their *Profeſſion*, to the *great Concerns* of the *World* to come, inſtead of *Other* Methods which never fail of procuring a laſting Reſpect and Honour, ſhould be *univerſally* ſeen to lay hold on every Opportunity in Life, and every *Expreſſion* in *Scripture*, to create to Themſelves a Set of *diſtinct* and *ſeparate* Civil Privileges from *Other Subjects*, or to plead an *Exemption* from the *Common Methods* of *Juſtice* in *Humane Society*—from that Moment, They may be aſſured, that They are laying the Foundation of ſuch *Jealouſies*, *Diffidencies*, and *Fear*, in *Others*, as muſt be, in the probable Event of Things, and the natural Operation of ſuch *Uneaſineſſes*, infinitely more dangerous to their own Security and Peace, and even to their higheſt *Temporal Concerns*, than *All* the *Imaginary Evils* They can hope to ward off by ſuch *Enormous* and *Unbecoming Claims*."

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER LIII. LONDON JOURNAL, September 28, 1723.

THE *Part* of the late *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter's Defence*, which comes next, relating to the *Method* of proceeding againſt Him by *Bill* in *Parliament*, and to the *Nature* of the *Evidence* received in Proof of the *Crime* laid to his *Charge*, has been in effect ſome time ago fully conſidered, in *Two Former Papers*, which profeſſedly handle the *Argument* about the *Inherent Right* of the *Supreme Authority* of the *Nation*, to ſuch a *Procedure*; and the *Prudence* of making uſe of that *Right* upon juſt and proper Occaſions: and ſhall be further proſecuted hereafter, if need ſhall be. It is enough *here* to obſerve, that the *Right* itſelf is conſtantly allowed upon *ſome* Occaſions, by All Thoſe who have oppoſed the making uſe of it, upon *This*. And with regard to the *Perſon* here particularly concerned, it is ſufficient to remark that the only *Ground* of his *Complaints* upon *this Head* muſt be, that He had vainly flattered Himſelf with the Imagination that He was *ſafe* in the prodigious *Care* He had made uſe of to guard Himſelf againſt the *Reach* of all *Evidence* in the *Common Courſe* of *Juſtice* in *Inferior Courts*; and from thence inferred, how very hard it was that *One*, who had given Himſelf ſo much Trouble, in order to contract the *Guilt* of *Treaſon*, and ſo much more to hide it, ſhould be at laſt *taken in the Wilineſs of his own Cunning*; and brought to that *Puniſhment* in an *Extraordinary Method*, which, in the *Ordinary Courſe* of *Things*, He hoped to avoid. I will therefore ſtay no longer upon *this* Part of the *Argument*, but only juſt to take Notice of *One* very particular *Obſervation* the *late Biſhop* has made, in the Overflowings of his *Wit* upon this *Subject*.

The *Paſſage* I mean, is in *p.* 15, but very imperfectly printed. "He would " not, He ſaid, deny the *Power* of the *Legiſlature* in this or the *like* Caſe." He repreſented *that Power* as very great: and then added, "Greater in ſome Senſe " than that of the *Soveraign Legiſlator* of the *Univerſe*—For He CAN do nothing " Unjuſt."—whereas Humane Law-makers CAN.—Whether This were deſigned as *Divinity* or *Metaphyſicks*, or *Politicks*, or *Satyrical Wit* upon his *Judges*, it is hard to determine; becauſe it is an equally *juſt* and *right* Obſervation, take it which way You will. If it were intended for a *Maxim* of *Divinity*, it is much beneath the Underſtanding and Abilities of a *Great Divine*, by virtue of flouriſhing upon the Sound of a *Word*, to ſtate a Difference between *Weak Men*, and the *Great God*; and to give the *Superiority* of *Power* to *Man* above the *Supreme* Legiſlator, upon Account of what is indeed the *Defect*, or *Weakneſs*, of *Imperfect Creatures*. For this is the Caſe. That *Almighty God* CAN do no wrong, ariſes from the Abſence of all *Weakneſs* and *Imperfection* in *Him*. That *Man* CAN do wrong, ariſes from a *Weakneſs*, and not a ſuperior *Strength* in Him; from the *Imperfection* of his *Views*, and the *Confinedneſs* of his *Powers*. So that it is the *ſame Obſervation*, in effect, as if He had ſaid, "The *Power* of *Man* is greater than " that of *Almighty God*, becauſe his *Weakneſſes* are *greater*: Or, *Man* may be ſaid " in ſome reſpects to be *more Powerful* than GOD, for this very Reaſon, becauſe " He is infinitely more *Weak*." Than *which Obſervation*, gravely delivered, I deſire any Perſon to ſhow me *One*, leſs worthy of a *Chriſtian Biſhop*, or leſs becoming a *Divine* who would be thought to underſtand the peculiar Buſineſs of his own *Profeſſion*. The like may be ſaid of it, in any other ſerious View. It is entirely ill-founded, and void of all Senſe and Reaſon to ſupport it. And if it were meant as a Piece of *Satyrical Wit* upon his *Judges*, whom He would now repreſent as going to exceed all thoſe Bounds of *Juſt* and *Right*, by which *Almighty God* Himſelf governs all his *Proceedings*; the Beſt that can be ſaid of it is, That it is *Pointleſs Satire*, and *Cold Wit*, deſcending, in the *Luxuriancy* of *Fancy*, to *play* upon the *Ambiguity* of the *Word*, CAN; and to trifle egregiouſly in the moſt important Part of his *Argument*, relating to the *Juſtice* of what was now going forward. This Turn of Expreſſion might be tolerable, perhaps, or *pretty*, in an *Epigram*, or a Piece of *Poetry*; where a ſort of *Licence* is often given to good *Sounds* that are hardly *Senſe*; and the *Reins* generally let looſe to the *Warmth* of *Imagination* and *Invention*. But, Whether ſuch a *Procedure* was worthy of a *Perſon* of *Figure*, in *his* Circumſtances, pleading his *Innocence* at a *Bar*, before the moſt *Auguſt Aſſembly* in *Europe*; or indeed, Whether it was worthy of a *Great Man* of a *Holy Profeſſion*, in *any* Circumſtances, to introduce the *Supreme Being* into his Cauſe, by virtue of a *Compariſon*, which, duly conſidered, muſt appear to a good Mind, too *ludicrous* and *low*; and perhaps I might have ſaid, little better than *Profane*:—Of this, let all the World judge.

I come now to the *laſt Part* of his *Defence*; and the *Melancholy Part* of it: I mean, The late *Biſhop's ſolemn Aſſeverations*, and *Concluſion* of the *Whole*. I call it the *Melancholy Part*; and ſo muſt every Man ever think it, who has any regard left to the *Simplicity* of *Words*, or the *Sacredneſs* of *Oaths*. For in ſuch a *Caſe* as this, It makes but a ſmall Difference in my Account, whether a *Perſon*, in *direct poſitive Words*, perjures Himſelf; or, whether He *artfully* chuſes ſuch a *Manner* of *Expreſſion*, and ſuch particular *Matters* to ſpeak of, as plainly ſhew the ſole *Intention* of the Man to be the *Avoiding* every *Honeſt Declaration* that could be to the Purpoſe. When a *Perſon*, accuſed of a *particular Crime*, after having ſaid what He thought proper in his own Vindication, or in *Anſwer* to the Evidence againſt Him, changes his Tone; and *voluntarily* offers his *ſolemn Aſſeverations* in order to clear *Himſelf*; He does in effect take a *ſacred Oath*, to ſpeak to the *Main Point*; to ſpeak to it *plainly*, *explicitly*, without *Artifice*; and is in much the ſame Condition with any *One* who is formally ſworn to ſpeak the *Truth*, and the *Whole Truth*, as well as *Nothing* but the *Truth*. For the *only Uſe* of *Voluntary Aſſeverations*, in *Criminal Caſes*, muſt ariſe from their *Plainneſs*, their *Openneſs*, their *Comprehenſiveneſs*, and their *Fitneſs* to the ſingle Purpoſe, at which They would appear to aim. *Otherwiſe*, They can have no Weight, but *againſt* the *Perſon* who has recourſe to them. And *this Effect* They muſt neceſſarily have. For, when a *Perſon* ſtands forth, and declares to his *Judges* that He is ready to purge Himſelf of the *Charge* brought againſt *Him*, by *ſolemn Appeals* to *God*, the *Searcher* of *Hearts*; and, after this *moving Declaration*, is obſerved to avoid the *Direct Charge* laid againſt Him; to pitch upon ſome nice *particular Circumſtances* of Facts, which were not made any Part of that *Charge*, at the *Bar* where He now ſtands; and to mix up his moſt *ſolemn Words* with that *Cunning* and *Art*, which ought to be far diſtant from them: It cannot be, but that his own *Method* and *Form* of *Proteſtation* muſt, itſelf, recoil upon *Him*; and be itſelf an *Argument* of that *Guilt*, it was officiouſly brought to hide.

This is the Caſe here. The late *Biſhop*, to whoſe *Profeſſion* ſuch a *Procedure* little agrees, is expreſly charged with dictating ſome particular *Letters* to Mr. *Kelly*; with *correſponding* with the *Pretender*; with *Breach* of his repeated *Oaths* of Fidelity to K. GEORGE: &c. After other inſufficient *Anſwers*, *He* deſires to have recourſe to the *Method* of clearing Himſelf by the moſt *ſolemn Appeals* to GOD, as the *Searcher* of *Hearts*. In this Method, and throughout the Courſe of all theſe *Appeals* to *Heaven*, He carefully avoids the Mention of K. *GEORGE's* Name, or *That* of *Any* belonging to his Family. He never once declares *Himſelf* to have any Senſe of his *Oaths* to K. *GEORGE*, and the *Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment*, upon his Mind: or once acknowledges K. *GEORGE's Right* to theſe *Kingdoms*. He never once, ſo much as in *Words*, diſowns the *Pretender's* Right to this *Crown*; or diſclaims all *Correſpondence* with Him; or declares even the coldeſt Reſolution *againſt* Him. Theſe Particulars, conſidering the *Charge* laid againſt Him, of breaking through the Sacred *Ties* of Repeated *Oaths*, could not be *forgot*; could not be omitted through Haſte, or Inadvertence, or Defect of *Memory*; but muſt be *deſignedly*, *wilfully*, *deliberately*, paſſed over. And, then, when He comes to the *Main Particular*, He runs off from That, as it was laid againſt Him in the *Bill*; and, inſtead of denying, in the Preſence of God, that He ever *communicated*, or dictated any *Letters* to Mr. *Kelly*, or the like; He, dextrouſly, by I know not what Figure of *Oratory*, or what *Rule* of *Art*, ſolemnly denies that He ever SAW any ſuch Letters of *Kelly's*—or that the *Contents* were ever *communicated* TO Him, BY *Kelly*—Such an Uſe of Words as this, and ſuch a *Change* of *Language*, are *bad* every where; but are *inſupportably bad* in a Sentence, uſhered in with a *ſolemn Appeal* to *Heaven*, and ſanctified with the *Awful Name* of GOD.

After having thus put a *Cheat*, as He hoped, upon the *Ears* of his *Audience*; and after having *ſeemed* to *deny* (what He did not at all *deny*) his *dictating Letters* to *Kelly*, in the *Correſpondence* laid to his *Charge*; *After this*, He concerns Himſelf only with *Other* particular *Circumſtances*, which were *not* the *Subject* of the *Charge* againſt Him; but lay ſcattered in the *Report* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*; and moſt of Them only *there* mentioned, as *Matters* related by *Perſons* examined concerning what They had heard about the *Conſpiracy*. *Some* of theſe *Particulars*, with very peculiar Circumſtances of *Time* and *Place*, (though as I have obſerved, not made any Part of the *Charge* againſt *Him*,) He has taken upon Him more expreſly to deny; whilſt He was conſcious, He avoided the *True Points* laid upon Him; and might ſafely deal about his *Proteſtations*, where there was nothing particular, ſo much as alledged in his *Trial*, to confront and invalidate them. This is the *Method* He thought fit to take, in ſo ſerious and ſolemn a *Matter*, as That of *Appealing* to *God*, the *Searcher* of *Hearts*. And if the *Careful Omiſſion* of *All* that was *truly proper* for the Declaration of his *Innocence*, upon ſuch an Occaſion; the *artful Evaſion* of what He would ſeem to ſpeak to, by a *ſubtle Change* of the *Main Charge*; and the Dextrous *Running away* from the *Real Accuſation* againſt *Him* in the *Bill*, to ſeveral wandring Particulars in the *Report* not alledged againſt Him: *If All this* be not ſufficient to ſatisfy any unprejudiced Perſon, that *Guilt* was the Real *Ground* of ſuch a *Behaviour*, as *Guilt* alone could make neceſſary; I know not what to add. This I am ſure of, that ſuch *Hiding* and *Concealing* of *Truth*; ſuch *Avoiding* of all plain Language; ſuch *Prevarication*, and *Mental Reſervation*, after having made a *ſolemn Shew* of Appeal to *God*, can be thought to differ very little from the *Guilt* of *Perjury*; or the greateſt Diſreſpect to the *Sacredneſs* of an *Oath*. *Better* a thouſand times had it been for One of his *Character*, never to have entered into a *Method* of *Defence*, which was not forced upon Him; than to have entered into it with ſuch *Solemnity*, and to have come out of it with ſuch a *Blot* of *Falſhood*, and ſuch a *Mark* of *Guilt*, added to all the reſt.

The *Concluſion* of his *whole Defence* is of a piece with *this* Part of it. It is a *Concluſion*, not only very moving; but which would very well become the *Mouth* of a *Good*, *Upright*, and *Innocent Man*, ſubmitting Himſelf to *Injuſtice*, and *Wrong*, under a Senſe of *God's over-ruling* Providence. But, conſidered in the *Mouth* of *One*, ſo conſcious to Himſelf of his own *Inward Guilt*, as not to be able plainly to diſown the *Charge*; of *One*, proved, by a Multitude of convincing Circumſtances, to have brought Himſelf to this Condition by *Breach* of ſolemn *Vows* and *Oaths*; and of *One*, whom *All* his own *Art* and *Cunning* could not cover from the Light of *Evidence*—It then becomes rather an *Aggravation* of his *Crime*, than an *Argument* of his *Innocence*; and is found to *move* the *Indignation* and *Zeal* of *Mankind*, much more than their *Pity* and *Compaſſion*. It is at beſt no otherwiſe eſteemed than it would have been, had it come from a *Perſon*, whoſe Characteriſtick, and diſtinguiſhing Mark, through his whole Life of Controverſy, was well known to have been a peculiar Knack and Dexterity of calling in the *Holy Scripture* into *All* his private Quarrels; and of applying the *ſacred Words* of it, to all the Purpoſes of his own *Perſonal* Paſſions and Reſentments.

If I have quite wearied the *Reader* with the *Tedious Particularity* of theſe *Remarks* upon *Every Branch* of the late *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter's Defence*; I can make no other *Apology* for it, than that I thought Myſelf obliged to it by my Duty to my Country; and by the *Part* every Subject ought to take in the Honour of *Thoſe*, who have been infamouſly and ſcandalouſly abuſed, for the *Juſt Judgement* They paſſed upon *Him*. I will make an End of this *Subject*, with *Two* or *Three* General *Obſervations* upon the *Whole*; which ſhall follow in the *next Paper*.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LIV. LONDON JOURNAL, October 5, 1723.

UPON the *Review* of the late *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter's Defence* of *Himſelf* from the *Charge* laid againſt Him, an *Obſervation* or *Two* offer Themſelves, which I cannot forbear to dwell a little upon, before I quite take leave of the *Subject*. The *firſt* which occurs is, "That *Guilt* can ſometimes transform a *Man* of the *Brighteſt Parts* into *One* of the *Oppoſite Character*; and put the *Witty* and *Ingenious* upon the *Level* with the *Dulleſt* and *Heavieſt* of Mortals." If We were to comprehend the *Whole* of the late *Biſhop's* Anſwer, in the ſhorteſt Compaſs, it might be all rightly expreſſed in the One ſingle Word, FORGERY, repeated over and over again, and applied equally to *Every Particular*. For Inſtance— Qu. What Account do You give of the *Three Treaſonable Letters*, which plainly deſcribe *You*, as the *Perſon* who dictated them? *Anſ. Forgery* between a *Great Miniſter* and *Another*. Q. How can this be, when it appears the *Other* Perſon was not known to that *Great Miniſter*, till *three Months* after theſe *Letters* were intercepted? A. *Forgery*, notwithſtanding this ſeeming *Impoſſibility*. Q. How came They to be written in Mr. *Kelly's* Hand? A. *Forgery*. If They were ſo, it is very well known that there has been ſuch a *Thing*, as an *Exact Imitation* of *Another Man's* Hand. Q. How came an *Anſwer*, to theſe *Letters*, from *abroad*, to be received *here?* A. *Forgery*. It was contrived ſo. The *Anſwer* was firſt made here, and ſent abroad, in order to be intercepted when it ſhould come back. Q. But how is this poſſible, when Mr. *Kelly*, whom You ſtill treat as your *Friend*, called for *One Anſwer* Himſelf, and ordered a *Friend* to call for *Others?* A. *Forgery*. This is my *Anſwer* ſtill, without thinking Myſelf obliged to account for all *Difficulties*. Q. How came the *Letter* directed to *Dubois*, to be found in your *Cuſtody?* A. *Forgery* again. They, who found it *there*, know beſt who ordered it to be brought thither. Q. How could it be *forged* by *Thoſe*, who, as You Yourſelf obſerve, did not at firſt know what Uſe to make of it? A. *Forgery*, I inſiſt upon it. Q. But how came it to have the *ſame Seal*, which was afterwards upon a *Letter* ackowledged by *Yourſelf* to be *Your own?* A. *Miniſterial Forgery*. I can give Proof that there has been ſuch a Thing, heretofore, as forging *One Seal* from the *Impreſſion* of *Another*. This is my *Anſwer*. —I will not put any more *Queſtions*, ſince We are ſure that the *Anſwer* to them *All*, (were They *ten times* ſtronger than Thoſe already named,) would *begin* and *end* in nothing but the *ſame Sound*, *Forgery*.

Can any *Little Genius*, from this Time, ever want a *Reply* to the moſt perplexing *Difficulty*, when ſo *Great a Genius* has, in his own Example, ſhewn the *Eaſy Expedient* of having *One* and the *ſame* Word conſtantly at hand? What *Accuſation* can ever hereafter touch any *Mortal* of the *Loweſt Form*, when a *Perſon* of *Exalted Talents* has taught Him to think it ſufficient to elude *Every* Part of an *Accuſation*, by the Repetition of a ſingle *Word*, which requires neither *Parts* nor *Learning* either for the Invention, or the ſounding of it? But, inſtead of envying the Happineſs and the irreſiſtible Force of ſuch a *ſtanding Plea*; Who can forbear to wonder that a *Perſon* endowed with ſuch a Fruitfulneſs of *Invention*, and ſuch a nimble *Vivacity* of *Parts*; and *now lately* ſo celebrated for *Unparalleled Abilities*, could content Himſelf with ſo *vulgar*, ſo *unvaried* a *Reply* to *Every* thing; and ſtoop his *Great Soul* to a Method, which lies ſo open to the

Meaneſt Underſtanding. Take any *Layman* of the moſt *ordinary Capacity*; and He may, upon the like Occaſion, eternally cry out, *Forgery, Forgery*. Nay, (what is perhaps *Lower* in the Opinion of *Some*) Take *Any One* of *Thoſe* now left behind upon the *Bench*, with Capacities as *Mean* and *Contemptible*, as the *Wickedeſt* or *Wittieſt* of this *Great Man's* Advocates have *lately* invented for *Them*, in order to raiſe their *Hero's* diſtreſt Character, and help his diſtreſt Cauſe,—Take ſuch an One, and put Him into their *Idol's* Place; and try Him with the *ſame Queſtions*, and ſee if He could poſſibly anſwer ſuch a *Charge* with a leſs ingenious, or a leſs *happy Variety of Expreſſion*, than this *Miracle* of *Wit* and *Oratory* and *Poetry* has done.

But why do I mention that *Bench*, unleſs to *bewail* it? *Unhappy Bench*! if the *Paintings* beſtowed upon it by ſome late Hands be natural and juſt.—"*Unhappy* "*Bench!* abandoned by all the *Graces* and the *Muſes*, at that Moment when the "late *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter* removed from it! *Unhappy Bench!* forſaken *Now* by "all the *Wit* and *Politeneſs*, which *once* adorned it!"—But as theſe Strokes of *Satire* have fallen upon It, for *Virtue* and our *Country's* Cauſe, All We of the *Laity*, who love *Virtue* and our *Country*, will rather ſay, Let the *Charms* of *Wit*, and *Song*, and *Epigram*, periſh, when *Juſtice* makes its Demands—And let it be an Eternal Glory to that *Bench*, to have joined in the open Deteſtation and Puniſhment of *Knavery*, *Diſſimulation*, *Perfidy* to *God* and *Man*, *Falſhood* in Word and Deed; and *Perjury*, the deepeſt of *Crimes* againſt *Religion* as well as *Society*. If ſuch a *Conduct* has led the *Enemies* of the *Publick* to ſpeak *meanly* of Them; I hope, and dare ſay, There is not One of Them, who is not ready to reply, "That He had much rather be repreſented by *Such*, and upon *ſuch* an Account, under the *Loweſt* of *Characters*; than to purchaſe the *Reputation* of *Great Abilities*, at the Price of *Ruin* to his *Country*, and *Scandal* to his *Profeſſion*." That *Good Man*[a], who now preſides in the *See* of *Rocheſter*, has experienced, in a particular Manner, the *Malevolence* of *Witleſs Infamy*. He is *above* it all. And it is enough to ſay of Him, what *Thouſands* in this *City* know to be true, That He never had *(I will not ſay, a* Crime, *but)* a *Fault*, laid to his *Charge* by *Malice* itſelf, till he ſucceeded Dr. *A.* at *Rocheſter*; and that through his whole Life, his *Character* has as far outſhone *That* of *Another*, *(now only* ſo much extolled by a *Few*,) as the *Charity* and *Humility* of a *Chriſtian*, the *Good Judgement* and *Sound Learning* of a *Divine*, the *Exemplary Labours* and *Prudent Conduct*, as well as *Uſeful Preaching*, of a *Pariſh Miniſter*, exceed the *Turbulency* of *Ambition*, the *Flouriſhes* of *Wit* or *Poetry*, the *Party-management* of an *Heated Brain*, the *Flames* of *Paſſion* oppoſed, and the *Falſeneſs* of an *Aſpiring Spirit* ungoverned by any thing but a *Miſtaken Cunning*. If any thing of this ſeems too ſevere, Let *Them* anſwer for it, who could find no other way of *raiſing* their *Great Man's* Character, but by depreſſing *That* of *Greater* and *Better*; or of paying their *Honours* to *Him*, without ſcattering abroad their *Infamous Abuſes* upon *Others*.

I return from this ſhort *Digreſſion*, to the *Obſervation* which led Me to it. And if any one now aſk, How it came to paſs that no Defence remained to a Man of Uncommon Invention, and Abilities, but the *One* repeated *Excuſe* of *Forgery*; there can be but *One Anſwer* to this, *viz.* That *Guilt* alone *could be*, and therefore *was*, the *True Cauſe* of it: *Guilt*,—which *enervates* all the *Powers* of *Wit* and *Eloquence!*—*Guilt*, which can bring down the *Brighteſt* to the Groveling Eſtate of the *Heavieſt!*—which can reduce a *Man* of the *Fineſt Fire*, and *Sparkling Ingenuity*, to a *Condition* little above *That* of the *Dull* and *Stupid*; and can force upon a *Superior Genius* the *Neceſſity* of ſtooping as *Low*, as the *Loweſt* of *Common Mortals!*

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[a] Dr. Samuel Bradford.

But there is *Another Obſervation*, which has been continually preſent to my Mind, through this *Whole Tranſaction*, and through every Step of the late *Biſhop's* Defence. "If He was reſolved that *Forgery* ſhould be his *One* and *Only* Refuge; It cannot but be eſteemed a *certain Mark* of his *Guilt*, that He never once charged any Part of it upon *Kelly*; but, on the contrary, always ſeemed ſollicitous, upon every the leaſt Occaſion, to declare his abſolute Freedom from all Suſpicion of that ſort." And perhaps there may be more in this *Remark*, than at firſt there ſeems to be. For thus ſtands the *Caſe*. He was accuſed of *High-treaſon*, in correſponding with the *Pretender*, and the *Pretender's Agents*. This *Correſpondence* was proved principally by *Letters written*, and *proved* to be *written*, in *Kelly's* Hand. *Kelly* was owned to be a *Friend* and *Acquaintance* of the *Biſhop's*. The *Marks* and *Characters* in the *Letters* were acknowledged by the *Biſhop*, to point *Himſelf* out pretty ſtrongly. He often ſaid, They muſt be *written* by *One*, who narrowly watched the *Circumſtances* of *Himſelf* and his *Family*. And the *Lords*, at whoſe *Bar* He now ſtood, had *before*, by a *ſolemn Judgement*, declared Themſelves ſatisfied that *Thoſe Letters* were the *Hand-writing* of *Kelly*. The *Plea* then, which naturally offered itſelf to the *late Biſhop*; and which muſt have had its due Force, and that a very great one, if it could not have been diſproved, was this: "*My Lords*, No One is anſwerable for *Letters*, which *Another* may take upon Him to write in *His Character*; unleſs He can be proved to have directed the writing of ſuch *Letters*. Were it otherwiſe, the moſt *Innocent Men* in the World would be the *Prey* and *Sacrifice* of the *Wickedeſt* and *Vileſt*. Theſe *Letters* are proved to be Mr. *Kelly's* Hand-writing: And *You* have ſo judged Them to be. He was acquainted enough with *Me* and my *Family*, to know and find out and mark thoſe *ſeveral Circumſtances*, which appear in theſe *Letters* to centre in *Me*. I have had no Part in them. I never dictated a *Sentence* to *Him*. I charge Him with *forging* a *Correſpondence* in my Name. At leaſt, as *Your Lordſhips* have declared Him *Guilty* of *writing* this Treaſon; I, who know my own Innocence, have a Right to reſt my Cauſe upon this, That He wickedly wrote them, and ſent them away, and received *Anſwers* to them, without my Privity, or my bearing the leaſt Part in the *Whole*. And I hope, I am not anſwerable for what *He*, or any *Acquaintance* of mine, might *forge* in *my* Name, to help their own Cauſe, or to carry forward Purpoſes of their own, utterly unknown to *Me*."

In *This* indeed, there had been ſome Senſe; and I will add, *ſome Strength* too; if Mr. *Kelly* could not have diſproved it by a full Diſcovery. And this lay ſo fairly in the Way, that it could not have been over-looked, or avoided by an *Innocent Man*. But when the late *Biſhop*, through his *whole Defence*, was ſeen cautiouſly to guard againſt even every diſtant *Inſinuation* of this ſort; nay, to appear angry, if ever the *Counſel* for the *Bill* alledged that if theſe *Letters* were *forged*, it muſt have been done by Mr. *Kelly*; and to cry out, *No*, *No*,—*No One has any Thought of that ſort*: When, inſtead of *This*, (which was the only natural *Plea*,) the *Miniſters* were to be loaded with every Part of the whole Maſs of *Forgeries*, though in the very Suppoſition *abſurd*, and in the Execution *impoſſible*; and it was *All* to be declared *Miniſterial Forgery*, and Nothing elſe—When this is the *Caſe*, I ſay, it muſt preſently raiſe an *Enquiry*, Whence can this *Conduct* proceed? Whence could it be, that a *Perſon*, who could not but ſee ſuch a *Plea* lie before Him, ſhould refuſe all Aid from *That*, and content Himſelf with *Another*; which is neither *credible*, nor *poſſible*, conſidering all *Circumſtances*? And with regard to this *Enquiry*, I can neither find out, nor conceive, any other *Anſwer*, but That *Guilt* made the *Plea* impracticable; That He knew that He was not *Innocent*; and That He was juſtly afraid that, upon ſuch a *publick Charge* againſt *Kelly*, his *Friend* could not be ſilent, but muſt inevitably declare the *Truth*.

In return therefore, to that *Conſummate Sedate Aſſurance* with which Mr. *Kelly* had ſolemnly denied Himſelf to have any ſuch Affairs as *Theſe* with the late *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter*; That *Biſhop* could do no leſs than avoid any the ſlighteſt *Inſinuations* againſt ſo *Gentleman-like* a *Friend*, who had out-faced *Truth* in ſo handſome a manner, rather than hurt his *Principal*. But *not only* this; (for this alone would never have prevented a *Criminal*, from making uſe of the only good *Plea* in his Way;) but his own *Danger* made Him reject it; and the *Evil Conſequences* to Himſelf from his making uſe of it, preſenting themſelves to his View, affrighted Him from it. And that it could be nothing elſe, appears from hence. If the *late Biſhop* had known Himſelf to have been perfectly *Innocent* of all ſuch *Dealings* with *Kelly*; He had then nothing to fear from making uſe of that *Circumſtance* of *Kelly's* writing theſe *Letters*, (already judged ſo by the *Lords*) to his own Advantage; and pleading the great and crying *Injuſtice* of *his* ſuffering for what *Another*, a profeſt *Jacobite*, had written in his Name, for the Service of the *Pretender's* Cauſe. And if Mr. *Kelly* had been angry at this, it was nothing to the *Prelate*, (then upon his *Trial*, under a very grievous Accuſation,) who could receive *no Hurt* from his Diſpleaſure, if his Breaſt was free from all *Conſciouſneſs* of *Guilt*. But if He felt within Himſelf the *Stings* of *Guilt*, the *Caſe* was otherwiſe. For if He had accuſed Mr. *Kelly* of ſo groſs a Crime, as forging a *Criminal Correſpondence* in *His Name*, and to his Deſtruction, unleſs detected; the *Gentleman*, who in ſo *compoſed* a Manner had utterly denied his own *Hand-writing*, and in ſo *friendly a Manner*, had gone out of his Way to defend the *late Biſhop* more than *Himſelf*, could not have borne an *Imputation* of ſo much *Vileneſs*, as *That* of Forgery to ruin this *Great Man*; but muſt have been provoked, (and juſtified in it by all the World,) to have made the *fulleſt Diſcovery* of the *Whole Affair*: And this muſt have ended in the utter *Confuſion* of his *Principal*, though in nothing *worſe* to *Himſelf* than what was already decreed againſt Him.

And therefore, it mayunanſwerably be argued, *Guilt alone* made the *late Biſhop* rather chuſe the *popular inflaming Topick* of *Miniſterial Wickedneſs*, from which He hoped for ſome Chance of *Good* to *Himſelf*; than *that other Plea*, from which *(not being Innocent)* He had nothing to *hope*, but His own *Ruin*, without Redreſs, or Apology. And, upon the whole,—*He*, who took *not one* of thoſe *Methods* of *Defence*, which *Innocence* could not but have taken;—*He*, who throughout his *Trial*, choſe thoſe *Methods* of *Defence*, which *Guilt* alone could make neceſſary, or plauſible;—*He*, who had no *Reply* to make, but what was always taken from a *groſs Imputation* upon *Miniſters*, which plainly appeared to be, in itſelf, *Contradiction*, and *Impoſſibility*;—Such an One muſt be eſteemed *Guilty*; or elſe, (as I have had Occaſion to obſerve, in other Parts of this *Cauſe*,) *Invention* and *Reality*, *Truth* and *Falſhood*, *Forgery* and *Juſt Evidence*, muſt be accounted the *ſame*; and never be diſtinguiſhed from one another, in all *Judicial* Affairs: Which can end in nothing but firſt *Confuſion*, and then the total *Diſſolution* of all the *Bands* of *Humane Society*.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LV. LONDON JOURNAL, October 12, 1723.

IN the *Government* of a *Nation*, and the *Adminiſtration* of *Publick Affairs*, there will *always* appear the Marks of *Humane Frailty*, and *ſometimes* of what is much worſe, as long as *Men* are governed by *Men*. To endeavour to prevent even all *Miſtakes*, and much more, All *Evil Deſigns*, from going into *Action*, by every becoming Method, is the Part of every *Patriot*; and to endeavour to prevent the *Miſchief* of them, if ever They are unhappily reſolved upon, is the *Duty* of every *Good Subject*. But, on the contrary, it being impoſſible, in *political Matters*, that *Every Thing* ſhould be done, which *Every One* deſires to ſee done; or that *Every Thing* ſhould be avoided, which *Every One* thinks, or imagines, to be miſchievous: This is *One good Reaſon*, which makes it ſo utterly inexcuſable in Men, to be eternally framing *Publick Miſchief* out of what is very *Innocent*, or perhaps very *Good*; and perpetually aggravating, whatever They do not like, into the *Higheſt* of *Crimes*; and not only ſhewing that They cannot *poſſibly be pleaſed* with *Any Thing* Themſelves, but labouring hard that *No other Perſons* ſhall be *pleaſed*, or *eaſy*, around Them. And of this unhappy Diſpoſition, or rather *Reſolution* againſt being ever *ſatisfied*, there is no greater Sign, than when We ſee the ſame ſort of *Perſons* ready to vent and encourage the ſame ſort of *Uneaſy Reproaches* upon a *Government*, whichever Way It acts.

If I were to give an *Inſtance* of this, I could not readily pitch upon *One* more to the Purpoſe, than the *Behaviour* of *Some* with reſpect to the *late Act* for raiſing a Supply upon the Eſtates of *Popiſh* and *Proteſtant* Non-jurors. The *Winter* was taken up in *Complaints*, and *Hard Imputations*, upon the *Deſign* of it, *before* it paſſed: and the *Summer* has been filled with *Noiſe* and *Clamour*, about the *Effects* of it, *ſince* it paſſed. At firſt, as the *Bill* was propoſed, it was deſigned to affect only *Roman Catholicks*; but ſtill allowing Them a *Time* to give the *Government* the Security it expected, by taking the uſual *Oaths*; and by ſo doing, the *Means* of avoiding the *Penalty* of the *Tax* to be laid upon Them, as *Enemies* to the preſent *Civil Eſtabliſhment*. Upon this, which was the *firſt Propoſition*, there was not a *Man* who pretended to call *This* Procedure, the *Unneceſſary Multiplication* of *Oaths*, the *Wanton playing* with Things *ſacred*; or to open his Mouth in any ſort of Diſcontent upon *that Topick*: for certainly, it was but reaſonable, as well as Kind and Humane, to give even *ſuch Enemies* to the *Publick* a freſh Opportunity of purging Themſelves, if They could. And yet, it is certain, that the *Crime* of requiring *Oaths* was the very ſame with reſpect to the *Roman Catholicks*, that it can be with reſpect to *Others*. How *then* ſtood the Caſe? Why, the *whole Cry* was againſt the *Bill*, as a *Bill* of *Perſecution*, laying *Penalties* upon *Men* who differed from Us in *Religion*; and not laying the *ſame* upon *Others*, who were equally *Friends* to the *Pretender*. Some Reaſons were urged, why the *Proteſtant Non-jurors* might be now more favourably dealt with, or at leaſt *poſtponed* to another Time, and another Occaſion. All Thought was renounced of laying *This*, or *Any*, *Penalty* upon *Papiſts*, becauſe of their *Difference* in *Religion*; and it was argued, That They were Avowed Determined *Civil Enemies*, profeſt *Subjects* to the *Pretender*; that They were conſidered as ſuch, and only as ſuch, in this *Bill*; and a *Tax* laid upon Them for the *Charge* which *their King*, and *their Cauſe*, entirely brought upon the *Nation*. All would not do. Some Handle or other of *Reproach* muſt be taken. It was ſtill inſiſted on with *Vehemence*—This is *Perſecution*; or has the Look of *Perſecution*. Put into the *Bill* the *Proteſtant Jacobites*; and then, the *Objection* will be removed; and it will appear that You do not, in the leaſt, regard the *Papiſts* as Men of *Another Religion*, for the Purpoſes of this *Bill*.

When this was ſtill the *Cry*, and the *Cry* of *Thoſe* who were averſe to the *Bill*; and this *Cry* ſupported by *Thoſe* Friends to the *Roman Catholicks*, who hoped to clog and ſink the *Bill* by it; the *Majority* in the *Legiſlature* thought fit to yield to it. The *firſt Effect* of this *Compliance* was not at all that was in a manner promiſed. For, ſtill the *Bill* was called, and run down as *Perſecution*; though *Men* of the *National Way* of *Worſhip* were made liable to the ſame *Penalties* with *Others*, merely for the Sake of their *Open Civil Diſaffection*. Put the *Proteſtant Jacobites* into the *Bill*, and it will look as if You *indeed* had no Throughts of *Perſecution*. This was the *Voice* at firſt. But as ſoon as They were put into it, It was ſtill the ſame Crime. For which Conduct, and Imputation, I can imagine no *Reaſon*, but a *Diſlike* of *Thoſe* who did it; and a *Reſolution*, that, *Do it*, or *Do it not*; Act *This* Way, or Act the *Other* Way; We are reſolved *Nothing ſhall be right that is done*.

But this is not the *only Proof* of that *Reſolution*, afforded by this Inſtance. Upon ſo conſtant and loud a Demand, the *Proteſtants*, we ſee, are likewiſe included, and put in the ſame Caſe with the *Romaniſts*. When it was reſolved upon by the *Legiſlature*, that this *Tax* ſhould be equally laid upon the *Real Eſtates* of *All Perſons*, who were determined Enemies to the *Civil Government*; there were but *Two Ways* poſſible to be taken; Either to take *All* Thoſe in the *Lump*, who had not hitherto taken the *Oaths* to the *Government*, and to force the *Tax* upon Them All equally; or to give *Them* all equally *Time* to ſhew Themſelves Friends to the *Government*, as far as taking the *Oaths* of *Fidelity* can do it. For here was no Room, in this *Caſe*, for finding out a *Third Way*; or indeed any *Other* Way of judging at all who ſhould be charged with the *Payments*, or who Not. Neither could there have been a *more eaſy* Way invented. And here again, *They* who were reſolved to be diſſatisfied had a great Advantage. For, if the *Legiſlature* had treated a *Number* of *Perſons*, who had not yet taken the *Oaths*, (a Multitude of whom never had any *Call*, or Opportunity, to do it,) in ſuch a manner, as to lay a Burthen upon Them, without giving Them the leaſt Opportunity of declaring their Fidelity; then, their *Adverſaries* would have wounded Them on *that Side*, and have raiſed *Clamours* againſt Them, as Inhumanely Unjuſt and Unrighteous: and All the World would have joined in declaring their *Reſentment* of ſo Unequal, and indeed *Wicked* a Procedure. And on the *other* Side, If the *Legiſlature* ſhould, in Equity and Humanity, allow all Perſons concerned *Time* and *Opportunity*, by taking the *Oaths* of *Fidelity*, to avoid both the *Imputation* and the *Penalty* of the *Bill*; We find ſtill, the *Adverſaries* of *Peace* and *Quiet* in the Nation were reſolved to take this other *Handle*; and ſcatter about their *Clamours* and *Cries* of *Oppreſſion* and I know not what, upon this very Account, becauſe the *Only Juſt Method* was taken for doing right to All Perſons who could be comprehended in this *Bill*.

What is it, therefore, *You* would have to be done? or what is it that can ſatisfy You? Would You not have had the *Proteſtants* included in the *Bill*? You Yourſelves contended for it, preſſed it, and obtained it. Well. When They were to be included in the *Bill*, would you have had no *Time* nor *Method* allowed Them, to prove that They were *Friends* to the *Government*, in a Caſe where a *Tax* was deſigned only upon *Enemies?* God forbid! This would have been *Inhumane*, and *Unjuſt* to the laſt degree. Is there then, any *Other* Way left, if *They* muſt be in the *Bill*, but This of giving *All* a *Time* and *Opportunity* of ſhewing Themſelves *Not determined Enemies* to the *Civil Government?* Or, Can there be any *Other* Way found out, in the Caſe of a *Tax* to be raiſed preſently upon *Enemies*, than by requiring *Thoſe* concerned to take the *Oaths*, who have not already done it, if They have a Mind to appear as *Friends*, and not to be *taxed* unjuſtly as *Enemies*, when They are not ſo? But it ſeems, This did not anſwer the Deſigns of ſome Men; who had *both Sides* of the *Affair* in view, to make their own Advantage of, as it ſhould happen. This muſt be the Caſe here. For as the *Clamour* of *Cruel Unrighteouſneſs* had been *Juſt*, one Way; ſo, when the *Legiſlature* choſe the *Equitable*, and indeed the *Only* Way of Proceeding; What has been their *Conduct?* As *Clamorous*, as *Noiſy*, as *Tumultuous*, as if *Rights* and *Properties* had been invaded and laid waſte. *Now*, A ſacred Regard to *Solemn Swearing* has ſeized Many in *appearance*, who in *reality* never had before the leaſt Regard to it. *Multiplicity* of *Oaths*, *Wantonneſs* in *impoſing* them; the *Sinfulneſs*, the *Profaneneſs*, the *Impiety* of doing it, has been ſounded in the *Ears* of *Thoſe* concerned, in hopes They would now be the more moved by their having a little Trouble laid upon *Them*; and turn that ſmall *Trouble*, which releaſes Them from a *Tax*, into *Diſcontent*, and Diſaffection to the *Government*, which puts Them to it. The Words of *Great Divines* have been abuſed, miſrepreſented, and diſtorted to a *Purpoſe*, to which They leaſt of all can belong: and the *Frightfulleſt Ideas* of their *Governours* put into the Heads of *Weak Perſons*. A Conduct! which is indeed ſo *Groundleſs* on this Occaſion, that One can hardly think it *Other*, than truly *Wicked*; and to proceed from a *Spirit* of *Malevolence*, ſet againſt all Peace and all Satisfaction. For the *ſlighteſt Thought* will convince any reaſonable Perſon, that, in the preſent Caſe, there is not *One* of thoſe *Ingredients* which make the *Uſe* of *Oaths* ſo blame-worthy. It appears that This was not occaſioned by a *Wantonneſs* of impoſing and multiplying *Oaths*, in *Thoſe* who approved of the *Bill*; but a *Neceſſity* in the Nature of the Thing, and a Neceſſity impoſed upon Them by *Thoſe* who have ſince moſt of all aſſiſted in theſe Clamours.

If I were aſked indeed, in general, at the firſt Formation of a *Government*, Whether a *Multitude* of *Oaths* is a Good and Reaſonable Security to It, perhaps I ſhould heartily join with *Thoſe* who ſay, *No*; and give my Judgement, that It ſhould be avoided, as much as poſſible. But if Any One ſhould aſk Me, Whether, in laying a *Tax*, deſigned to be laid only upon *Enemies*, You ought not to give Opportunity to *All Perſons* concerned, who are not *Enemies*, to ſhew Themſelves *Not* to be ſo; and whether *This* can be done *any other Way*, than by allowing *Them* to purge *Themſelves* by the *Common Oaths* required on *other Occaſions?* I ſhould ſay, That I can think of *No other* Way for this *End*, which muſt be anſwered in a ſmall time; and that it would be Inhumane and Unjuſt, not to allow All Parties concerned ſuch an Opportunity. And this is the *Caſe* before Us. Thoſe who were originally for ſuch a *Bill*, thought it highly reaſonable that the *Enemies* of the *Civil Government* ſhould pay the *Extraordinary Charge* which *their own Cauſe* had brought upon the *Nation*. They thought indeed, at firſt, to lay it upon the moſt *dangerous*, and the moſt *deſperate* of thoſe Enemies. *Others* would not be ſatisfied, unleſs *All* were to be brought in, *Proteſtants* as well as *Papiſts*. Granting therefore, this *One* Point, that it was reaſonable that the *Enemies* of the *Publick* ſhould be otherwiſe dealt with than the *Friends*; and ſhould pay a *Sum* towards the *Expence* They occaſioned; Nothing can be more reaſonable, or leſs liable to *Objection*, than the *Method* taken. For if it be reaſonable that *Enemies* alone ſhould pay, it is reaſonable and ſtrictly juſt that *Friends* ſhould not. And if it be Juſt that *Friends* ſhould not pay this Extraordinary *Tax*; then, Juſtice requires that a *Way* ſhould be found, and *Time* allowed, to diſtinguiſh *Who* are *Friends*, and *Who* are *Enemies*, in order to know of *Whom* to demand this *Tax*. And if no *Other* Way can be found to anſwer this *End* in due Seaſon, but to allow *Time* for *Thoſe* who are *Friends* enough to take the *Oaths*, to do it; and upon that, to exempt Them from the *Penalties* of the *Bill*, which were only deſigned for *Others*: Certainly, This is ſo far from deſerving the *Imputations* laid upon it, that it would have been *Wickedneſs*, *Inhumanity*, and the *Extremity* of *Injuſtice*, not to have done it. As for the *Trouble* given, which it is a Shame ſo much as to mention; *Thoſe* who cannot take the *Oaths*, have nothing of this to complain of; for *They* need not ſtir one Foot. *Thoſe* concerned in the *Bill*, who *can*, and have not before done it ſince K. *GEORGE's* Acceſſion, have indeed the Trouble of moving Themſelves from one Place to Another; but this *Trouble* amply recompenced, by the *Exemption* it procures Them from every Burthen and Penalty in the *Bill*.

That the *Clamours* of *Wickedneſs* and *Diſcontent* ſhould have raiſed any *Uneaſineſs* in Perſons, to whom the *Act* could not have done *Juſtice*, but in this Method, is wonderful. But if They be reſolved to think Themſelves *aggrieved*, and terribly *burthened*; Let Them be ſo *juſt*, as to Thank *Them* for it, who clamoured and forced Them into the *Act*, againſt the Deſign of *Others*: And, if They will think rightly of it at laſt, let Them *Thank* (and not reproach) Thoſe *Others*, for being *Juſt* and *Equitable* to Them; and making the Way as Eaſy as poſſible, to their *avoiding* all the *Real* Inconveniencies and *Penalties* of the *Act*.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LVI. LONDON JOURNAL, October 19, 1723.

THE *Subject* of my laſt *Paper* has led my Mind into a large Field; and ſtarted a Multitude of *Queſtions* to my Thoughts, relating to *Publick Happineſs*, and the *Methods* ſtill taken by *Many* to deſtroy it.—When it is, that a *Nation* may be ſaid to be *happy* in the *Adminiſtration* of its *Publick Affairs*?—What is requiſite on the Part of Thoſe, who have any Share in the *Adminiſtration*, to make it, or continue it, ſo?—What that *Behaviour* is, which is not only becoming, but neceſſary, in the *Subject*, towards *This*; without a *ſervile Compliance*, or a *groundleſs Diſcontent*; neither on the one hand receding from any *Branch* of *True Liberty*, nor on the other hand abuſing the greaeſt of all Bleſſings, by turning it into *Licentiouſneſs*?—Whether the *Groſſeſt Flattery* of *Great Men* in Power, or the *other Extreme* of *Conſtant* and *Equal Calumny*, upon *all* Occaſions, and in *all* Events, be likely, in their natural Tendencies, to do moſt Michief?—And, What *Hope* there can be of any *Eſtabliſhed Happineſs*, unleſs *All* equally concerned, will *equally* promote it, and equally diſcourage Every thing that puts a Stop, or Hindrance, in its Way?—Theſe and many more *Queſtions* have offered *Themſelves* in a wandring Manner to my Thoughts. I ſhall now take Them as *They* ariſe again; and, as They are verymuch akin to One Another, I ſhall not trouble myſelf to ſeparate Them, by any *Diſtinctions* of *Art* and *Method*.

When we ſpeak of *Happineſs* in the *Political* Affairs of *Humane Society*, We muſt always remember that we do not mean a *Perfect Unmixt Good Eſtate. Perfect* is not a Word for our World: and *Good* without *Evil*, is no more the *Portion* of *Man* in the *Social* Life, than *Truth* without *Error* is in the *Speculative*; or *Pleaſure* without *Pain*, in the *Natural* Life. All *Perfection*, and *No Miſtake*, belongs to No *Adminiſtration*, but that of *Heaven*. On *Earth*, whenever We ſpeak of *Happineſs* in the Comprehenſive Affairs of *Government* and *Society*, We can mean no more than a *Partial*, or a *Comparative*, Happineſs. If We ever ſpeak of *Any Other*, it is either in the Figures of *Poetry* and *Oratory*; or in the Baſeneſs of *Slavery* and *Flattery:* And if we are not contented with *This*, it muſt ariſe either from an *Entire Want* of Underſtanding in the Nature of *Humane Concerns*; or an Entire Wickedneſs of *Will*, in a reſolute and perverſe *Diſcontent*, ſet againſt all reaſonable and juſt Satisfaction. I will give an Inſtance of what I would be underſtood to aim at. And it ſhall be plainly, *That* of Ourſelves, and of Our own Eſtate.

Suppoſing a *Nation* involved in great *Debts* and great *Difficulties*, either through the paſt Neceſſities of its own Affairs, or through former *Miſtakes*, or *Infatuations*; or even through former *Wickedneſſes* (to ſay the *Worſt)* of Many who have had it in their Power to put it into ſuch a Condition. Long *Wars* abroad in defence of its own *Liberty*, and That of all its *Neighbours*—*Rebellions* at home, in order to rob it at once of *All* View or Hope of *Liberty*—*Plots* and *Conſpiracies* to effect *That* by *Cunning* and a *ſudden Stroke*, which cannot ſo eaſily be done by *Force*, *Open* and *Foreſeen* in all its Motions—A General *Fatality* and *Madneſs* of *Covetouſneſs*, concurring with the *Weakneſs* of Some, and the *Iniquity* of Others, to deſtroy *Credit*, and Mutual Confidence; to depretiate the *Publick Funds*, and bring *Confuſion* into all the *Money-Affairs* of the *Kingdom*.—Whoever caſts his Eye upon this *ſhort Catalogue* of *Evils*, will not wonder if ſome of the *Marks* and *Scars* of ſuch *Wounds* ſhould ſtill remain. But then, if He will be ſo juſt as to caſt *Another Eye*, upon the *preſent Condition* of the *Nation*, perhaps He will much more wonder, *It is no Worſe*, than repine that *It is no Better*. Let what You pleaſe have been the *Cauſe* of theſe Inconveniences. Put them upon *Wantonneſs*, *Profuſeneſs*, *Careleſſneſs*, *Avarice*, *Mal-adminiſtration* of *All* and *Every* ſort, in paſt Times: [You ſee, I give You the *Worſt Interpretation* even of ſeveral of *Theſe Branches* of *Evil*, which, I am confident, in common Juſtice deſerve and claim a *Good* or a *Candid* One :] Yet ſtill conſider in what State We *now* are, before You determine.

If Theſe *Rebellions*, the *Succeſs* of which muſt have robbed Us of Every Thing left that can be dear to Us, have been entirely ſuppreſt—If theſe *Plots* and *Conſpiracies* have been detected and proſecuted with ſo much Vigour, as to leave no Heart or Hope at preſent to the *Open Enemy*—If the *Laws* are executed with *Impartiality* and *Equality* of *Juſtice*; and every Man is ſecure in his perſonal *Liberty* and *Property*, according to thoſe *Laws*—If *Peace* and *Quietneſs*, free from the Confuſion of *Riots* and *Tumults*, and undiſturbed by any *Convulſions* at home, ſurround Us, and make Us reliſh all the other Gifts of Nature and Providence—If *Publick Credit* be revived in a degree that (it may be truly ſaid) ſurpaſſes all the Expectations and Hopes of *Men* who knew it, and mourned over it a very little Time ago—If the Neceſſary Publick Expences are anſwered, by preſent Money ſupplied at a leſs Intereſt, (that is, at a leſs *Charge* to the *Publick*,) than has been known in the Memory of Men now alive;—If *theſe Things* are found in any tolerable degree to be *True*, I affirm, in plain Words, *This* is *Publick Happineſs*, and ought to be ſo accounted by *Every Man* concerned in it.

The *Queſtion* upon This is not, Whether *All* Things are done in a Moment, or in a *Year*, which are either in *Imagination* or in *Reality* neceſſary to make *Us* a flouriſhing People, upon a ſure and ſteady Foundation. For This is an Impoſſibility in the Nature of Things; and the *Attempts* of the *Greateſt* of *Men* in *All* Nations, to reduce *Affairs* from *Confuſion* to *Order*, from an *Ill State* to a *Good One*, muſt of Neceſſity be leiſurely, and gradual; and, God be thanked, in *Our* Nation, muſt be ſuch, as are approved, in Every Step, by the *Concurrent Conſent* of the *People* aſſembled in *Parliament:* Which neceſſarily brings along with it *Difficulties* and *Delays*, as well as *Security*. But certainly, as the *Publick State* of a *Nation* may juſtly be ſaid to be *Unhappy*, when Every Thing in it is growing *worſe* and *worſe*; ſo the *Publick State* of a *Nation* may juſtly be ſaid to be *Happy*, when *Every Thing* is mended, that *Time* and *Prudence* made it poſſible to attempt. And though many Grievances and Burthens ſtill remain; though the *Debts* of the *Nation* are not yet paid, becauſe They could not; though *Every Thing* be not done, which *This Man* or *That Man* wiſhes, or thinks proper; yet, Who that loves his Country, Who that knows the Difficulties and Perplexities of *Political Affairs*, will not call it *Publick Happineſs*, and eſteem it as ſuch, that any Steps have been taken, which have in *any degree* altered the Face of Affairs for the *better*; and laid the *Foundation* for a future Building to ſtand upon? For *this* is the *great* Advantage of *Every* the ſmalleſt ſingle *Good Action*, of Every Uſeful and Wiſe Step in Publick Affairs, that it not only brings along with it its own *Good Things*, but leads naturally to *Another Good Step*; and That to *Another*, till the whole Work may be compleated. And *He*, who has any Benevolence in his Breaſt towards the *Society* He belongs to, or any Wiſhes to ſee a farther and farther Progreſs made towards the *Beſt* and *Firmeſt Eſtabliſhment* of it, will take a Pleaſure in paying Acknowledgments to *Thoſe*, who act in an *Adminiſtration*, which promiſes *Greater Goods*, by the Openings and Glimmerings of Light and Happineſs, which it has already ſpread over them.

I ſpeak the leaſt, and what No One can deny. The *Nation* is in a *better* Condition than it was; more ſecure from its publick Enemies, *Popery* and *Lawleſs* Power; more probably and laſtingly ſettled upon the *Baſis* of *Law* and *Liberty*; more flouriſhing in the *Credit* of its *Funds*, and in the *Truſt* of *Monied Men*, and conſequently in the *Diminution* of its *Expences*; more proſperous in the Senſe of preſent Quiet, and in the View of what is to come; and more ſatisfied that the *Steps* already taken are *Preſages* of *more* and *greater* ſtill to be taken, for the bringing thoſe Things to Perfection, which require *Time* and *Patience* to do it:—The *Nation*, I ſay, is in theſe Inſtances, if not many more, *in a much better Condition*, than it was a *very few Years*, or even Months ago;—Its *Enemies* ſee it, and regret it, and are angry at it; Its *Friends* cannot but feel it, and be pleaſed with it. And whatever the *Former* may pretend, and whatever Outcries they may raiſe, in order to create an *Uneaſineſs* in the *Latter*, without which all their Hopes are gone; The *Nation* may *therefore*, and upon *this* Account, be truly called a *Happy Nation*; *Happy*, as far as Former *Unhappineſſes* and *Diſorders* are in any meaſure ſet right; and *Peace* and *Credit* in any degree re-eſtabliſhed; and *Happier* ſtill, as *Theſe* pave the Way to *Greater Good Things* to come.

This is ſo plain, and ſo ſenſibly true through every Part of the *Kingdom*, that I am forced to ſpeak it, in Juſtice to *Thoſe* to whom it is owing; and in Reſentment againſt *Thoſe*, who would willingly put out the *Eyes*, and extinguiſh all the *Common Senſe*, of the *Nation*. For though this be ſo evidently the *Caſe*, that the *Particulars* of which I have compoſed it, are never once denied; yet, Who that was a *Stranger* to *Facts*, or uncapable of comparing the *Conduct* and *Events* of *Some* Years with *Others*, and ſhould take his *Impreſſion* of *Our Condition* from the *Repreſentations* and *Deſcriptions* of it, ſometimes publickly made, or inſinuated; *Who*—— but would certainly conclude that the very *Reverſe* to what We *ſee* with our *Eyes*, and *feel* with our *Senſes*, is undoubtedly *True* of *Us?* How could it be otherwiſe, but that he muſt frame an *Idea* of *Us*, as of a *Nation* abandoned to *Miſery*, and now particularly increaſing beyond Meaſure in all our Unhappineſſes; under an *Adminiſtration*, which has neither regarded the *Credit*, nor the *Intereſt*, of the *Publick*, but confounded and ſunk them *both* for private Advantage and Gain; as a *People*, hardly governed by *Laws*, nor ſecured in our *Enjoyments*, but arbitrarily harraſſed, and little leſs than ravaged and laid waſte?—*This*, or as Bad, muſt be his *Notion*, and This muſt be his *Concluſion*, if He neither ſees nor hears any thing but the *Attacks* and *Outcries* of ſome Perſons: becauſe They are of that Enormous kind, that *Nothing* can deſerve or juſtify Them, but the *laſt Extremity* of a *People* actually oppreſt with *New Evils*, and in a *Condition* ſenſibly *worſe* than *ever* was yet experienced. But when indeed, He comes to be let into the *Other* and *Juſter* and *Better View* of Things, He will as certainly judge that Such an *Outrageous Conduct* on *One* Side, is a ſtrong Argument that All this does not proceed from a *Juſt Diſcontent* that Our *Affairs* are no *Better*, but from a *Malevolent Rage* that They are no *Worſe*; and a very probable Evidence, rightly conſidered, of the *Goodneſs* of our *Improving Condition*, and not of the *Badneſs* of an *Adminiſtration* to which We owe it. In this View I have always conſidered ſuch Extravagant and General *Attacks*. And thus will every Man of Common Senſe, whether *Friend* or *Enemy*, underſtand Them, whenever He meets with Them.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LVII. LONDON JOURNAL, October 26, 1723.

IF a Man were to ſit down and frame a *Model* of a *New Commonwealth*, He might pleaſe Himſelf by faſhioning it, in the *Theory*, to all that Perfection of *Beauty* and *Uſefulneſs*, which his own *Imagination* could invent, or his own *Judgment* approve of. But as *Government* is a Matter of *Practice*, and not of *Speculation*; and as the *Adminiſtration* of it, whenever it comes to *Action* and *Experiment*, muſt be depoſited and truſted in the Hands of *Men*; Let the *Idea* be as perfect as it will, the *Thing itſelf* will ſoon partake of the *Imperfections* and Unavoidable *Humanities* of Thoſe, who alone are to guide and direct the *Machine*. And perhaps, the more nice and delicate the firſt *Contexture* of it is, the more it will ſuffer from *Every Hand* that touches it; at leaſt, the more viſible and ſenſible will Every the ſmalleſt *Shock*, and *Miſtake* in the Management of it, be to All who are concerned in it. But ſtill, the nearer to the firſt *Conception* and *Birth* of ſuch a *State* We were, the better and eaſier would be the Taſk and Office of *Thoſe*, who were to preſide, in any degree, over its Affairs; unleſs ſome great and improbable *Accidents* made it otherwiſe.

The *Caſe* of a *National Society*, which has been long formed upon the *General Baſis* of *Liberty*; and which has, in the Courſe of Multitude of Years, experienced many Convulſions, and felt many Changes of its Condition, and voluntarily undergone hazardous and expenſive *Struggles* for *Life*; and repeated its *Conteſts* for Freedom, upon every like Occaſion, with the like Spirit and Reſolution: *The Caſe of ſuch a Nation*, is vaſtly different from the *former Utopian One*.

In *theſe* Circumſtances, not only the *Common Breaches* made by *Time*, (which naturally ſtrikes deep into the Condition of *Bodies Politick*, as well as of *Bodies Human*,) call for the continual *Repairs* of *Skill* and *Diligence*: Not only the *Common Tendency* of all *Humane Schemes*, and Imperfect *Syſtems*, to *Shocks* and *Diſſolutions*, is to be regarded; but All the *Wounds*, both of *Honour* and *Diſhonour*; Thoſe which *Neceſſity*, or *Self-defence*, have cauſed; and Thoſe which *Weakneſs*, *Miſtake*, or *Wickedneſs*, have widened and enlarged, are to be conſidered, and taken into the Account. This makes the *Situation* of *Thoſe*, who take upon Them to adminiſter the *Great Affairs* of a *Nation*, in ſuch Circumſtances, ſo much the more difficult; and, upon this Account, not only to be viewed and handled with the greater Tenderneſs by *All* who only ſee it at a Diſtance, and do not Themſelves feel the Burthen; but to be weighed and thought of, with the more Carefulneſs, by Thoſe themſelves who are perſuaded to enter upon it. For, Whoever He be, that puts Himſelf upon ſuch a Work, of great *Difficulty* as well as *Glory*; of conſtant *Labour*, as well as perſonal *Advantage*; is ſuppoſed, at his own Peril, to know and underſtand what He undertakes: and does, in Effect, in the very Nature of the Thing, pledge his *Truth* and *Honour* to the *Publick*, that it ſhall be his Study to find out, and leſſen, and redreſs the *Grievances* under which It may labour; and to reſtore it, as far as All his Endeavours can reach, to a State of Health, and Vigour, and Happineſs.

To apply this to *Ourſelves*:—In my *laſt Paper*, I named ſome particular *Evils* which plainly and ſenſibly lie upon this *Nation*. Let the *Cauſes* of them have been what You will; Such *They* are, and ſuch is our *Condition* in *fact*. When at the ſame time I called to mind ſome *Inſtances* of *Good* and *Happineſs*, I did not do this, to flatter *Great Men* into *Negligence*, or to argue *Leſſer Men* into *Indolence*; or to lull aſleep the *Activity* of Any Perſons, High or Low, who can help their Country by their *Hearts*, or their *Hands*, or their *Heads*. I meant only to ſhew, there was no *Reaſon* for Any who wiſhed well to their Country, to fold their Arms in *Deſpair*; and to prevent, as much as might be, the deſtructive Effects of the Madneſs, and continual Miſrepreſentations of *Thoſe*, who wiſh its Ruin, and call its *Miſery* by the Name of its *Happineſs*. I am not ſo *blinded* by any thing; I have not indeed, either *Intereſt*, or *Paſſion*, or *Prejudice*, to *blind* me ſo far, as not to *ſee* with All that have their *Eyes* open, and *feel* with All who have their *Senſes* free, that a *Great Body* of *Evils* ſtill remains; and that a wide, extended Field for *Publick Action* preſents and opens itſelf to the View of *Thoſe* who have undertaken to labour in it. Nor will I ever ſcruple or ceaſe, in a decent Manner, to join with Thoſe who often put Them in *Remembrance*, That their *Offices* are not *Poſts* of *Gain* only, but of Unintermitted *Application*; not *Places* of *Reſt*, inviting Them to *Sleep* or *Supineneſs*, but as *Rough* and as *Laborious* as the *Path* that was pointed out to *Hercules*, when He was called and commanded by *Virtue*, from the Enticements of *Pleaſure*, to deſtroy Monſters, and redreſs Grievances, and give Repoſe and Security to Mankind. The whole Fable of that *Imaginary Hero* is little more than an Excellent *Picture* of the *Caſe* before Us, drawn by the beſt Hands of *Antiquity*. The *World* is repreſented as over-run with *Evils*, before *He* was deſtined to ſhew Himſelf in his Greatneſs. Every *Monſter* He deſtroys, is ſucceeded by *Another*. Every one of his *Labours* has *Another* following cloſe upon it. And let his *Toil*, and *Succeſs*, be what They will, Malignant Envy and Implacable Malice are ſeen ſtill to wait upon every Step: and *He* that conquered *every other Evil* in his Way, never could conquer *Theſe*. I do not know a more Expreſſive or Beautiful Repreſentation,

tion, than *This* is, of the Condition of a *Miniſter* of *State*, in a *Nation* grown old in Diſtempers and Difficulties. He muſt not think of *ſtanding ſtill.* As faſt as *Old Works* diſappear, *New Works* will riſe up for Him to perform. It is not enough for Him to heal *ſome* Wounds. He muſt go on to *Others*; and not only, To relieve a *Nation* from *Evil*; but, To enſtate it in the Poſſeſſion of *Good*, as far as All his *Power* reaches, is his *Province*. And, (let Him be a *Hero* or an *Angel*,) after *all* his *Cares* and *Services*, be They never ſo great, He muſt be content with the *Returns* of *Calumny*, *Reproach*, and *Scandal*. But ſtill the *Happineſs* of the *Community* is his *Province*: and, to return to *our own*, in particular, Whoever preſides over its great Concerns, with that View, will ſee and feel the *Truth* of all this.

To quell an open *Rebellion*; to detect and deſtroy a ſecret Conſpiracy; and bring both *Rebels* and *Conſpirators* to Puniſhment: This is *ſomething*, but not the *whole*. He will ſet all his Eyes, and all his Thoughts, to Work, to prevent and remedy ſuch Evils more effectually for the future. To raiſe *Publick Credit*, after it had been laid low, is a very good Step. But this is not ſufficient. He will endeavour all He can, to fix it upon a Foundation likely to laſt. To leſſen the *Nation's Expences*, in procuring a ready *Supply* upon the moſt moderate Terms, is *One* Branch of a frugal Carefulneſs, ſo commendable in all *Adminiſtrations*. But a *greater* is ſtill behind;—the *Diminution* of the *National Debt*; and the lightning by degrees that Load which preſſes hard upon the *Wheels* of the whole *Political Machine*, and cramps and retards every good Motion in it; and upon all great and extraordinary Emergencies, threatens the overturning, or breaking it to Pieces. *This* is the *Work* which calls for the *Whole Man*, and the *Whole Miniſter*. And as the *Steps* already taken naturally lead to *This*; and the Wiſhes of *All* Friends to *Britain* centre in *This*: We will hope, whenever it is poſſible, to ſee an *Attempt* made towards ſo great a *Good*. But whether the *Time* be come for *ſuch* Happineſs; whether *One* particular *Step* towards any Good, be taken, or *Another*; This is certain, that *Not to improve*, in *our* Condition, is *to grow worſe*; becauſe *Inveterate Evils*, by growing ſtill *older*, become ſtill harder to be cured. If this indeed, proceeds from *Neceſſity*, no juſt Reproach can fall upon *Any One* for not doing Impoſſibilities. If from the *Choice* of an *Ill Judgment*, or a *Worſe Will*; this muſt always be a *Juſt Reproach*, whenever it can juſtly be fixed. All the Care, and *Glory*, is to avoid it.

This is ſo evidently the *Buſineſs* of *Thoſe* in *Power*, that All who think well of Them certainly conclude that They will not omit Any Inſtance of their Good-will to the *Publick*, in ſuch Circumſtances; but, out of *Duty* and *Obligation*, and *Honour*, and *Virtue*, will employ the Bent of their whole Force to proceed from *Good* to *Better*, as well as from *Evil* to *Good*; to go on to ſecure the *Happineſs* They have been the *Inſtruments* of, and to add more and more to it. Nay, *They* who are reſolved *not* to think ſo *well* of Them, yet will entertain the ſame Hope and Expectation; That, if They will not do it from the meer Senſe of Duty, and a generous Love to Virtue; yet ſtill They will do it, becauſe it is their own *Perſonal Intereſt*, and the greateſt *Worldly Security* to *Themſelves* and their *Families*, and their lateſt *Deſcendants*. Their *Enemies* Themſelves, I ſay, always allow Them this, That *Self-intereſt* is a powerful Motive with Them. And if it is, This is enough; and *This* alone will direct Them to *Every Step* that may *tend* to perfect and eſtabliſh our Eſtate. For *Self-intereſt* rightly underſtood, and rightly applied, at leaſt in its Effects and Conſequences, is the ſame with *Publick Virtue*: and indeed it is, upon this Account, All that We can look after. He who does *Good* to the *Publick*, let the

Motive or Principle be what it will, is a *Patron* and *Benefactor* to it. And as it would be Madneſs in any *Perſon*, or *Society*, to refuſe *Life*, or the Bleſſings of Life, from the Aſſiſtance and Cares of Any Perſons, before the *Speculative Point* (which can never be known or determined) *viz.* from what *Inward Principle* the Help and Benefit proceeded, be fixed and ſetled: ſo, though We ought always, in Juſtice, to put the *beſt Interpretation* upon every good and happy Step in publick Affairs; yet I will be ſo free as to ſay, (and, I think, I truly love my Country,) That I deſire no more Good to be done to It, by *Any* Perſons, who have Great *Power*, and great *Fortunes* in it, than what *Self-intereſt* itſelf reaſonably leads Them to; and what ariſes from the *Principle* of *their own* perſonal Security, and worldly Happineſs, rightly underſtood, and duly applied to the Conduct of Affairs. But *where*, together with *this*, there is a natural Probity of Mind; and where an *Innate Benevolence* to the whole Body of Mankind all around, is ſeen to join itſelf to a true Notion of *Self-intereſt*, as it is really included in it; *there*, the Force is great of *ſuch Motives* to *Good*; and the *Nation* will feel that *Force* in all its *Influences* upon every Counſel, and every *Act* that can increaſe or eſtabliſh its Happineſs.

The firſt thing neceſſary, as I have obſerved, towards ſuch an *Eſtabliſhment* of *Good*, is the *Cure* of thoſe *Evils*, which at preſent are the Hindrance of it. And one neceſſary Step towards that *Cure*, is the Knowledge and Underſtanding of the Nature and Extent of thoſe *Evils*, which are to be cured. For though *this* does not neceſſarily infer the *attempting* that Cure; much leſs, the certain effecting it; and though *that Cure* cannot be performed all at once, or by haſty Steps: yet it is a very high Satisfaction to a *Nation*, whenever *Thoſe* are at the Helm, who perfectly underſtand the Nature of the *publick Burthens*, and have been long verſed in Affairs that have led Them to a thorough Inſight into thoſe *Evils* that want a *Remedy*. There is, at leaſt, this *Comfort* in it, That, as it is the *Ignorance* of a *Diſeaſe*, which creates that *Raſhneſs* in *Many* who are ſeen to increaſe and inflame the *Malignity*, by undertaking to cure what They do not underſtand; ſo, Perſons of *Skill* and *Knowledge* in *Political Diſtempers*, will never act the *Part* of *State Empiricks*; or undertake *Impracticable* Things; or aim at any thing but what has *Juſtice*, *Security*, or Proſpect of Succeſs, to juſtify it. And this, I am confident, We may dare to promiſe Ourſelves from *Thoſe* who now preſide, that, if ever the Nature of Things ſhould give Them leave to make an *Attempt* to relieve the *Nation* from its *greateſt Burthen*, it will be an *Attempt*, not *Romantick*, *Imaginary*, or *Precipitate*, on the *one* hand; nor deſtructive of *Publick Faith*, or inconſiſtent with *Common Honeſty*, on the *other*; but conducted in ſuch *juſt* and *honourable* Methods, and by ſuch wiſe and leiſurely Steps, as all the *Circumſtances* of the *Thing* require and admit. The *former* of theſe is like pretending to heal a *Wound*, only by putting the *Patient* into a ſhort State of *Inſenſibility*, or *Frenzy:* and the *Latter* is *no better* than *curing* It, by removing the *Evil* to a Vital Part; or by ſtabbing the *Patient* to the *Heart*, and exchanging a *preſent Pain* for *certain Death*. Both of them inconſiſtent with all *Knowledge* of *Affairs*, and *Publick Honour:* and therefore, *Neither* of them to be feared from *Thoſe* who are *now* at the Helm.

The *Difficulties* They will always find in ſo immenſe a Work, are indeed great enough to diſcourage *Common Souls*, even without the additional *Difficulties* of *Publick* and *Conſtant Abuſes*. But great as They are, They muſt not diſcourage Thoſe who have undertaken the *publick Adminiſtration*, from entering into every thing *reaſonable*, that can but look rowards an *End*, ſo glorious to *Themſelves*, as well as ſo highly Beneficial to Their *Country*. Their *Country* calls upon Them;

Honour and *Duty* call upon Them; and ſo does *Self-intereſt* itſelf. And if a Way *can* be found out, which leads, from the *good Beginnings* We have already ſeen, to what has been *ſometimes* deſpaired of, and *often* thought of in vain; This will ſhew a *Genius*, above the *common Diſcouragements* of *Great Undertakings*: and a *Heart* and a *Head*, not to be overwhelmed with the *Difficulty* or *Confuſion* of *Publick Affairs*.

> —— Hic *onus horret*,
> *Ut parvis animis, & parvo corpore Majus:*
> HIC *ſubit, & perfert.* Hor.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LVIII. LONDON JOURNAL, November 2, 1723.

AS I was proceeding in my Thoughts upon *Thoſe Points* mentioned in One of my *late Papers*, the *Month* of *November*, coming round in the Circulation of Time, has interrupted Me; and now calls Me to *other Subjects*—if *They* can properly be called *Other Subjects*, which have a manifeſt Tendency to the ſame good End. A *Month!* ſacred to the Cauſe of *Truth*, and *Liberty*, and *Publick Happineſs!* and never to be ſuffered to fly over the Heads of *Britons*, without the *Sentiments* becoming Thoſe who are ſtill a *Free* and *Proteſtant* Nation; and who owe the Happineſs of being ſo to that *Revolution* which this *Month* was Witneſs to. As it paſſed along the *laſt Year*, in its Courſe, I remember I juſt entered upon an *Enquiry*, which *Other* Subjects of popular Converſation at that Time, immediately broke in upon, and did not ſuffer to proceed. I had an Opportunity then only of giving a Faint and Short *Sketch* of Things, relating to the *Account* I undertook to ſtate, of *Gain* and *Loſs* from that *Great Event*[b]. I put the *Evils* which have reſulted from it in as ſtrong a Light, as its greateſt Adverſaries often pleaſe Themſelves in doing: and over againſt Them I placed a *Catalogue* of thoſe *Evils* which It freed Us from, and which We muſt have been at this Hour ſubject to, *without* it.

I will *now* begin where I *then* left off; and come, by due and proper Steps, to a more particular Conſideration of the *Great Queſtion* at that Time moved; which is plainly This: "After *Thirty-five* Years Experience; What was there "in the *Revolution* itſelf, or What is there of *Good* in what has followed upon "it, to countervail the Inconveniencies and *Evils* brought upon the Nation by it?" I have formerly ſaid, that the great Difficulty in ſtating the Account of *Gain* and *Loſs* in this Caſe, and judging upon it, ariſes from the unſpeakable Difference, amongſt unthinking Men, between the Impreſſions of the *Leaſt* Evil *Preſent*, and Thoſe of *vaſtly Greater*, that are either *Paſt*, or probably *to come*; joined with the Unrighteous Stupidity of not feeling or regarding Any Condition of Things that paſſes on, Day after Day, in an even regular Train of Good.

The *firſt* Step therefore, is to remove, or rather to abate, this Difficulty; and the Beſt Way to that End is, as far as it is poſſible, to bring Yourſelves back to the Year *Sixteen Hundred Eighty-eight*; and, though You cannot make that Time *preſent* which is *paſt*, yet, in Imagination and Reflection, to place Yourſelves in the midſt of that State of Things which belonged to that *Period*. Ceaſe for once to know what *is*; and blot out of your Memories all that has paſſed, in this whole intermediate Space, between that *Criſis* of Affairs, and the preſent Moment. Let neither *Good* nor *Evil* be remembered; but the whole

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[b] See Letter X. *p.* 33, of this volume.

Thirty-five Years be cancelled, as one *Blank* of Empty Time, that You may recall Yourſelves into that Situation with the more Freedom. And in doing this, You will *now* have the greater Advantage, that, though You can in *Suppoſition* frame that *former* Scene to be now *firſt preſent*, yet You cannot *frame* that *Inward Feeling* or *Paſſion*; which *Real* preſent Diſtreſs and Imminent Ruin create without Hypocriſy in every Breaſt: nor can Words or Art raiſe any *Image* of it within You, but what will be like a *Shadow* or a *Ghoſt*, faint and languid, compared with what was once really felt. *Paſſion* therefore, can hardly now miſlead *You*, but You muſt determine Yourſelves by *Reaſon* alone.

I am old enough to remember not only in general that State of Things, in the midſt of which I was; but the Behaviour of *All*, without any viſible Exception; their *Sentiments*, their *Diſpoſitions*, their *Cries*, their *Prayers*, their *Projects*, their *Motions*, and their very *Countenances*. If I could paint their *Faces* and *Poſtures* only, in lively Colours, and in all their proper *Combinations* and *Attitudes*; even the doing *this*, might look too much like a Deſign of giving to your View an *Image* of the differing Agitations of *Diſtreſs* and *Expectation*, *Terrors* and *Wiſhes*, *Fears* and *Hopes*, ſo mixt and ſo heightened, as to raiſe perhaps too great a *Paſſion* within You. But this is not the Method I propoſe to take. I would have no irregular *Commotion* ſhew itſelf in this Caſe. It wants it not: It chuſes it not. If You have lived in that Time, You know it to be true; and if You did not, You may receive it from Thoſe who did, that it was not the *Allarm* of a *Party* only, of *Britons* and *Proteſtants*. It was not then, *Tory* or *Whig*, *High-church* or *Low-church*, *Churchman* or *Diſſenter*, diſtracted and looking pale for the little paltry Intereſts of his own *Body*: but it was an Union of *Mind* and Voice in *All*, of *All* ſorts: the moſt certain Proof of Real Danger, that can be imagined in humane Affairs; and I will venture to ſay, *never* ſeen, but when that *Danger* is beyond all Doubt!

Into the midſt of This Undiſtinguiſhed Body, and into the Heat of their united *Contention* for Safety, which has ſwallowed up all their Differences in One Conſent to *oblige* and *defend* One Another, I have now brought You. And in this *Situation*, If I aſk You, What is it You are All ſo diſturbed at? What is it, You are ſo preſſing and ſo impatient for? What is this Concern, written upon all your Countenances? Why are ſome of You in ſuch a perpetual Hurry, and ſo reſtleſs a Condition? Whilſt others turn their Eyes towards the *Eaſt*, and there keep them fixt and unmoved?—You will anſwer me, that your Diſtreſs is inexpreſſible—A *King* upon the Throne profeſſedly ſetting up a diſpenſing Power above and contrary to all our Laws—an Evil, in itſelf Comprehenſive of all particular Evils to a Free Nation!—And this, A *King* profeſſing Subjection to the *See* of *Rome*, engaged in Conſcience to ſerve the Intereſts of that Church; *bigotted* to that Service; and out of the Reach of any Oaths or Ties to the contrary; In one Word, A King, who thinks Himſelf certain of *Damnation* to all Eternity, if He does not do his utmoſt to ruine Us.—*One*, who has begun the Work, and muſt carry it on—*One*, who is in League and under the Direction of a Neighbour much better verſed in the Paths of *Power*, and grown old in the Arts of *Arbitrary Government*—and *One*, who has already made Us feel in ſeveral Inſtances his own determined Reſolution to follow ſuch Counſels and ſuch an Example.—Give Us *Deliverance* from *this*, and Let the *Deliverer* haſten: or the Evil will grow into an Eſtabliſhed Slavery for Us and our Poſterity for ever.

I hear what You ſay, and acknowledge all this to be very bad—But before you precipitate your raſh and paſſionate Deſires, think a little; or ſuffer Me to put You in Mind of the probable Conſequences of what you are wiſhing for. Have You conſidered that You cannot throw off theſe Fears, without throwing off the Government and Power of Him who has now created them; and if He ſtays with You, muſt go on to heighten them into greater and greater Terrors? —That the doing this will inevitably involve You in *War*, and in a *State* of *Defence* againſt all the Attempts of *Him* and his *Friends* abroad to reinſtate Him in his Power?—That the *Deliverer* You call for, and look towards, is a Warlike Prince, and a Lover of Arms; and that his Inclination and Intereſt will engage You in Great Deſigns and Projects for the Setlement of the Peace and Balance of *Europe?*—That the Expence of all this muſt be vaſtly great, and accompanied with an *Immenſe Debt* growing on the Foot of the Account?——That there will be a Succeſſion in the ſame *Abdicated Family*, of Perſons claiming your *Crown*; and Theſe ſupported at ſeveral Times, and according as the ſeveral *Intereſts* of *Princes* work, by ſome or other of the Greateſt Powers of *Europe?*—That, though the Government ſhould come to be diſpoſed in the beſt regular Courſe poſſible, yet you muſt expect to hear of little for ſome Years but *Rebellions* or *Aſſaſſinations* at home, and *Invaſions* and *Aſſiſtance* from abroad?—See therefore, before You ſtir one Step further, Whether it be worth your while to purchaſe *Deliverance* at the probable Price of ſo Expenſive and Deſtructive Wars; ſo much Blood and Debt; ſo much Labour and Hazard.

I know what your Anſwer will be, becauſe it was in fact the *Univerſal Anſwer* at the very Time. "Tell Us not of theſe Conſequences. *They* deſerve Slavery, who will hazard nothing to prevent it. The very Conteſt to guard againſt it, is ſome ſort of Breathing-time of Freedom from it. And there is ſome Grace in the *Evil* itſelf, when it is not ſubmitted to, but becauſe it cannot be avoided. The Ignominy ceaſes, when We have done our utmoſt againſt it. But why do You name the Evils of *Foreign Wars*, or *Domeſtick Troubles?* If thoſe *Wars* are neceſſary for the Preſervation of *thoſe* Parts of *Europe* upon which *our own* Preſervation depends, They ought equally to be undertaken, whether We continue in the preſent Situation, or not; and the Freedom from *ſuch* Wars, if They be not undertaken, will be ſo far from being a Bleſſing, that it can end in nothing but our more certain *Ruin*, who muſt come in our Turn to be devoured after our Neighbours are diſpatched. And if *Domeſtick Troubles* are ſo likely againſt the *Beſt Setlement* We can make, it will be much better for Us to have that *Setlement*, to guard Us againſt thoſe *Troubles*, than to have the Neceſſity upon *Ourſelves* of raiſing Struggles and Diſturbances againſt the *Worſt Setlement*, which We now feel; and to have the *Sword* of *Magiſtracy* againſt Us, whenever We do. And ſince it muſt be ſo, unleſs We ſubmit to *Total Ruin* at once, that We muſt have theſe *Struggles* on *one* Side or *other*; it is much better to put the *Difficulty* and *Danger* on the *wrong* Side, than on the *right*; on our *Enemies* Part, than on *our own*.

As for the Inconvenience of *Expence* and *Debt*;—there is not a *Man* amongſt Us, who is not *now*, under the preſent too well grounded Apprehenſion, ready to give up half of All He has, to ſecure our *Deliverance* from ſuch Evils, as cannot but come without it: and this not in a *Paſſion*, but for this evident Reaſon—There can be *Nothing* in all the Conſequences You mention, ſo bad as what We *muſt* experience if We have not a *Deliverance*. *Without* it, We are ſure of *Arbitrary Will*, inſtead of a *Legal Adminiſtration*; of *Slavery*, inſtead of *Liberty*; and of the Blindneſs and Chains and Puniſhments of *Popery*, added to all this. And let what will happen from our *Struggle* for *Deliverance*, the *Struggle* is itſelf, Honour worthy of *Britons*; and the *Worſt* that *can* happen from it, if it don't ſucceed, cannot be *worſe* than what We *muſt* have *without* it; and if it do ſucceed, *cannot* poſſibly be ſo *bad*. Evils may accompany the greateſt Good, in this World, through the Weakneſſes and Wickedneſſes of Men. The *Avarice* of Some, The *Ambition* of Others, The *Ingratitude* of More, The *Inſenſibility* and Indifference which Time and Uſe naturally create in almoſt *All*, may do Us infinite Miſchief in the Conſequences of our *Deſign*. But theſe are not Arguments againſt a *State* which, We are *ſure*, can end in nothing but *Unbounded Slavery* of *Body* and *Soul*, fixed upon *Us* and our *Poſterity*."

This *is* the *Univerſal* Voice—And this *was* indeed the Univerſal Voice of All, in that Year of Diſtreſs and Deliverance. But None more determined; None more loud in it, than *Thoſe Proteſtants*, whoſe Zeal and Fondneſs for any one particular *Church-frame* joined its Force with their *Paſſion* for their *Properties* and *Civil Liberties*. They all *then* ſaw the Force of the *Argument*, that *Nothing* could be worſe than a *State*, in which They could have no Hope of a Freedom either to ſerve God as They themſelves judged beſt; or to ſerve Themſelves and their Country, in the fixed Methods of *Law* and Equity. And if Any One, who bore the Name of a *Proteſtant*, had gone about *at that Time* to have pleaded—That *Popery* was an innocent thing to this Nation;—That any *Proteſtant Church*, or the *Civil Liberties* of any *Proteſtants*, might be ſafe under a *Popiſh Prince*;—That all this Danger was a *Chimæra* in the Brains of *Proteſtants*; and the Dread of it only a Diſeaſe of the heated Imagination, running by Contagion from One to Another;—That the *Oaths* or *Vows* or Promiſes of a *Popiſh Prince* could be of Any Force againſt the Intereſts and Principles of his own *Church*, which profeſſedly diſſolve them:—Whoever He had been, let his *Look* or his *Garb* have been never ſo ſanctified, He would have been told to his Face, That He was more *Shameleſs* and *Abandoned* than the *Papiſts* themſelves, who have too much Modeſty ever publickly to affront the Nation with ſuch *Profeſſions*; and too much Senſe to wiſh or labour for a *King* of their own *Religion*, but becauſe They know the Contrary to All theſe *ſilly Abſurd Pretences* to be *True*.

But I have done for the *preſent*; and have, I hope, obtained thus much by carrying *You* back to that *paſt* State of Things, that You may the more eaſily ſee, and the more readily acknowledge, That, putting the Caſe at *that* Time, according to the Worſt of what has happened ſince, and agreeably to the Repreſentation of the greateſt *Adverſaries* of our *Eſtabliſhment*; the *Anſwer* would have been General, and not the Anſwer of *Paſſion*, but of *Reaſon*, "That let the Conſequences be ſuppoſed as Inconvenient, and in as high a degree Inconvenient, as Any Man has imagined or painted them out *ſince*; yet the Senſe of this could have been no *Argument* againſt procuring and accepting a *Deliverance* from a Condition, comprehenſive of the greateſt and moſt inſupportable *Evils* that can enter into the Imagination of *Britons* and *Proteſtants*." This is the *firſt* Point. Others ſhall ſoon follow.

BRITANNICUS.

◆

LETTER LIX. LONDON JOURNAL, November 9, 1723.

I AM now going on to the remaining Part of the Account I propoſed to balance; *viz.* to ſtate the *Gains* and *Advantages* conſequent upon the *Revolution*; and ſet theſe in a due Light againſt the Articles of *Loſs* and *Diſadvantage*: that, after this, a Judgement may be paſſed upon the Whole. And here, without the Ceremony of any farther *Preamble*, I will lay down This as the *firſt* Article of *Advantage*, "That by the *Revolution* we *gained* a Deliverance and "Freedom from all Thoſe *Evils*, which We muſt have experienced without it." I have before, in great Meaſure, enumerated *Theſe*. And here, I ſhould indeed think the Cauſe deſperate, if I could think it poſſible that Any Labour or Length of *Argument* were now come to be neceſſary, in order to perſuade *Britons* and *Proteſtants* that *This* alone is *Gain* beyond Expreſſion; a Freedom from the Evils of—*Power* without Law;—Rule by the Will of One Man;—Abſolute Government in *State* and in *Church*;—*Popery*, a Word! which itſelf ſignifies a *Compoſition* of the Greateſt of all Evils united; *Cruelty* without the Mixture of *Mercy*, ſanctified by the Name of *God* and all his *Saints*, till all Oppoſition of Hereſy falls before it; and afterwards *Darkneſs* without the *Glimmerings* of Light, and *Chains* to be put on and worn as the *Reward* of Obedience, and the *Ornaments* of Thoſe who wear them:—If a Nation of *Freemen* and *Proteſtants* could have been content to have been ſo changed, as theſe *Evils* muſt have changed Them; and to have been ſo dreſſed out in the Liveries of *Rome*; They muſt have made a Figure equal to the *Merit* of ſuch a baſe and ignominious Submiſſion. And if They now ſtand in need of *Arguments*, to prove to Them the *Gain* of a Deliverance from ſuch *Evils*; I muſt ſay, They have loſt their former *Senſe*, and their former *Name*. If any of their profeſſed Enemies of the *Popiſh Perſuaſion* ſhould, with their uſual Art, make other and ſofter *Repreſentations* of their own *Religion*, and their own Deſigns; I ſhould not indeed wonder at the well-known Artifice: but I ſhould not ſcruple, at the ſame time, to call it an *Inſult* upon the Patience, as well as Common Senſe, of *Britons*, to give them ſuch a Treatment upon a *Subject*, in which their ALL is concerned.

Were it only *probable* that ſuch *Evils* might have overwhelmed Us at the *Time* now in our View, this would be a ſufficient Glory and Advantage to the *Revolution*. But I am not ſo weak as to ſtop there. It was not only *Probable*, but *Certain*. It is not only true, That a *Bigoted Popiſh Prince* at that Time *might probably* have had Inducements, Paſſions, Wiſhes, and Zeal enough to have made uſe of that *Power*, of which He then thought himſelf ſecure, to ſuch miſerable Purpoſes: but it is *True*, that He *certainly* had thoſe *Diſpoſitions* and *Reſolutions* ſo to do. As in *Theory* it may be ſaid to be *impoſſible* that a *Prince* in thoſe Circumſtances, could be a *Bigot* to *Popery*, without a *Determined Will* for Our Ruin; ſo in *Fact*, the *Whole Proteſtant Nation*, and All Parties of Men in it, were by their Senſes convinced that He actually was entered upon the Deſign, and had actually taken large Steps in it. This therefore, may juſtly be called a *Gain*; and a *Gain* worthy alone of the *Conteſt*—the *Negative Gain* (if We would diſtinguiſh it from what is to follow) of the *Abſence*, and *Removal* of *Evils*, the *leaſt* of which are inſupportable to every generous Mind; and the *greateſt* of which are beyond the Power of Words to expreſs. And there is this *happy*

happy Circumſtance belonging to This *Article* of *Good*; that, with all our preſent *Real* or *Pretended* Miſfortunes, Miſmanagements, Grievances, and Burthens, We have ſtill *this Gain* from the *Revolution* to boaſt of, which conſiſts in *Freedom* from the moſt terrible of *Temporal* and *Spiritual* Evils; a *Freedom*, which itſelf is ineſtimable, and enough to make the Preſence of any *leſſer Evils* (whatever They be) ſeem *light* and inconſiderable. I will not, I need not, ſtand to aggravate thoſe *Evils*, from which That *Deliverance* freed Us. The *Greater* They are, the *Greater* ſtill is the *Weight* of the *Scale* on the other Side. If the *Evils* be Terrible beyond Expreſſion; the *Removal* and *Abſence* of Them muſt, as certainly, be a Great and Valuable *Good*, beyond all Expreſſion likewiſe. And nothing more need be ſaid upon this Part of the *Argument*.

I will now go a Step farther: and the next *Article* on the Side of *Advantage*, ſhall be this, "That *by* the *Revolution* We may juſtly be ſaid to have *Gained* "Every One of thoſe Good Things (be They Little or Great) which we ſhould "certainly have loſt *without it*." This is properly a *Poſitive Gain*, if We diſtinguiſh it from the *Former*: and This is the *Preſence* of *Good*, as the *Other* was the *Abſence* of *Evil*. If any one ſhould pretend, that This is not properly a *Gain*, becauſe it was not the *Acquiſition* of any thing *New*, but the *Conſervation* of what We were before in Poſſeſſion of; I muſt entirely differ from Him: not only becauſe This is at beſt but playing with Words, which do not alter the Nature of the *Happineſs* or *Advantage* accruing from that Great Event; but upon other Accounts alſo. For, Let me put the following Caſe. Suppoſing a *Ruffian* to lay violent Hands upon *Me*; and by his Strength to have got Me entirely in his Power, with a full *Reſolution* of murdering Me; and ſuppoſing, that by good Providence, a *Perſon* comes to my Relief, and procures my Safety, in the *Moment* when the *Sword* is threatning my Life: If this be the Caſe; I pray, Do not I, *properly* ſpeaking, *owe* my *Life*, from that Moment in which otherwiſe it had been taken away, to the Interpoſition of that *Friendly* Hand which ſaved it? Do I not *owe* it to ſuch a *Perſon*, I may ſay, as *truly*, as if it had really been taken away; and this Perſon had, under God's Providence, *reſtored* Me to Life again?

Thus it was in the *Caſe* of the *Revolution*. It was not a *Common Act* of *Providence*, like that of a Daily and Hourly Preſervation from the *Common Accidents* of Life, by inviſible and imperceptible Means; in which We cannot ſee, nor perceive with our *Senſes*, but only conclude by our *Reaſon*, the particular poſſible *Dangers* of every Moment, and the *Need* We have of a Good and Conſtant Providence. But it was an *Act* of Extraordinary *Relief*, in an *Opportunity* of Diſtreſs; in which our Dangers were too ſtrongly and too cloſely repreſented to our *Senſes*, to admit of a *Doubt*; and in which We were therefore ſenſibly certain of *Ruin*, without ſuch an *Interpoſition*. And upon this Account, I think, I am juſtified in ſaying That We owe *to* the *Revolution* Every Individual Good Thing that We ſhould undoubtedly have loſt *without it*: and that for this Reaſon, We *owe* it as *truly* to that *Great Event*, under the Direction of *Heaven*, as if it had been a *New Creation* of every One of the *Bleſſings* and *Happineſſes*, from a State of *Non-exiſtence*. They are to be eſteemed in *Speculation*, as *Gone* and *Loſt*; becauſe ſo They muſt have been *without* That Relief: and therefore, may as *juſtly* be eſteemed as the *Effects* and *Creatures* of *That*, as if They had been produced into *Being* by *That*, as an *Inſtrument* of their firſt *Formation*, in the Hands of *God*. From *Death* to *Life*, is indeed the *Greater* Change: but the *Obligation* is the ſame, the *Advantage* and the *Gain* the ſame, where *Life*, *certainly going be deſtroyed*, is *preſerved* by a particular and viſible *Cauſe*; as where it is reſtored *after* it is actually gone.

I will not therefore ſcruple to affirm, That there is a Lovely Catalogue of Good Things, (*Lovely*, in the midſt even of all the Evils we can pretend to labour under; and for ever *Lovely* in the Eſtimation of *All* who are not *dead* to their *Country* and *Themſelves*;) which We do as truly *owe* to the *Revolution*, as if They had never exiſted in Nature before the *Ever-memorable Year, Sixteen Hundred Eighty-eight*. If We begin with *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Religious* Affairs; We owe to that *Great Event*, the *Church* of *England* peculiarly ſo called, with every *Privilege*, and every *Advantage*, belonging to it, and enjoyed in it: and this as truly, as if it had been then *formed anew*, and never ſeen before: becauſe the *Decree* was, in a particular Manner, *gone out* againſt *That*; and the *Beginning* of *Deſtruction* was made *there*. And *this*, methinks, ſhould reconcile the *Affections* of *All*, who are willing to be thought the *Warmeſt* in their *Love* to this *Church*, to that *Great Tranſaction*, which truly gave Them what they ſo highly love.—To the *Revolution* We owe that unſpeakable Happineſs of *Freedom* in *Religion*; and of enjoying, in an unmoleſted Manner, that *Privilege* of *Manhood*, the *Worſhip* of *God*, unreſtrained by *Humane Force*, and uncontrolled by *Perſecution* and Penalties. And *All* who feel the Benefit of This, muſt always think with Pleaſure upon the *Year* from whence They *date* it; and upon the *Event*, to which They are entirely indebted for it: eſpecially when they call to mind that, in fact, This Portion of their Happineſs never had exiſted upon any *ſetled Foundation before* that Period of Time.

If We now remove our *Thoughts* to the *Civil Concerns* of *Humane Society*; To the ſame *Revolution* We owe That *Limited Form* of *Government* which is our only Security; Thoſe *Parliaments*, in which *Our own* Conſent frames *Our own* Laws; Thoſe *Laws* ſo framed, and afterwards executed, in an *Adminiſtration* of *Juſtice*, with regard to the Affairs of *Life* and of *Property*, utterly unexperienced by any *Nation* of the *Known World*, except Ourſelves. And again I muſt repeat it, We owe to *It* theſe Good Things as truly, as if this *Happy* Frame of *Government*, and of *Liberty*, and of *Security*, had at that Time ariſen out of Nothing, and had *then* firſt preſented itſelf to the *View* and the *Choice* of the *Nation*. And what can I add, after I have named theſe *Comprehenſive* Goods, which contain in them Multitudes of *Others*; the *Greateſt Bleſſings*, which any *People* could fix upon, were They commanded by *Heaven* to ſit down and think what it is that They Themſelves would *wiſh*, as the *Main Foundations* of *Civil* and *Religious* Happineſs?

You ſee, I have compoſed the *preſent Account*, (not of *Flattery* or *Panegyrick* upon *Princes*, or *Miniſters*, or upon the Conduct of *Publick Affairs*, at *all* Times, or at *any* Time, ſince that *Great Work* was brought about; but) only of the *Great* and *Standing* Inſtances of *Gain* and *Advantage*; which have this important Circumſtance to recommend them more powerfully to Us, that They are *ſtill* remaining, and undeniably, even at this Day, preſent to the *Senſes* of *All Britons*. And without going farther, I will be content to have the *Point* in Conteſt decided by *Theſe* Inſtances alone: which are not the *Peculiarities* of Any One *Party*, but the *Univerſal Benefits* of the *Revolution*, felt by Every *Proteſtant* of the *Kingdom*, who has any degree of *Good-will* left towards his *Country* or his *Religion*. Let the *Evils* from which We were freed by that *Tranſaction*, be truly ſet againſt the *Evils* We have (either in *Reality*, or even in *Imagination*,) ſuffered in the Conſequences of it. Let the *Goods*, the ſtanding and conſtant *Happineſſes*, which We have received from it, and ſtill enjoy by means of it, and ſhould not have

poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed without it, be ſet againſt all the *Burthens* and *Grievances* which many Years have produced *after* it, and Theſe magnified by the Wit and Paſſions of humourſome and angry Men; and let the Impartial and Unbiaſſed (if any ſuch there can be in *this* Caſe) weigh Them together, and determine the Matter now in Queſtion.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LX. London Journal, November 16, 1723.

THE following *Letter* will not, it is hoped, be unacceptable to the *Reader*.

BRITANNICUS.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

I AM not going either to *flatter*, or to *reproach* You, for the Zeal You have ſhewn, in your *Two laſt* Papers, for a *Tranſaction*, to which this *Nation*, and Every Member of it, owes whatever is now enjoyed of *Political* or *Social Good*. I cannot but give all due Commendations to your Attempts to draw our Thoughts back to ſo famous a *Criſis*; and to make our *Danger* and our *Deliverance* preſent to Us, as far as the Weakneſs of *Humane Nature* can permit. But I am going to take a Freedom with You, which ariſes from the ſame good Deſign, and which therefore You, of all Perſons, will the ſooner pardon; the *Freedom* of pointing out to You ſome of your Defects, upon this *Subject*; and of entreating You to ſupply them.

You have indeed ſtated the Caſe ſo, that the conſtant Good, ſtill remaining and ſubſiſting, from the *Revolution*, cannot but be allowed, in the Calmneſs of Thought and Reflection, to be more than worthy of all the Price paid for it. But are you ſo little acquainted with the *Springs* and *Paſſions* of *Men* and *Women*, as to think this *Dry Jejune* Reaſoning can have the Weight it ought to have?

I have long done it, and ſtill continue to converſe with Multitudes. And though I own, with Pleaſure, that *Many* ſeem to be again revived from the *Dead*; and warmed into ſome Senſe of their *Country's* Intereſt; and particularly, that the *Memory* of the *Deliverance* We are now ſpeaking of, and of the great *Deliverer* Himſelf, has begun a little to recover itſelf: Yet, I muſt tell You, there are *Many* others, who *feel* only by their own *preſent Senſes*; and are totally *inſenſible* to Every Thing, but what at the *preſent* Moment offends them; neither improving by their own *paſt Fears*, nor by all that the Teſtimony and Experience of *Others* can teach Them. And You cannot conceive to what an *Extravagance* of *Heat* and *Diſcontent*, this Unhappineſs of being *Abſent* to *Reflection*, and *Inſenſible* of all *preſent Good*, which is not ſudden and ſurprizing, joined with the quickeſt *Senſibility* to the leaſt preſent *Burthen*, ſometimes carries *Perſons* of this *Diſpoſition*. I have found this true in the ſmalleſt Inſtances, as well as Thoſe of a greater ſort: and I cannot explain or illuſtrate it better, than by *One* or *Two*, which will ſhew *This* in a *Clear Light*, That Mankind will call for the *Greateſt* of *Evils* They do *not* feel, to get rid (as They think) of the *Leaſt* of Thoſe that are *preſent*; and that the *Greateſt* of all *paſt Goods* is not ſo much as remembered with Pleaſure, but rather trampled upon, at the Command of ſome little *preſent* Uneaſineſs.

The private and perſonal Loſſes ſuſtained by a late *Unhappy Scheme*, cannot be ſpoken of, without the deepeſt Senſe of Compaſſion to *Thoſe* who have ſuffered: and the *Damage* was ſo univerſal, that We do little more than pity *Ourſelves*, when We pity *Them*. It would be *Cruelty*, to aggravate the *Misfortunes* of *Any*, even by putting Them in Mind what a *Part* their own *Covetouſneſs* and *Corruption* bore in their own *Evil*. But it would be greater *Cruelty*, not to attempt to ſtop the *Exceſs* of the *Senſe* of their own Sufferings. A Man has loſt *Half* of what He was worth: and He feels this with ſuch a pungent Quickneſs, that He even forgets the *Security* of the *Other Half*. I have heard ſuch a One cry out, "Where "is the Good of the *Revolution*, which brought the Publick to theſe Debts, "which were the Occaſion of ſuch an *Attempt* towards their Payment, as has "ended in This? What could We have had worſe, if the old State of Things "in *Eighty-eight* had gone on? What can We have worſe, if We were again "*there*? Give Us therefore, a *Change*. Let the *Pretender*, or *Who will*, take "Us. All is alike *now*." And indeed, whilſt the *Paſſion* was at the higheſt, nothing was ſo dreadful as the *Proſpect* of ſome ſuch *Event*. It was in vain *then* to put Them in mind, that at any *other* Time, but when *One* Frenzy ſucceeded *Another*, and *One* Extravagance of Spirit followed *Another*, it would be accounted *Madneſs* fit for a dark Room, if a Perſon, becauſe He had loſt *One* Part of his *Treaſure*, ſhould be ſeen to carry All that remained, and throw it into the *Sea*. But thus it was, and thus it ſtill remains in ſome Degree. *Men* will call for a *Deliverance*, and accept it. But if any thing happens amiſs, They will *then* throw it back again upon *Him* who gave it. And when They are pinched with a *preſent Leſſer Evil*, They will call aloud even for that *Greateſt* of *Evils* from which They before had wearied Heaven with their Cries for a *Deliverance*. If You can *cure* this *Diſtemper* of Mind, You may then make Way for *Argument* and *Reaſon* to work.

I have now inſtanced in an *Evil*, which muſt be acknowledged to have been *Great* and *Pungent*. But if it might not ſeem *ridiculous*, I would deſcend to a much lower Inſtance: and if it ſhews Mankind in too mean and low a Situation, it is ſtill in order to engage Them for the future to make a better Figure, and more worthy of Themſelves. The *Unhappineſs* I am ſpeaking of does not appear only in *Great* and Remarkable *Evils*. The *Leaſt* of all, have produced it. Would any One think it poſſible? Yet, I remember very well, at the Time of paſſing the *Act* againſt *printed Calicoes*, which did the *Wearers* no other Injury than *That* of hindring one particular ſort of *Garment*, that the ſame ſort of *Clamour* from *Some* was as great, as could well be imagined. I do not enter into the Merits of that Law. On the contrary, I will now ſuppoſe it (for *Argument's* ſake) to have been in *Politicks* an *Evil*, to have made ſuch a *Compliance* to the *Cries* of Thouſands of Families, who were ſo miſtaken as to think Themſelves undone for Want of ſuch a *Law*. But what I mention it for, is, to ſhew the Exceſſes of Humane Nature from hence, that it was a common thing at that Time, even from this *trifling Evil*, this ſmall Inconvenience, to proceed to a *Diſcontent*, that ſeemed little leſs than a Bitter *Diſaffection*. And if it would not *now* look like a *ludicrous Invention*, I could name *Thoſe* of the *Sex* chiefly concerned in the *Prohibition*, who were *then* on a ſudden tranſported by their Paſſion, ſo as to exclaim againſt the *Government* and *Eſtabliſhment* itſelf, in as high a Tone, as if *Heaven* and *Earth* were threatning Ruin and Deſtruction: and who looked, and ſpoke at that Time, as if They thought All former *Deliverances* had been in vain, and too dearly purchaſed, by ſuch *Grievances*, as this *Forbidding Act*, and ſuch a Reſtraint upon their *Habits* and *Furniture*, for the ſake (whether truly ſo, or ſo miſunderſtood, it matters not) of the *Manufactures* of their own Country.

I remember this very well, in my Neighbourhood round the Country; and if I did not, I ſhould eaſily believe it by what We are all Witneſſes to, at this Time, of the ſame ſort. An *Act* is made, (whether *wiſely*, or not, is not the *Point*,) to raiſe a *Sum* of Money upon the Eſtates of the *Enemies* of the *Government*, to defray the *Expences* their own Cauſe has occaſioned. To do this, it was neceſſary to diſcover, if poſſible, Who were theſe ill-affected Perſons. To this Purpoſe, the taking the *Oaths* of Fidelity, and renouncing the *Pretender's* Right, are made neceſſary to All Perſons intereſted in *Real Eſtates*, who have not already done it ſince the *King's* Acceſſion. What have We ſeen upon this? Why, This *Bodily Trouble* of *taking* the *Oaths*, which rids Perſons of all Hazard and Difficulty, (I have heard it with my own *Ears*) has been talked of as a *Grievance* little leſs than the *Diſpenſing Power* in the Hands of K. *James* the *Second*; and as almoſt demanding a *Re-revolution*; and worthy of a *Re-deliverance* from the *Revolution* itſelf, and all its *Conſequencies*. And this *Language* has not only been begun and heightened by Profeſſed Enemies, who ſtand ready to take a Handle from every Event to embarraſs all our Affairs, through the *Paſſions* of *Profeſſed Friends*; but has been repeated and echoed by Many, who never before appeared to have the leaſt *Objection* of any other ſort, againſt the moſt ſolemn Vows of Fidelity to the preſent Setlement.

Thus do *Men* and *Women* buſy their own Spirits almoſt perpetually, in creating to Themſelves the *Miſeries* which *God Almighty* has put far from Them; either by framing *Imaginary* Ones, where there is want of *Real*; or by magnifying *Small* and *Trifling* Ones, where there is the Abſence of *Greater*; or by teaching Themſelves not to *feel* the *Biggeſt Goods* of this World, becauſe the *Leaſt* of its *Evils* accompany Them; or by *calling* for the *Biggeſt* of Its *Evils*, to ſwallow up the Senſe of the *Leaſt*. To what to compare this Unhappineſs in *Social Life*; I know not. But in *Natural Life*, if a Man who had juſt experienced and groaned under the *Terrors* of the *Acuteſt Diſtempers*, ſhould preſently forget and defy Them all; and not only *this*, but when He ſhould afterwards by ſome Accident feel a *Pinch*, or the *Prick* of a *Pin*, ſhould call aloud for the *Return* of a *ſharp Fit* of the *Gout* or *Stone*, to relieve Him from his preſent Pain; the former would be accounted *Stupidity*, and the latter *Madneſs*: but yet, a *Stupidity* and a *Madneſs*, which would be but a faint *Picture* of the much greater *Stupidity* of Thoſe, who have diveſted Themſelves of the *Senſe* of *preſent Good*, or the *Terror* of *paſt Evil*; and the much *greater Madneſs* of *Thoſe*, who are only *ſenſible* to what is *preſent Uneaſineſs*; and feeling *Inconveniencies*, and leſſer *Pains*, call for a *Complication* of all that is terrible to *Men* and *Britons*, to come and relieve Them, by overwhelming Them at once with univerſal *Irretrievable Deſtruction*.

If You would ſucceed, Do ſomething ſtill farther to cure this *Diſeaſe* of Humane Minds, and Scandal to *Humane Nature*. For, till either *Precept*, or *Time*, (to which it is dangerous to leave it) can effect the *Change* of this *Diſpoſition*, it is in vain to argue; and You have too good an *Opinion* of *Mankind*, or too little a *Knowledge* of their *Weakneſſes*, if You think otherwiſe.

I have many other Things to ſay, (which You have not yet touched upon, and which ought to be conſidered) relating to *Greater Perſons*; and the *Uſes* to be made by *Them*, of all Our *Miſtakes*, *Miſmanagements*, and *Unlucky Events*, ſince the *Revolution*; which, if You can have more Patience than what is neceſſary to bear with the preſent Trouble, You ſhall receive in due Time from,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

PHILOPATRIS.

* * *

LETTER LXI. LONDON JOURNAL, November 23, 1723.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

AS You have ſometimes, in your *Papers*, and with great Warmth, repreſented the *Popiſh Religion*, as naturally tending to ſpread *Darkneſs* over the *Underſtanding*; an Abject Meanneſs over the whole Soul, and abſolute *Slavery* over the *Religion* and *Civil* Rights of Men; and particularly, whenever it is cordially embraced by a *Prince*, utterly inconſiſtent with the *Liberty* of this *Nation*: You will excuſe *Me*, if, in Conjunction with ſome Others, I deſire You to look into a ſmall *Piece* lately publiſhed; and judge whether You do not find in it, ſomething that looks like a ſufficient Proof of the *Contrary* to all this. It is the *Life* of the late *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray*, I mean: in whoſe Character You will find the *Picture* of a Perſon of a *Fine Genius*, Great Underſtanding, a *Lover* of *Mankind*, and a *Patron* of the *Religious* as well as *Civil* Freedom of *Nations*. I could point out ſeveral *particular Paſſages* to You; but You will obſerve them as You paſs. But I cannot forbear naming *One*, in *p.* 307. becauſe it ſeems to give Us *Another Notion* of the *Popiſh Religion*, and a *Popiſh Prince*, in *This* Country; and ſhews that, whatever *You* may think, *Monſieur* de *Cambray*, that *Great Man*, thought *Them both* very conſiſtent, even with the *Liberty* of our *Conſciences*, as well as the *Laws* of our *Country*. I leave You to your own *Reflections* upon this Occaſion, and am,

SIR, &c.

A. B.

HAVING no other Way of giving my *Anſwer* to this *Letter*, I ſhall now do it, in a *publick* Manner: which is the rather to be excuſed, and to be thought the more neceſſary, becauſe the *Book* itſelf is *publick*, and in the Hands of Many; and perhaps, if I am not too raſh in my Conjecture, made *publick* purpoſely to infuſe into *our* World, by the moſt inoffenſive and inſenſible Manner, the kindeſt Ideas of that *Religion*, and the ſofteſt Impreſſions about its Tendencies and Effects.

SIR,

YOU have done me a great Pleaſure in putting Me in Mind of ſo remarkable a *Book*, as *That* You mention. You could not poſſibly have applied Yourſelf to Any One, who is a *Greater Admirer* of *Monſieur* de *Cambray*, than Myſelf. As a *Writer*, He appears in my Eyes as an *Exalted Genius*, much *above* the Common *Rank* of Mortals. There is in Him a Greatneſs of Thought, joined with a Loftineſs of Expreſſion; a *Sublimity* in *moſt* of his *Sentiments*, a *Vivacity* in *all* his Figures and Embelliſhments; and a ſort of *Enthuſiaſm* in his whole *Style*, which warms You, and almoſt carries You away by Force into *his* Party: and his *Life*, being in great Part compoſed of *Paſſages* of *his own*, partakes of the ſame Character. *This*, Sir, I have read over, agreeably to your Requeſt: but, You will pardon Me, if I ſay, with a very different Effect upon *Me*, from what it ſeems to have had upon *You*, and Your *Friends*. I am very free to acknowledge, that I ſee in it a Man of an exquiſite Niceneſs of Taſte; of a Comprehenſive Knowledge; of a natural Zeal for *Liberty* and the *Good* of *Mankind*, often ſhewing itſelf in a *Warm Contention* for them; and this *Man* continuing, to his dying Hour, in the moſt ſincere Profeſſion (as far as appears) of the *Roman-Catholick* Religion. And if this be all You mean, That there do ſometimes ariſe in that World, ſuch *Inſtances* of *Great* and *Good Men*; I am of the ſame Mind. But I do not ſtop here.

When I read the *Writings*, and the *Story*, of ſo great a Man, I conſider, what *Proportion* of *Damage*, even *His* Great Underſtanding and *His* Uncommon Capacity have received from his *Religion*, and from *That only*; and into what Degrees and Depths of *Nonſenſe* (for ſo I call *Words* without *Ideas*;) of *Self-contradiction*, (for ſo I call *Maxims*, utterly deſtructive of his own beſt and nobleſt Sentiments;) and of *Slavery* itſelf, (for ſo in a peculiar Senſe I call the ſacrificing his *Underſtanding*, and what He accounted *Truth* itſelf, in the Manner He did;) his *Attachment* to *Popery* alone brought down ſo *Great* a *Soul*. And from all this, I will draw a *Concluſion* the very contrary to what You ſeem to recommend, That a *Religion*, which *alone* ſtopped ſuch a *Genius* in his *Career* of *Glory*; which was powerful enough to cover *ſuch* an *Underſtanding* with *Darkneſs*; to ſink *ſuch* a *Spirit*, made by God and Nature full of the Sentiments of *Liberty*, into an *abject Servitude*; and to make *Him* ſo much a *leſs Man* than He muſt have been, had He lived either of Old in the *Heathen World*, or of *late* in any Country of *Laws*, and *Liberty* of *Conſcience*:—That this *Religion* may even from hence be juſtly eſteemed to be more than ſufficient, wherever it rules in its natural Effects, to lay waſte the *Whole Underſtandings* of *Common Men*, and to bring on, by fatal Steps, an *Unbounded Slavery* of *Body* and *Mind*, even with the Approbation of *Thoſe*, who have more *limited* and *groveling* Souls. I will now give an *Inſtance* or *Two*, which may prove the *Point* I have in view.

What can one think of this *Great Man's* Zeal, in eſpouſing the *Cauſe* of *Madame Guyon*, who in writing myſtically had uſed *Expreſſions* about Religious Love, not only utterly unintelligible, but hardly fit to be repeated? *Theſe* I do not now particularly mention; which yet ought to have been utterly and ſeverely condemned by *Thoſe Perſons* of *Senſe*, who gave Themſelves up to the *Notions* couched under ſuch Terms. The *Author* of his *Life* ſoftens this Matter with great *Tenderneſs* and Dexterity; but, after He has cut off all the Superfluities He thought fit, has left Us enough to wonder at. The *Doctrine* of *Pure Love*, as He has couched it in the Words of the *Archbiſhop* Himſelf, when He was moſt accurately guarding Himſelf againſt Miſtake, is little better than an *Unintelligible Jargon* of *Words* making an *Impoſſibility* paſs for an Heighth of *Perfection* in *Religion*. “There are but two Things, (ſays He, *p.* 99.) which “make up my *Whole Doctrine*. The *firſt* is, That Charity is a Love of God for “Himſelf, independent of the Motive of that Happineſs, which is to be found “in the Enjoyment of Him. The *ſecond* is, that, in the ſpiritual Life of the “moſt perfect Souls, it is Charity which goes before and leads all other Virtues, animates and directs their Acts. Inſomuch that in *thoſe Souls*, the Exerciſe “of HOPE and of all other Virtues, is ordinarily, with all the *Diſintereſtedneſs* of *Charity* itſelf.” So that, You ſee, *Firſt*, if You would be a perfect Soul, You muſt *love* God without any *Hope* or *Thought* of *Good* from Him to *Yourſelf*; and then, *ſecondly*, when *Love* is thus perfect in You, You will then *Hope* in God alſo, without *hoping* for any *Good* from Him.

I am not now examining into the *Merits* of ſuch *Romantick* Lectures as Theſe: which, I fear, are little leſs than *Blaſphemy*, as far as They ſet up an *Imaginary Perfection* untaught and unheard of in the *Goſpel*, and pretend to refine and improve upon *Chriſt* Himſelf, who is declared not only to have taught, but practiſed, whilſt He was upon Earth, upon the quite contrary Maxims. But my *Point* now is, The *Darkneſs*, *Confuſion*, *Unintelligibleneſs*, and *Self-contradiction* of this Doctrine, even in its greateſt Simplicity, after ſo Great a Man had ſtripped it of the Cloathing of a Multitude of *Other* Expreſſions, under which no Meaning could lie. If He had attempted to teach Me this *Doctrine*, I would have ſaid to Him, it was a *Self-contradiction* in *Terms*, deſtroying its own Pretenſions. For if this *Heighth* of *I know not what*, be the *Perfection* I am to aim at, it muſt be more acceptable and pleaſing to *God*, than the *Want* of it; and if it be more acceptable to *Him*, He will acknowledge it by *Greater Rewards* beſtowed upon it: And if I cannot aim at this *Perfection*, without aiming at what ſuppoſes thoſe *Greater Rewards*, there is an Impoſſibility of ſeparating in the Mind, *Thoſe Rewards* from ſuch an Aim. So that it can come to nothing, either more poſſible, or more conſiſtent, than this, That I muſt make Myſelf more acceptable to God, by loving Him without the *Thought* of Thoſe *Great Rewards*, which are inſeparable from ſuch a Love; or, That I muſt, without all *Thought* of *Self-intereſt*, love the *Supreme Being*, upon the *Motives* which lead to a greater Degree of *Self-intereſt*; and, to the *ſole End* that I may be the more *acceptable* to *Him*, I muſt huſh and quiet every Deſire in *Me* of being acceptable to *Him*. This, if He could have cleared of Groſs Abſurdity, as well as *Preſumption*; He might then have gone on, and taught Me, that even *Hope* itſelf, when led by this *Love*, baniſhes all *Hope*; and is not *Hope*, but ſomething elſe. But I muſt return.

And if Any One ſhould now aſk, From whence *This* Love of *Darkneſs* in *One* of ſo enlightened an *Underſtanding* could proceed? I ſhould not ſcruple to ſay that *This*, which is the moſt Inoffenſive Part of his *Darkneſs*, may juſtly be attributed to his *Religion*, and its Tendency. Nor do I doubt that the ſame has been the *Caſe* of many other Great and Well-meaning Men, in that *Communion*. They are inwardly tired with the infinite *Bundle* of *Fopperies* and *Ceremonies*, which eat up all the *Vital Heat* of *Religion* in that *Church*. They have at the ſame time formed within Themſelves Quieting Notions, and Devout Reſolutions of Submiſſion to its *Doctrines* and *Deciſions*, againſt all Evidence which Examination can afford. And being debarred all Thought about *Theſe*, and apprehenſive of the *Ill Effect* of the *Others*, as well as *weary* with the *Eternal Round* of them, They ſeek Refuge in ſomething elſe; and ſeem to hope to kindle in the Hearts of *Men* ſome Sparks of Inward Religion, as an Equivalent for *other* Parts of it; and ſpend a great deal of their *Vigour* in *Doctrines* which, They hope, may give no great Offence to their *Superiors*, as They ſound like *Great Humility*, and are declared to keep the *Souls* of Thoſe who embrace them in ſuch a State of *Self-annihilation*, and *Self-contempt*, as, One would think, ſhould be wiſhed for in a *Church*, the *Being* of which *wholly depends* upon the *Entire Dependence* of its Members on its *Authority*. And from the Nature and State of that Church, the *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray* might juſtly think He had little Reaſon to fear, that the *Storm* which afterwards gathered, and broke upon Him, could ariſe from his teaching ſuch *Sublimities*, and *Obſcurities*, and *Humbling Inconſiſtencies*, in ſuch a *Communion*. But "All Things (*ſays the* Writer *of* his Life, *p.* 85.) "concurred together to ſwell the Storm; Learning, Ignorance, Piety, Policy, Inſinuation, Diſpute, Credulity, nay, Incredulity itſelf." —[I believe there never was a *Storm* of that ſort, in which the ſame *Goodly Company* did not concur, and mutually aſſiſt.] *Without* ſuch a Concurrence, but particularly *without* the Reaſons of *Policy* working upon the Reſtleſs Jealouſy and Maſterly *Pen* of his Adverſary the *Biſhop* of *Meaux*, *Monſieur* de *Cambray* had been at leaſt ſafe enough; if not univerſally applauded. But at worſt, He had a *Certain Remedy* in reſerve, and that was his *Submiſſion* to the *See* of *Rome*. *This*, which was a very remarkable Effect in *Him*, of the *Religion* He profeſſed, I ſhall next obſerve; and then, particularly conſider the *Excellent Advice*, upon the *Subject* of *Liberty*, which he gives (in the *Page* you cite) to the *Pretended Prince* who viſited Him; and, if You will have Patience, I will add the *Reply* to that *Advice*, which may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been made, agreeably both to the *Other Principles* of *Monſieur* de *Cambray* Himſelf, and to the *Character* of the *Perſon* concerned. And then, You will have all the *Thoughts*, I ſhall trouble You with, upon this Occaſion.

I am, SIR,

Yours, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LXII. LONDON JOURNAL, November 30, 1723.

THE *Submiſſion* of the *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray* to the *See* of *Rome*, both in the *Doctrine* and *Practice* of it, had ſomething ſo very peculiar in it, that I ſhall be juſtified in affirming, that nothing but *ſuch* a *Religion* as He profeſſed, could poſſibly have hindered a *Man* of *ſuch* a *Capacity* from ſeeing and feeling that He at the *ſame time* held and maintained the greateſt *Inconſiſtencies*. Upon this *Subject*, it will be agreeable enough, to go a little farther back; and obſerve, that He had interwoven this *Doctrine* of *Submiſſion*, and all its *Inconſiſtencies*, into his Account of the *Perfection* of the *Chriſtian Religion* itſelf. The *Writer* of his *Life* relates a *Converſation* between *Himſelf* and that *Great Man*, upon the Subject of the *Truth* of *Chriſtianity*, *p.* 204, &c. and repreſents Himſelf as led, Step by Step, from *Infidelity* and *Deiſm*, to be a *Chriſtian*, and then to be a *Firm Catholick* (or *Papiſt*) by the *Arguments* of the *Archbiſhop*. He firſt brings his *Diſciple* to the general Belief of *Chriſtianity*, by ſome good and plain *Remarks*; and immediately after this, He leads Him into a *Scene* of *Darkneſs* and *Confuſion*, hardly to be deſcribed. If I were to comprehend it in one Sentence, I could not do it more truly than by ſuppoſing *Him* to ſpeak thus to his Diſciple. "I have now "brought You to believe in *Jeſus Chriſt*, by the Convictions of *Reaſon* and *Evidence*; and theſe Convictions have worked, by *opening* your *Eyes*. The next "Step, is to believe in the *Church* of *Rome*. This is as *neceſſary* as the *Other*; "and without it, the *Other* is all in vain. But for *This*, You muſt take quite "*another* and a *different* Method. You muſt now *ſhut* thoſe Eyes which You "*opened* before. That *Underſtanding*, to which I applied Myſelf *before*, muſt "*now* be made a *Quiet Sacrifice*. I muſt ſpeak no longer to *That*. It is to your "*Submiſſion* that You muſt now owe your *Faith*, and to your *Faith* that You "muſt again owe your *future Submiſſion*. Be ſo humble as neither to *ſee*, nor *think*,

“ nor judge: and You muſt of Neceſſity be a *Catholick*.” This is the Summ of many beautiful and pathetical Applications to his *Diſciple*. For inſtance, In order to *this*, *Chriſtianity* is repreſented as a *Reſpectful Sacrifice of our Ideas—by Means of which the Whole Man is as it were* ANNIHILATED *before the* Being of Beings: and the Doctrine of the *Incomprehenſibleneſs* of *God* (which all the World allows) is made to patronize the *Popiſh* Doctrine of *Unintelligible Propoſitions*, and *Invented Myſteries*: and for the ſame Purpoſe, the Goſpel itſelf is often painted out, as containing *Things* which *ſhock* our *Underſtanding*, and which ſeem to be *inconſiſtent*. For He thence infers the neceſſary *Sacrifice* of our *Underſtanding*, p. 240; of that ſame Underſtanding, to which alone He had before repreſented the *Arguments* for the *Goſpel*. And now the *Work* of *Confuſion* thickens apace. “ *Chriſtianity* adds *nothing* (ſays He, *p.* 241.) to *Deiſm*, but the *Sacrifice* of the *Un-* “ *derſtanding*: and the *Catholick Faith* does *but* compleat this *Sacrifice*.” That the *Catholick* (i. e. *Popiſh) Faith* compleats the *Sacrifice* of the *Underſtanding*, by deſtroying every Degree of it, in whatever Points it exerts its full *Authority*, I am very free to own: but that the *Goſpel* commands ſuch a *Sacrifice*, or ſtands in need of the *Catholick Faith* to *perfect* and compleat its Deſigns—This is a *Propoſition*, to which nothing but the *Catholick Religion* (as it loves to be called) could ever have *ſacrificed* ſuch an *Underſtanding*. He goes on to explain Himſelf: “ We “ *(Catholicks)* have, properly ſpeaking, but *Two* Articles of Religion; the *Love* “ of an Inviſible God, and Obedience to his *Living Oracle* the Church.” Theſe Two He recommends, in the moſt plauſible Manner, as *within the Reach of* EVERY Capacity; but then preſently, their *Excellence* according to *Him*, is, That They contain a Multitude of *Particulars*, *within the Reach of* NO *Capacity*, utterly inconſiſtent with all the Evidences of Senſe, and all the *Maxims* of *Underſtanding* and *Reaſon*.

When his *Diſciple* begins to rebel again, and to make ſome *Objections* againſt One particular Doctrine; and *Theſe* ſuppoſed to be agreeable to our *Natural Ideas* of the *Deity*, and to the *Goſpel* itſelf, *p.* 243; the *Great Maſter* riſes higher in his Demands; and without entring into the *Merits* of the *Objections*; without denying them to be agreeable both to *Natural* and *Revealed Religion*, as far as the *Goſpel* itſelf goes; *He* lets Him know, (by this *Inſtance* choſen in this Manner, for this very Purpoſe,) That his *Obedience* to God's Living Oracle the *Church*, is to have *no Bounds* ſet to it, by ſuch *Speculations*. And here, He in effect commands his *Diſciple* firſt to bid *Defiance* to his *Natural Notions* of *God*, by which alone He had juſt now led Him from *Deiſm* to *Chriſtianity*; and after this, to forſake what He apprehends to be the Senſe of the *Goſpel* itſelf, to which He had juſt now converted *Him*, in order more fully to compleat the *Deſign* of that *Goſpel*. And this *Deſign* He repreſents to be, the Sacrifice of all the *particular Doctrines* which You judge it to contain. Theſe are with *Him* vain *Speculations*; and the *Dictates* of God's Living *Oracle* the *Church*, are artfully put in the ſame Rank with the *Incomprehenſibility* of *God* Himſelf. He ſpeaks ſtill of a *Ray of Light which is left Us, as a Guide to lead Us out of our Darkneſs*; but He is utterly againſt all Uſe of it, unleſs to lead Us *into* the particular *Darkneſs* He recommends.—“ Any *other* Uſe of it indiſpoſes Us for the true Life of all *Intelli-* “ *gent* Natures, who have no Underſtanding or Will of their own, but are en- “ lightened by the ſame Univerſal Reaſon, and are moved and animated by the “ ſame Sovereign Love:” *p.* 245, 246. How He underſtands this to be performed, follows in Words worthy to be recited: “ Hitherto (He ſpeaks to his Diſciple) “ You have ſought to poſſeſs *Truth*. TRUTH muſt now captivate and poſſeſs “ You; and *ſtrip* You of all the falſe Riches of your UNDERSTANDING.

“ Before We can be perfect *Chriſtians*, We muſt be diſappropriated of every “ Thing, even of our Ideas Themſelves. *No* Religion but the CATHOLICK “ teaches this *Evangelical Poverty*. Impoſe then *Silence* upon your Imagination, “ and your REASON. Say continually to God, Inſtruct me by the HEART, “ and not by the UNDERSTANDING.—By this means, You will be ſecured “ from all *Fanaticiſm*, and from all *Incredulity*.”

Who would not weep over ſuch an *Underſtanding* as *Monſieur* de *Cambray*'s, thus laid low by what ought to have *exalted* it? Who can help lamenting the *Weakneſs* of *Humane Nature*, or pitying the *State* of the *Greateſt Men*, in ſome *Countries*; when ſuch a Perſon is ſeen to fly to *Darkneſs* for *Refuge*, and to cover his *Underſtanding* with a *Thick Cloud*, as with a *Garment*, againſt all the Influences of *Light* and *Knowledge*.—The *Life* of *Intelligent Natures* is, it ſeems, to have *No Intelligence* of their own—*Univerſal Reaſon* is to enlighten them: and this *Univerſal Reaſon* is explained into the *Voice* of the *Roman Catholick Church*. *Sovereign Love* is to *animate* them: and this *Sovereign Love* is to teach them to pleaſe God, without any Deſire of being acceptable to Him.—The Word *Truth* is ſtill named, but rather by way of *Inſult*, than *Comfort*. For *Truth* is to poſſeſs You, only in order to *ſtrip* You of your *Underſtanding*.—His *Diſciple* is told, You cannot be a *perfect Chriſtian*, without being diſappropriated of all your Ideas;—and this, in the ſame *Diſcourſe* in which He could not have made Him a *Chriſtian*, without appealing to *thoſe very Ideas*. This *Slavery* of *Diſpoſition* is called *Evangelical Poverty*, which is not once named in the *Goſpel*, unleſs to be condemned in *Thoſe* who ſhut their Eyes againſt *Reaſon* and *Evidence*. And the *teaching* it is made an *Argument* in favour of the *Catholick Religion*, which can be an Argument of *Nothing*, but of a *Religion* that loves *Darkneſs* rather than *Light*. A new way of *Inſtruction* is accordingly requiſite for ſuch a *Leſſon*. You muſt pray to God NOT to be *inſtructed* by the *Underſtanding*, the only Seat of *Light*; but to be *inſtructed* by the *Heart*, the *Seat* of blind and tumultuous *Paſſions*. To have the *Heart* moved and actuated *after* the *Underſtanding* is *inſtructed*, is the *Wiſh* of every good Man: but to pray *againſt Inſtruction* by the only *Faculty* in Man, capable of it: and to beg *Inſtruction*, where there is no *Capacity* for *Inſtruction*, properly ſpeaking—This may ſound *pious* in the *Church* of *Rome*; but in the Mouth of a *Chriſtian Philoſopher*, it has no more Senſe or Meaning, than if We were bid to pray to *God* that We may ſee *Light* and *Colours*, NOT by our EYES, but by our *Ears* or *Feet*:—And all this is declared to be neceſſary in order to avoid (not only *Incredulity*, but) *Fanaticiſm*; that *Fanaticiſm*, the very *Eſſence* of which is the *Leſſon* taught here, *viz.* the being *inſtructed* (as it is now called) by the *Heart*, and *not* by the *Underſtanding*.

I have the more Right to take Notice of theſe *Abſurdities*, becauſe both the *Maſter* and the *Diſciple* are in this *Converſation* not acting the looſe popular declamatory Part; but the One *teaching*, and the Other *hearing* and replying, in private, with all the *Freedom* of *Friends*, and all the *Accuracy* of *Philoſophers*. This is plain enough from the *Whole*; but too plain from the *Remark* of the *Writer*, at the *End* of this *Enlightning Diſcourſe*, p. 247: “ It was THUS (*ſays the* Diſciple) “ that *Monſieur* de *Cambray* made me ſee that a ſober THINKING “ Deiſt muſt of neceſſity become *Chriſtian*; and that a *Chriſtian* cannot *Reaſon* “ *Philoſophically*, without becoming *Catholick*.” To *ſmile* at ſuch a *Sentence* ſo gravely delivered after ſuch a *Converſation*, is no Crime. A *Deiſt*, by being a *Thinking* Man, muſt be converted, by the Arguments of *Monſieur* de *Cambray*, to a *Religion*, in which He aſſures Him, He muſt be ſo far from *thinking* at all, that He cannot be *perfect* in it, *without being diſappropriated of all his Ideas themſelves!*

ſelves! And (what is ſtill as miraculous) *after* He is *become* a *Chriſtian*, and is thus *diſappropriated* of all *Materials* for *Thought* and *Reflection*, and ordered to *ſilence* his *Reaſon*; He muſt then *reaſon philoſophically*, and by this *reaſoning philoſophically*, He muſt be led to embrace that ſame *Catholick Religion*, which forbids Him to *reaſon* at all; and the *Glory* of which it is, that the *Profeſſors* of it are even to pray continually againſt being inſtructed by the *Underſtanding*, as one of the greateſt of *Evils*.

Let the *Reader* pardon Me, that I cannot recover the *Surprize* this *Scene* has raiſed in Me, enough to proceed upon the *Subject* before Me, ſo far as I deſigned at this Time—A Man made, or confirmed, a *Papiſt* in *France*, upon *Political Maxims*, becauſe it is the *Religion* of the *Country*, and becauſe any *Reformation* in *Religion* would, in his Opinion, diſturb the *Repoſe* and *Quiet* of Society; This I can underſtand, becauſe it is too often ſeen.——A *Man*, brought into, or eſtabliſhed in, that *Religion*, upon the *Principles* of *Tyranny*, and the Perſuaſion that Mankind is fit for nothing but Intellectual *Darkneſs* and Spiritual *Fetters*; This too I can comprehend.—A *Man*, reconciled to the *Profeſſion* of *Popery*, upon the *Principles* of *Atheiſm*, or a *Total Diſbelief* of a *God* or a *Future State*; This I can alſo conceive, becauſe, I fear, it is too often ſeen and felt.—A *Man*, turned from *Popery* to *Deiſm*, and ſometimes to *Atheiſm*, by ſuch a Way of repreſenting the *Goſpel*, as a Diſpenſation of *Light* perfected by *Darkneſs*; as requiring an *Annihilation* of our *Underſtanding*, and all our *Ideas*; joined with the *Unhappineſs* of living where no *other Goſpel* is preached or heard of; This again is conceivable: and I wiſh, I could not ſay, to the Grief of all good Men, too *natural* and *frequent*. But for a *Man* of *Underſtanding*, a *Thinking* Deiſt, firſt to be made a *Chriſtian* by *Sounds* without Meaning; by a View given Him of the *Goſpel*, *not as a Light ſhining* in *Darkneſs*, but as the *thickeſt Darkneſs* itſelf; and after this, the ſame *thinking* Perſon made a *Roman Catholick* by *reaſoning* Himſelf *philoſophically* into the *Silence* and *Defiance* of all *Reaſon*—This is a *New Sight*, I believe, even in the *Popiſh World* itſelf; and in the *Proteſtant*, too groſs a *Contradiction*, I ſhould hope, to ſuffer all the *Charms* of *good Words*, and *ſoftening Expreſſions*, to have any Effect.

Truth, *Light*, *Love*, *Reaſon*, *Strength of Reaſon*, *Philoſophical Reaſoning*, *Enlightening*, *Univerſal Reaſon*—Theſe are all pleaſing *Sounds*; but when They are ſeen to be mixed in every *Sentence*, with *Darkneſs*, *Silence*, *Sacrifice* of the *Underſtanding*, *Submiſſion* without *reſerve*, *Annihilation of Every Idea*, and the like—What ſhall I ſay? I could ſay a great deal. All I will ſay *now* is,—It is not the *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray*, who thus mixed them together; but *Popery*:—It is not *Monſieur de Fenelon*, who has thus united *Contradictions*, and confounded all *Science*; but the *Roman Catholick* Religion:—It is not that *Great Genius* who has thus ſcandalized and wounded *Chriſtianity* itſelf; but the *Church* of *Rome*. Upon THAT we muſt charge, firſt the implicit putting out of his own *Eyes*; and then, his *kind Endeavours* to put out the *Eyes* of Others.

I hope You will pardon this Freedom from,

SIR,

Yours, *&c.*

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER LXIII. LONDON JOURNAL, December 7, 1723.

A Continuation of the former Letter.

YOU will ſay, that I have hitherto done little, in obſerving that *Monſieur de Cambray*, being a *Papiſt*, ſpeaks and acts like a *Papiſt*, upon the Point of *Submiſſion:* and that this is no more than it would be to ſay of Any *Roman Catholick*, That He held the Doctrine of the *Roman-catholick* Church. But I muſt here beg your Pardon. My Obſervation is of another ſort, and of another *Tendency, viz.* That *Monſieur de Cambray* was a Man much above the Common Pitch of Underſtanding, a Perſon of very great Abilities and Knowledge; That His *Great Capacity* had enabled Him to ſtock His Mind with many Good and Noble Principles, as a Foundation; That, notwithſtanding this, He devoted Himſelf to a *Blindneſs* of *Conduct*, hardly to be expreſſed; and that nothing but his *Attachment* to ſuch a *Religion* as *That*, in which He was born and bred, could have made a Perſon of *ſuch* a *Capacity* intrench Himſelf in ſo many palpable Contradictions as He did. And that the *Streſs* of this *Obſervation* lies upon His *Uncommon Abilities*, and the Inconſiſtent *Uſe* made of them. But let Us now proceed to view Him farther, in this Light.

You ſee, In his Arguments for *Chriſtianity*, in its general Simplicity, He is not ſo weak, as to move His *Diſciple* to be a *Chriſtian* implicitly, without Evidence; or only becauſe He is commanded ſo to be, by any *Authority* upon *Earth*. But He appeals to his *Underſtanding*, and lays before it the *Reaſons* for believing in *Jeſus Chriſt*. As ſoon as ever He has brought Him to ſuch a *Maſter*, He then immediately tells Him, that the *Perfection* of *Chriſt's* Religion conſiſts, not in his regarding any particular *Doctrines* or *Practices* which He may judge to have been delivered and recommended by *Chriſt* Himſelf; but in a *Blind, implicit, Undoubting, Unexamining Submiſſion* to the *Church* of *Rome*, and the *Governing Part* of it. It was abſolutely neceſſary therefore, to make the Way to *This* eaſy, by preſſing upon Him ſo earneſtly the *Total Sacrifice* of the *Underſtanding.* For if You are reſolved to perſuade a *Man* to travel where You have reaſon to think He would not venture for the whole World, were his *Eyes* open; the firſt and neceſſary Step to This, is to perſwade Him to *ſhut his Eyes*, and to *keep them cloſe ſhut:* and after *that*, He can have no *Objections* to make. No wonder therefore, after the *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray* had thought fit to make the *Principle* of *Blind Submiſſion*, the *perfective Maxim* of the *Goſpel*; that He put it in *Practice* in the ſame *Extent*, in which He *taught* it: and yet, with *Circumſtances*, to my Mind, utterly irreconcilable to what One had *Reaſon* to expect from ſome other *Principles* of this *Great Man*.

He had treated of the *Love* of *God*, in the manner He thought it commanded in the *Goſpel*; the *Perfection* of which *Love* He had placed in the *Point*, in which alone He judged God Himſelf to have placed it. This was no trivial Matter, no *Ceremony*, no *Indifferent Cuſtom*, or the like: but the *Height* of *Practical Duty*, having for its immediate Object the *Supreme Being* itſelf. The *Pope*, after a long Examination of his Book, publiſhed a *Brief* condemning the *Book*, and *twenty-three* Propoſitions extracted out of it. The *Archbiſhop* not only immediately ſubmitted, but publiſhed an *Ordinance* in his *Dioceſe*, in which He tells his *Flock*, that " He owes Himſelf to *Them without Reſerve*," that He " ad-

“ heres to the *Brief* which had condemned his *Book*, and the *twenty-three Propoſitions* taken out of it;” and that “ He does this *abſolutely*, *without Reſervation*, or *Shadow* of *Reſtriction*.” He exhorts *Them* likewiſe “ to a *ſincere Submiſſion*, and an *unreſerved* Docility, leſt there ſhould inſenſibly be a declining from that *pure Obedience* of which He was reſolved to ſet Them an Example.” The *Concluſion* is very remarkable. “ God forbid (ſays He) that We ſhould ever be ſpoke of, but to call to Mind, that a Shepherd has thought it his Duty to be more Docil than the leaſt Sheep of his Flock; and that He has ſet *no Bounds* to his *Obedience*.” In a *Letter* to the *Biſhop* of *Arras*, He comforts Himſelf in this Manner: “ My *Superior* (ſays He) “ by the *Deciſion* He has made, has diſcharged *My* Conſcience. To humble *One's* Self is doubtleſs painful to Nature; but the *Leaſt Reſiſtance* to the *Holy See*, would be a hundred times more ſo, to my Heart:” *p.* 123. When the *Sincerity* of his *Submiſſion* was called in *Queſtion*, ſee the Account He gives of it Himſelf, in theſe remarkable Words, *p.* 124: “ My Submiſſion, *ſays He*, was not a Stroke of Policy, nor a Silence in reſpect to Men; but an Interior Act of Obedience paid to God alone. According to *Catholick Principles*, I looked upon the *Judgement* of my *Superiors*, as an *Echo* of the *Supreme Will*.—I heard *God* ſpeaking, as unto *Job*, and ſay to Me, *Who is this that darkeneth Counſel by Words without Knowledge?* And I anſwered Him from the Bottom of my Heart, *Since I have ſpoken unadviſedly, what can I anſwer? I will lay my Hand upon my Mouth*.”

It was too late, after ſuch unlimited Declarations, to pretend that the *Condemnation* of a *Book* in groſs, and of *twenty-three* Propoſitions, particularly extracted out of it, was not the *Condemnation* of the *Doctrine* of the *Book*, but only of ſome of the *Expreſſions* made uſe of, to convey that *Doctrine* to the *World:* as the *Writer* of his *Life* would ſometimes inſinuate. For, beſides that *His Doctrine*, peculiarly ſpeaking, is the *Doctrine* as He delivered, explained, and expreſt it; and therefore cannot be *ſeparated* from the *Explications* themſelves; it was the *Condemnation* of the *Doctrine*, and not only of the outward Clothing of it, which the *adverſe Party* demanded, and obtained. Neither does that *Prelate* Himſelf ever ſay plainly, that *His own Doctrine* had not been condemned; but, (a little artfully) “ the *Church* has not condemned the Doctrine of *Pure Love*, in condemning my *Book*;” and the like.

Thus then, the *Declaration* of his *Submiſſion*, ſent to the *Chriſtians* of his own *Dioceſe*, ſtands in its natural Meaning and Force. “ As I was obliged in Duty to do, I have taught you the *Will* of *God*, in one of the Points of the higheſt Importance; and ſhewn You in what the *Perfection* of it conſiſts. But ſince Our *Holy Father* the *Pope* has condemned the *Doctrine*, as I taught it You, I do likewiſe join abſolutely, and without reſerve, in the *ſame Condemnation*. I deſire, You ſhould be the Followers of *Truth:* But I enter not into the *Examination* whether what I have taught You be *Truth* or not. Be it ſo, I renounce it equally; as fully, and as unreſervedly, as if it were *Falſhood*. The Doctrine of the *Pure Love* of *God*, I recommended to You *before*. I now recommend to You more ſtrongly, the *Doctrine* and *Practice* of *Pure Obedience* to the *Pope*. This I repreſent to *You*, as the Voice of *God* Himſelf, who commands You indeed to *Love Him*; but within ſuch *Bounds*, as the *Biſhop* of *Rome* ſhall preſcribe. For myſelf, I diſown my *Book*. I deſire to be remembered amongſt You, under no Character but that of *One*, who has readily, and without reſerve, ſacrificed *Truth* to *Peace*; and the *Pure Love* of the *Supreme Being* of *Heaven* and *Earth*, to *Pure Obedience* to the *Supreme Head* of the *Romiſh Church* upon Earth.” For this is in truth the *Caſe*. The *Voice* of

God Himſelf, in this *Great Man's* Account, was that *Pure Love* which He once taught the World. But now, the *Echo* of the Voice of that ſame *God*, is abſolute Contradiction to the *Voice* itſelf; and no leſs than the *Condemnation* of that *Doctrine*.

The *Peace* and *Quiet* of this unreſerved *Submiſſion*, is too evident to be denied. For by it, *Monſieur de Cambray* avoided all *Suffering*, and all farther *Conteſtation*: and from it the Church of *France* reaped the Benefit of a perfect *Tranquillity*, undiſturbed by ſuch Diſputes. But then, it is a *Ridicule* upon every thing that can be called *Religion* or *Knowledge*, for Perſons of ſuch Principles, for any ſuch abſolute *Sacrificers* of all the *Whole Underſtanding*, to take the *ſacred Names* of *Truth* and the *Goſpel* into their *Mouths*. For what is *Truth*, and what is the *Goſpel*, in *their* Language; or (which is all one) what is to be received as ſuch, by *All*; but *Whatſoever* the *Various Intereſts* working at *Rome*, ſhall influence the *Man* who happens to preſide there, to declare ſo to be?—How happy ſhould every *Chriſtian*, and every *Man*, think Himſelf, in living where the *Church* claims no ſuch *Implicit Sacrifice*, but permits Him to conſult the *Original Standard* of *Truth*, and *Will* of *God*; and from thence to judge of every thing taught or practiſed, with all that *Sobriety* and *Seriouſneſs*, which the Importance of *Truth* and *Religion* requires! A *Liberty*, which *Every Man* of Senſe values as the *Preſervative* of all the *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding* yet remaining in the World; and which *Every Good Man* laments to ſee at any time, or in any degree, abuſed to Purpoſes not at all uſeful to the *Intereſts* either of *Truth* or of *Society*!—Had *Monſieur de Cambray* lived in ſuch a *Country*, He would not have ſet *Truth* and *Peace* at *Variance*; or made the *Perfection* of the *Goſpel* conſiſt in *ſubmitting* it to the Pleaſure and Dictates of *Men*; or ſpent ſo precious and valuable Moments, in Mean *Trifles*, or Unintelligible *Perplexities*, or Servile *Doctrines*.

When *Popery* works, in its full Force, upon *Ordinary* and *Common* Minds, which have no inward Strength to defend Themſelves againſt it; and fills up every *Corner* of them with Abſurdities and Inconſiſtencies; Things *then* do but operate in their *Natural Courſe*; and the *Uneaſineſs* it gives, is not ſo quick and pungent. But methinks, I am never more angry with *It*, than when I view It in Its Triumphs over the Sons of Glory Themſelves. When a *Great Genius* ariſes, deſtined to an *Immortality* of *Fame*; fitted for every noble Undertaking of the Mind; capable of carrying the Perfection of *Man* to its true Heighth;—When *ſuch* a One, whilſt the World is waiting for the *Improvements* and *Cultivations* of his Hand, is Himſelf ſtopped in his Career, and ſunk into I *know not what*: When *ſuch* an One is ſeen to call *Darkneſs* itſelf, *Light*; to eſteem *Self-contradiction* to be *Self-abaſement*; to pray againſt *Inſtruction* in the *Underſtanding*, even from *God* Himſelf; and to loſe all *Truth*, in the *One Comprehenſive Article* of *Obedience to a Man*; and there to put a *Bound* to *All* the *Great* Things for which *God* and *Nature* had formed Him—Theſe are the *Trophies* of *Popery*, which I cannot look upon without much Reſentment: And methinks, I cannot eaſily forgive a *Religion* (if it deſerves that Name) to which we owe ſo much Detriment to *Truth* and *Knowledge*;—ſo much *Good* loſt to the World;—ſo many great Works covered in the Night of Darkneſs, and ſwallowed up in the *Abyſs* of *Unreſerved Submiſſion*;—ſo many *Noble Sentiments* ſuppreſt within, by a *Reſpectful Silence*, at the Command of *Thoſe*, who hate the *Light* only becauſe it is their *Enemy*.—For, in one Word, Either the Account of the *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray* now before Us, is a *Romance*, a cunningly deviſed Fable, to inſinuate the *Love* of *Popery* into the *Unwary* and *Unſtable*, from his *Great Example*; or *Popery* can never make amends to the *World*, for the Infinite *Loſs* and *Damage* of All that might have been certainly expected from ſuch a *Man*, and (what this naturally leads our Thoughts to) from Multitudes of the ſame *Rank* of *Capacity*, had not *Popery* alone ſunk their *Spirits* and *Souls* into an Ignominious State of *Blindneſs* and *Reſt*; or a more *Ignominious* One, of *Zeal* for the *ſame State* in all others around them.

The Advice to a *Certain Prince* (as He is called) relating to the *Civil Liberties* of his *Subjects*, ſhall be conſidered next. In the mean time, I am, *Sir*,

Your &c.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LXIV. LONDON JOURNAL, December 14, 1723.

A Continuation of the former Letter.

I AM coming to conſider the moſt *material Point* You mentioned, when You recommended, in ſo high a Tone, the Conſiſtency of *Popery* with the *Civil* and *Religious* Liberties of this Nation, from the Temper and Example of the *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray*. But I will firſt, in Juſtice, tranſcribe the *Whole Paſſage*, that it may appear in its full Force and Vigour, as it is in *p.* 307:

"Towards the Year 1709, [*ſays the* Writer] a Young Prince ſpent ſome time "with the *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray* at his Palace; and in diverſe Converſations "They had together, liſtened to Him with great Veneration and Docility. The "Archbiſhop recommended to Him, above all things, never to compel his Sub-"jects to change their Religion. Liberty of Thought, ſaid He to Him, is an "Impregnable Fortreſs, which no Human Power can force. Violence can never "convince; it only makes *Hypocrites*. When Kings take upon them to direct "in Matters of Religion, inſtead of protecting it, they bring it into Bondage. "You ought therefore to grant to *All* a *Legal* Toleration, not as approving "Every Thing indifferently; but ſuffering with Patience what God ſuffers, and "endeavouring to reconcile the Miſled by ſoft and gentle Perſuaſions." The Archbiſhop's "Diſcourſes to Him upon Politicks (*ſays He*) were in the ſame "Strain, in which *Mentor* ſpeaks to *Telemachus*. He ſet before Him the Ad-"vantages He might draw from the Form of Government in his Country; and "from the Regard He was obliged to have for *his* Senate. This Tribunal, *ſaid* "*He*, can do nothing without You, Sir. Are You not powerful enough? You "can do nothing without it. Are You not happy in being free to do all the "Good You would; and to have your Hands tied, when You would do amiſs? "Every Wiſe King ſhould wiſh to be only the Executor of the Laws, and to "have his Power moderated by a Supreme Council. The Paternal Authority "is the firſt Model of Government. Every good Father ſhould act in concert "with Thoſe of his Children, who have the moſt Wiſdom and Experience."

I need not obſerve, what is obvious to the moſt common Reader, that the *Young Prince* (here ſo ſtiled) is the *Perſon* pretending to the Crown of *Great Britain*; as it is plain from the *Deſcription* of a *Country*, in which a *King* can do nothing without the Concurrence of his *Parliament*. Nor will I, in the leaſt, detract from the Nobleneſs of the Sentiments here expreſt. The Thoughts (excepting perhaps *one* or *two*) are manly, wiſe, and juſt: and the *Advice* worthy to be regarded by *All* who bear the Name of *Kings* in ſuch a Country. But, as

You ſeem to draw an *Argument* from all this, in Favour of *Popery*, and the *Popiſh Line*; and, as there is ſome Reaſon to think, that the *Book* now before Us, was publiſhed in theſe Parts, with a particular Eye of Expectation and Comfort from this *remarkable Paſſage*; I will therefore ſpeak freely and impartially upon this *Subject*, as well with Regard to the *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray*, who is ſaid to have given this *Lecture* of *Advice*, as to the *Perſon*, to whom He is here repreſented to have given it. And under both theſe *Views*, I will not ſcruple to undertake to ſhew, That this *Converſation* itſelf, (far from tending to what You ſeem to hope,) will furniſh out a very ſtrong Argument againſt that very Cauſe, which is plainly intended to be promoted by it.

I will by no Means deny, or diſſemble, that under the *Influences* of *Popery*, there lived a Perſon (*Monſieur* de *Cambray*) whoſe *Mind* was formed upon the Plan of Generous and Noble Principles; the natural Bent of whoſe *Soul* was Benignity and Beneficence to all Mankind; and whoſe Zeal for the Happineſs of *Society* flamed out, with all the *Heat* and *Brightneſs*, which ſuch a Cauſe can inſpire. I will go farther, and acknowledge, that even in *Practice*, as far as He was permitted, He was inclined to purſue the ſame Maxims which He held true in *Speculation*. The *Writer* of his *Life* will expect Us not to refuſe Him this *Juſtice*, after what He has told us, *p.* 11: “The King (*viz. Lewis* the *Fourteenth*) was informed of the *Abbé* de *Fenelon's* Talents of Perſuaſion, and of reconciling prejudiced Minds to REASON:” [for by this Name the *Writer* here calls the ſame *Popiſh Religion*, which He afterwards repreſents as entirely built by this Great Man Himſelf, upon the *Ruins* of *All Reaſon*; and to be perfected *only* by the *Sacrifice* of the *Whole Underſtanding*.] “And in the Year 1686, the *King* named Him to go *Chief* of a Miſſion, that was appointed for the Converſion of the *Proteſtants* upon the Coaſts of *Saintonge*, and in the Country of *Aunis*; *Louis* XIV. had been adviſed to make uſe of Military Power for the hindering a Diverſity of Religions in his Kingdom: But the *Abbé* de *Fenelon*, far from approving ſuch Maxims, would never conſent to undertake the Miſſion, but upon Condition that no Troops ſhould be employed in it. The Mild and Gentle Treatment which the Proteſtants of theſe Quarters experienced, whilſt their Neighbours were abandoned to the ſevereſt Uſage, diſpoſed Them to liſten with Advantage to the New Miſſionary. And though this Method in reality did not produce ſo many haſty Converſions, as did That of Violence; yet thoſe which it wrought were more ſolid and more ſincere.”

I am very willing to believe that This is Truth. It has a Reſemblance to ſome other Parts of this Great Man's Character: and it ſhews undoubtedly, That He was in his Inclination a Friend to the *Paths* of *Humanity*; and in his Judgement perſuaded, That theſe *Mild Methods* were more political, with regard to the *Civil Intereſt* of the *King*; and more apt to add *Proſelytes* to the *Church*, whoſe Authority He Himſelf had ſo much at Heart. Thus far He ſeems to have gone: Any farther, I cannot ſay. For neither through *this* whole Account, nor in any other of his Works, can I find that He ever utterly condemns, or abhors, thoſe *Barbarous* and *Inhumane* Methods, contrary to what He adviſed; or ever repreſents Them as inconſiſtent with the Temper and Deſign of the *Goſpel* itſelf. He is *Great*, in coming thus far. But He is but *One* out of Thouſands. Nor does this *Writer* Himſelf pretend, but that the *Whole Torrent* of *Popery*, both in *Advice* and *Practice*, ran in quite a contrary *Channel*: which is itſelf a *Conſideration* enough to allarm all *Proteſtants*, and to take off from the Charms of *One ſolitary* Example of this ſort. And yet, if Theſe Seeds of Humanity were ſeen to be cultivated by what would nouriſh and improve them; or by what would barely ſo much as ſuffer them to grow up, and bring forth Fruit; I would admire them much more, and encourage a Dependance upon Them. But let Us ſee how this Matter ſtands.

Monſieur de Cambray ſpeaks like an Angel, *You will ſay*, upon *Liberty:* and *Popery*, clothed in *his* Garb and Form, (like *Minerva* in the Habit and Appearance of his own *Mentor)* holds forth the *Olive-branch* of *Peace* to *Nations*, and pronounces *Oracles* of *Good* and *Happineſs*, and is itſelf the *Advocate* for a *Liberty* in *Religion*. But if *Minerva* had ſpoken groſs *Inconſiſtencies* through the Mouth of *Mentor*; Who, I pray, would have liſtened to the *Goddeſs* of *Wiſdom* Herſelf? And if *Popery*, through the *ſame* Mouth which ſometimes ſpeaks ſo much *Goodneſs* and *Freedom*, at *other* times forces out the contradictory *Sounds* of *Dominion* and *Slavery*, though covered cloſe under the *Guiſe* of *General Principles*; none but the Weakeſt of Men will attend to ſuch a Voice. Nay, It is the *more* to be dreaded, and fled from, if it be found that *It* cannot utter *One* kind or beneficent Sound, but what Itſelf ſwallows up again in its own genuine *Noiſe* and *Violence*. What therefore does it avail, that the *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray* gives You the moſt heavenly *Leſſons* of *Humanity* and *Liberty*, if He Himſelf has obliged Himſelf, under the ſtricteſt and moſt ſacred Ties, to *undo* them All; and if this comes ſolely from his being in *Religion* a *Papiſt*, what avails it, that He ſometimes follows *Nature*, which He is determined to *ſacrifice*, at the Command of the *Other?* We will come to *Particulars*. I have already obſerved that Entire Unreſerved Obedience He *profeſt* in *all* Caſes equally; and practiſed in *That One* which came to his *Lot*; that *Docility*, as He calls it, or *Flexibility*, at the Word of *Command* from a *Voice* ſpeaking at *Rome*, which He actually compares and equals to the *Voice* of *God* Himſelf.

This was not only an *Occaſional Principle* with Him, faſhioned and brought forth for Uſe, upon that *Emergency*; but was an *Eſſential Ingredient* in his *Vital* and *Internal Religion*. Hear the *Writer* of his *Life*, introducing Him thus contending with *Himſelf*, in order to ſetle Him in true *Religion*, p. 114, &c. The *Archbiſhop* there deſcends below all Dignity of *Underſtanding*, to the common Thread-bare *Topicks* of the *Loweſt* of the *Popiſh Advocates*; and whilſt He is contending againſt *judging* at all about the *Divine Proceedings*, He tranſgreſſes the *Modeſty* He inculcates; and boldly *confines* Almighty God Himſelf, by the *Arbitrary Rule* of his own *Imagination* of what the *Supreme Being* ought to do. "If we admit a Supernatural Revelation, We muſt acknowledge ſome Supreme "Authority continually ſpeaking to interpret it——If there be no Infallible "Authority, which may ſay to US ALL, *This is the true Meaning of the Holy* "*Scripture*, how can We expect, &c?——God would have been wanting" *(a very high Word, for* One *who is arguing You into the* Silence *and* Sacrifice *of* All *your* Ideas!) "to the Neceſſities of almoſt All Men, if when He gave Them a "written Law, he had not at the ſame time provided Them a *ſure Interpreter*." ——And, after the *Common Topicks* of *Diviſions* and *Sects* amongſt *Proteſtants*, come Words unworthy of ſuch a Mouth, and which I hardly care to repeat, They ſound ſo harſh, and carry ſuch an Imputation upon *Heaven* itſelf——"In "fine, [ſays this Great Man, *p.* 197,] We muſt either ſubmit to this Church," *i. e.* in all its *Interpretations* of *Scripture*, "or reject the Bible as a Fiction." And again,——"You have no Remedy *(ſpeaking to his Diſciple)* but by rejecting "both the Law-giver and the Law."——From *Theſe*, and ſeveral other Paſſages, which need not be named, I will ſhew You, that, were the *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray's Declarations* for *Liberty* in *Religion*, a thouſand times more ſtrong than They are; They would all have ſignified nothing, even to *Himſelf*——He Himſelf

ſelf muſt have joyfully become a *Perſecutor*, if the *Voice* had come from *Rome* directing Him ſo to be. And as for *Others*; whilſt the *Deciſions* and *Interpretations* of the *Church* there, ſpeak aloud for *Force*, and *Dominion*, He Himſelf has precluded *All Chriſtians*, even from hearing any *Advice* He could, out of *Good-nature* or *Policy*, give Them to the contrary; *nay*, has commanded Them to follow the *Paths* of *Violence* and *Inhumanity*, upon Pain of Damnation.

I have not Room to purſue this *Subject* to the *End*. But both *Grief* and *Indignation* will force Me to add a Word, upon what I have cited. I am not now conſidering the *Groſſneſs* and *Abſurdity* of ſuch a *Procedure*, in leading his *Diſciple* to judge by his *private Judgement* alone, of the *Meaning* of ſome particular miſapplied *Texts* of *Scripture*, meerly in order to convince *Him* that He muſt not uſe his *private Judgement* in the *Interpretation* of *Scripture*; or in his directing Him to the *Uſe* of his *Reaſon*, in order to convert Him to a *Religion* in which He muſt never more make Uſe of it. It is a *Grief* to ſee ſuch an *Underſtanding* ſo overwhelmed. But it is an *Indignation* not to be ſuppreſt; to ſee *Chriſtianity* and the *Goſpel* itſelf, as well as All *Underſtanding*, ſacrificed to ſuch a *Religion*. Here *Popery* acts its Triumph without Reſerve. *Here* it ſhews itſelf in its genuine and natural Effects. God be thanked, there is Strength enough in *Reaſon* and the *Goſpel* againſt all Infidelity! And Every *true* Proteſtant feels with Pleaſure that He can believe in *Chriſt*, without believing in the *Pope*; and ſubmit to *God*, without *ſubmitting* to a pretended Infallible Man. And certainly, ſuch *Appearances* as This rightly conſidered, will raiſe the Spirits of *All* who have a Concern for their *Religion*, againſt that *Popery* which alone could cauſe them. *Popery* alone is anſwerable for giving ſuch a *Sanction* as *This*, to *Infidelity* itſelf: And when One of the *Beſt* of *All* the *Sons* of the *Church* of *Rome* ſhall tell You, that You muſt either reject *Chriſt*, and *Chriſt's Law*, or ſubmit abſolutely to the *Popiſh Interpretations* of it; You will be juſtified in charging This, not upon that *Great Man*, whoſe natural Gravitation was very ſtrong towards Good Senſe, and Good Principles; but upon that *Church*, which has ever openly diſcovered a greater Concern for its own *Power*, than for the *Authority* of *Chriſt* Himſelf; and has heretofore, upon a like Account, been deſervedly compared to the *Woman* before *Solomon*, who betrayed Herſelf not to be the *True Mother*, by her little Concern for the *Child* ſhe laid claim to.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LXV. LONDON JOURNAL, December 21, 1723.

A Continuation of the former Letter.

I HAVE already ſaid what is ſufficient to convince even Yourſelf, that the ſo-much-boaſted *Paſſage* in the *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray's* Life, is of no more Uſe, to the *End* propoſed, than ſo much *blank Space* left in the ſame Page, would have been; that, notwithſtanding his ſtrong Inclination to *Toleration*, or his natural Paſſion for *Liberty*, He Himſelf muſt have been a *Perſecutor*, if the Direction had come to Him, to that Purpoſe, from the *Echo* of the *Voice* of *God* (as He ſtiles it) at *Rome*. I will now ſhew You this ſtill plainer, that his *Pacifick Doctrine* was addreſſed to *Temporal Magiſtrates* only; and that, whilſt He was declaring *Himſelf* againſt *Kings directing* in *Religion*, or *compelling* their *Subjects* to Unity of Profeſſion ; He all the while kept ſacred the Foundation of the ſame *Religious Slavery* in *Another* Place ; and reſerved for the *Kings* of the *Earth*, at the ſame time, the great Honour of being the *Executioners* of the *Decrees* of the *Eccleſiaſtical Head* of the *Chriſtian World*. This would need no other Proof, but what has already ariſen from thoſe Principles of *Unreſerved*, Unlimited *Submiſſion* to the *Voice* of the *Church* pronounced at *Rome*, and from thence ſent forth into all the Corners of the Earth. But I will make it appear ſtill more undeniably from hence, That even, when He was teaching Mankind the Path to Happineſs, in the Way of *Fable* and *Allegory*, which in their own Nature allow of greater *Latitude* and Scope of Fancy, than any profeſſed *Lectures* of Dry *Morality* or *Politicks* ; that even *Then*, I ſay, He could not forbear to open Himſelf freely enough upon this Head.

My Proof of this ſhall be taken from his own *Telemachus* ; as it was printed, at *Paris*, by his near *Relations*, from the *Original Manuſcript* left by Himſelf ; which ſhews it to have been his ſetled Senſe of this Matter ; and makes it much more *Authentick*, than if it were found in any of *Thoſe Editions* of that *Beautiful* Work, which came out in his Life-time, unknown to Him, and diſapproved by Him. And becauſe *This Paſſage* is in the Hands of very few *Engliſh Readers* ; the *ſeveral Tranſlations* already diſperſed in theſe Parts having been almoſt All made from the firſt *French Editions* of it, I ſhall think, I do an acceptable and agreeable thing, in giving a more particular Account of It. This *Paſſage* makes one of the laſt Scenes of that *Poetical Work* of *Monſieur de Crambray* ; and is introduced in the following manner, at the Beginning of the *Twenty-third* Book : for He Himſelf left his Work divided into *Twenty-four* Books, in Imitation of *Homer*. *Mentor* had taken ſome Pains to prepare his Young Prince, *Telemachus*, to leave *Idomeneus's* Court, and *Idomeneus's* Daughter, whom He loved; and to purſue his Deſign of going to *Ithaca*, before the Death of *Ulyſſes*. *Idomeneus* had received infinite Benefits from the wiſe *Advice* of *Mentor* : And, as he had now likewiſe conceived a very great Fondneſs for *Telemachus*, and feared He ſhould be diſappointed of ſuch a *Son-in-law*, if He let Them go, He could not bear the Thoughts of parting with Them. And the *Dread* He had of their leaving Him, made Him think of every poſſible Way of engaging Them to ſtay with Him. But leſt *Mentor* ſhould ſee through all his Deſign, and reproach Him ſeverely for his Weakneſſes ; the firſt *Art* He makes Uſe of is, to repreſent to *Him*, how much He ſtill ſtands in need of *his Advice* and *Aſſiſtance* ; how many Difficulties He has upon Him ; how many *Diſputes* to ſetle ; and how many *Demands* ſtill to anſwer. The *firſt* Point He mentions regards *Religion* : which the *Poet* thus relates——

“ *Idomeneus*——repreſented to *Mentor*, that if *He* left *Him*, He ſhould be entirely at a Loſs how to compoſe and regulate a *Controverſy* that had juſt then “ ariſen between *Diophanes*, Prieſt of *Jupiter Conſervator*, and *Heliodorus*, Prieſt “ of *Apollo*, upon the *Subject* of *Preſages*, taken from the *Flight* of *Birds*, and the “ *Entrails* of *Beaſts*. *Mentor* (who, in *Monſieur de Cambray's* Fable, is *Wiſdom* “ *itſelf*, appearing in a Humane Shape, and ſpeaking with a Humane Mouth,) “ immediately anſwers Him thus : Why ſhould *You* concern Yourſelf with “ Sacred Affairs ? Leave the *Deciſion* of ſuch *Queſtions*, to the *Etrurians*, who are “ in Poſſeſſion of the *Traditions* of the moſt *Ancient Oracles*, and are inſpired for “ this very Purpoſe, that They may be the *Interpreters* of the *Gods*. Employ “ your Authority only to *ſtifle* theſe Diſputes in their very Birth. Shew neither “ Partiality nor Prejudice. Content You Yourſelf with the Office of *ſupporting*

" the *Deciſion*, when it ſhall be made by *Others*. Remember, that a *King* ought " to be *Himſelf* ſubject to *Religion*, and that He ought never to undertake to regulate it. *Religion* comes from the *Gods*, and is *above* all Kings. If *Kings* " mix themſelves in *Affairs* of *Religion*, inſtead of protecting It, They put It into " a State of *Servitude*. Kings are ſo powerful, and other Men are ſo weak, that " *All* will be in danger of being changed and corrupted at the Pleaſure of *Princes*, " if they once come to enter into *Queſtions* which regard *Sacred Things*. Do *You*, " therefore, leave the *Deciſion* of all ſuch Queſtions, in its full Freedom, to the " *Friends* of the *Gods*; and confine Yourſelf to the Office of repreſſing and reſtraining, by your Power, *Thoſe*, who ſhall not obey *Their* Judgement, when " once it ſhall have been pronounced."

If this be changed from the *Style* of *Fable*, and *Heatheniſm*, into the ſerious *Language* of an *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray*; and ſuppoſed to be addreſſed to the ſame *Pretended Prince*, to whom He is ſaid to have ſpoke upon the ſame Subject; it can ſound no otherwiſe than thus: " Let no *Decrees* about *Religion* come *originally* from *You*. Mix not Yourſelf in the Differences amongſt your *Subjects*, " upon that *Sacred Head*. This is not your *Buſineſs*. Leave thoſe Affairs to be " conſidered and ſetled by *Others*. There are *Thoſe*, at *Rome*, who are in Poſſeſſion of the *Office* delivered to Them by God, of keeping and giving out the " Infallible *Traditions*, Oral and Written, relating to *Religion*. An *infallible* " Interpreter is there to be conſulted. And when *He* and his great *Council* have " formally determined a *Point*, and ſolemnly promulgated their *Deciſions* in " *Religion*; You are no longer *then* at *Liberty* to indulge your *Subjects*. Your " *Power* is not given You, to protect Them in their native *Liberty*; but to enforce the *Decrees* of their *Spiritual Superiors*; and to reſtrain and puniſh *All*, " who will not *obey* and *conform* to *Religion*, as it ſhall be from time to time " modelled, and delivered out at *Rome*." This is not a feigned and groundleſs Speech, made at Pleaſure for this *Great Man*; but is, in other Words, the very *Speech* of *Mentor* to *Idomeneus*; and exactly agreeable both to the *Principles* and *Practice*, avowed by the *Archbiſhop* Himſelf, in *other* Parts of his *Life*.

Go now, and boaſt of *Monſieur de Cambray's* Zeal for *Liberty* and *publick Happineſs*:—Extol your Idoll, *Popery*; and make it even the Guardian of *Britiſh Freedom*, and *Britiſh Toleration*.—Paint out the *Hero* of your *Religion*, contending for Indulgence to All Conſciences; and impreſſing upon *Princes* themſelves the great and mighty Law of *God* and *Nature*, who made Men *free*, in order to make Them capable of *Religion*. But tell it not, for Shame, where You cannot hide the *Light* and *Truth*, that muſt overturn it all with *Contradiction* and *Abſurdity*. You cannot put out our Eyes. And whilſt We have them, We cannot help ſeeing the *Antient Paths* of *Cunning* revived. *Monſieur* de *Cambray*, We acknowledge, forbids, as far as He can, all *Kings* to enſlave Our Conſciences, or our Profeſſions: but at the ſame time, He commands All Kings to execute thoſe *Decrees* of *Rome*, to which He gives the Privilege even of Divine *Authority*, in order to enſlave Us. *Kings* muſt not meddle with *Religion*, becauſe They may *corrupt* it. But *Popes* muſt *decree* and *determine* all Things relating to it, becauſe *They* are ſo free from all *Paſſion* and *Prejudice*, or elſe ſo *over-ruled* from above, that no Corruption can come from hence. He ſpeaks of the *Liberty* of *Subjects* in a high Strain, as neceſſary (and ſo truly it is) to the very Being of Every Man's perſonal *Religion*: but it is but to *mock* Them; for there is a *Poiſon* behind, which will contaminate and eat through all this Happineſs. They ſhall not be enſlaved or reſtrained by *Kings*, acting of their own Head, and by their own Judgement: but They ſhall be as effectually debarred all *Liberty* in Religion, by the *Voice* of the *Interpreter* of God's Will, at *Rome*; and when once *That* is ſent forth, Theſe *Kings* themſelves, who are *firſt* commanded to preſerve the Religious Liberty of their *Subjects*, are from that Moment commanded to execute the *Decrees* of that Voice, and to rob their *People* of all that *Right*, which was before aſſerted to belong to Them. And thus, You ſee, the much-loved Name of *Toleration* itſelf, is ſounded forth in our Ears, by the ſame Voice, which at the ſame time gives up *Us*, and all our Religious Concerns, to the *Eccleſiaſtical Power of Rome.*

And thus, indeed, have We been mocked, by this *Great Man*, and the *Writer* of his *Life*, from beginning to ending, through the Whole of what has paſſed upon the Two nobleſt Subjects, in which Man can be intereſted, That of *Religion*, and That of *Liberty*. Some time *before*, You may remember, *Reaſon* and *Philoſophy* Themſelves were made to call and invite Us to *Popery*. But whilſt We thought We were following *their* Voices, (like Thoſe allured into great Diſtreſſes, by the *Syrens* in the *Fable*,) *Reaſon* and *Philoſophy* themſelves were ordered to turn and tell Us, They were but *Phantoms*, to lead Us into the *Regions* of *Darkneſs*, *Slavery*, *Perplexity* and *Contradiction*. Now, *Liberty* itſelf is made to invite Us to the ſame Cauſe. But when We come, and enter farther into It, and think to embrace ſo great a Good, We find nothing but *Double Slavery*, and *Double Miſery*, to anſwer all our Hopes: the *Terror* impreſt upon weak Minds by the *Spiritual* Threatnings of God's Wrath from his *Infallible Interpreter* at *Rome*; and, added to this, the *Temporal Power* which *Magiſtrates* are required to make Uſe of, for the Support of that *Eccleſiaſtical* Tyranny. The *Writer* of this *Life* muſt think *Us* all *Blind*, and Inſenſible to a degree of *Infatuation*, to imagine that We cannot ſee, through all this *Cloud* of *Art* and *Impoſition*, that the *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray* Himſelf had no *Religion*, but what depended upon the *Dictates* of One at *Rome*; no Notions of *Liberty* itſelf, but what He gave up to the ſame *Dictates*; no *Principles* of *Common Senſe*, but what He was always ready entirely to diveſt Himſelf of; nay, no *Love* of *Mankind*, (which was his *Darling Inclination*,) but what he barbarouſly ſacrificed at the ſame *Altar*. And to think, that We ſhall be more enamoured of *Popery*, whilſt it preſents Us with *ſuch a Picture* of *ſuch a Man*, is to ſuppoſe *Abſurdity* and *Contradiction* confounding all the *Paſſions* of the *Heart*, as well as overturning all the *Ideas* of the *Underſtanding*.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LXVI. LONDON JOURNAL, December 28, 1723.

Concluſion of the former Letter.

I Return now, once more, to the *Paſſage* in the *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray's* Life, (*p.* 307.) which I have before particularly mentioned; in which the *Writer* very artfully introduces *Him*, in *ſeveral Converſations*, impreſſing upon the *Pretender* to theſe Realms, the *Duty* of *Tolerating* his *Subjects*, (as We are called) in their *Religious Differences*; as well as of preſerving their *Civil Liberties*.

Whilſt I was reading this *Paragraph*, I had no doubt but that, at the End of ſo remarkable an Incident, the *Writer* would entertain Us, at ſome Length, with the *Manner* in which this *pretended Prince* received ſuch a *Leſſon*; and at leaſt, have let Us into ſomething of *His Part* of the *Converſation*, in *Anſwer* to ſuch *Fatherly Advice*. For my own Part, I thought of nothing leſs, than to have heard immediately, in *His* Style, that his *Prince* was raviſhed with the *Diſcourſe*

upon

upon a *Subject* ſo agreeable to *Himſelf*; that he acknowledged the *Voice* of *Heaven*, in theſe *Oracles* of *Wiſdom*; and that, tranſported with Zeal and Joy, He owned the Truth and Importance of the *Leſſon*; and ſolemnly vowed an entire Obedience to it. But when, inſtead of this, I found, at the Beginning, *before* the Converſation opened, only theſe *cold* Words, *p.* 307, that, “ *in diverſe Converſations* “ *They had together*, He *liſtened to the* Archbiſhop *of* Cambray *with great Veneration* “ *and Docility*;” and at the End of ſuch *Counſels*, upon ſuch a Critical Subject, *Nothing* recorded, as *His* Anſwer; *No Senſe* expreſſed, either of his *Duty*, or *Inclination*, agreeable to the *Character* vainly aſſumed by Him—I could not help concluding that the *Writer* Himſelf was conſcious, “ It was owing to an Inſenſi- “ bility to the Good of Mankind, created by a *Bigotry* to *Popery* alone, that He “ was forced abruptly to break off this Part of his *Story*, which was in truth the “ moſt uſeful to his own Deſign; and that the *Character* of his *Prince* was ſo well “ known, that, if He had invented and penned an *Anſwer* for Him, full of the “ ſame Sentiments; the Experience of many Years, and the Knowledge of Mul- “ titudes, would have given the Lie to ſuch a *Romance*.”

If that miſcalled *Prince* liſtened with *Veneration*; it was the *Perſonal Veneration* He had learned, from *Popery*, to pay to his *Spiritual Fathers*; and not any *Real Veneration* for the *Divine Lecture* read to Him. If He liſtened with *Docility* to a profeſt *Roman-catholick Archbiſhop*; it was from the ſame *Principle* only. For, though He had the *Temper* of a *Learner* infuſed into Him, as Eſſential to his *Religion*; it is plain, He *learned nothing* here: and His *Docility* had *before* engaged Him to *learn* Leſſons of another ſort, which denied all Admitance to ſuch as theſe. He was *Docil* to the *Church*, and to the *Head* of it; but not to a particular *Doctor* in it, though his Mouth diſtilled *Nectar*, and his Words flowed like *Honey*. Agreeably to this, We find by Experience, that He has been ſo far from profiting by any ſuch *Advice*, that *Nothing* could ever perſwade Him ſo much as to put on the *Guiſe* of *Liberty*; or to pretend, even in *Words*, to *tolerate* what He abhors. On the contrary, If ever He ſhall have any *Subjects* (let Thoſe who wiſh for that Time, conſider it) He has declared more than once, that their *Happineſs* is to conſiſt in their being All of *One Mind* with *Himſelf*. But ſince it has ſeemed beſt to your *Hiſtorian*, to ſay *Nothing* in the Place, where He ought to have ſaid *moſt of all*; and to diſappoint our *Curioſity*, at the higheſt Pitch to which He had raiſed it through his whole Work, by an abrupt and ſullen Silence; I will (as I promiſed) attempt to ſupply this *Defect*, by adding a *Piece* to this *Hiſtory*, which, if it does not in *Beauty* come up to the reſt of it, yet in its *Probability* it ſhall; I mean, in its *Agreeableneſs* to the *Known Character* of that *Pretended Prince* Himſelf, as far as his *Religion* is concerned; as well as to the *Principles* and *Maxims* of *Monſieur de Cambray* Himſelf; which I only deſire to *ſuppoſe*, (for *Argument's* Sake) to be *then* underſtood by his *New Diſciple*, as They *ſince* have appeared in their full Light and Extent. I will begin, in *p.* 308, where the *Great Maſter* makes any End of his *Leſſon* upon the Nature of *Religion*, and the *Duty* of *Kings* with regard to the *Toleration* of their *Subjects*. And to fill up the *Unnatural Chaſm* in this very remarkable *Book*, I take the Liberty to continue the *Story* in the following Manner:

“ When *Monſieur de Cambray* had made an End of his divine Advices, upon the Subject of *Liberty*, the *Young Prince* found no manner of Commotion *within*, to cheriſh and improve the Force of ſuch Leſſons from *without*. On the contrary, his *Aſtoniſhment* to hear ſuch Words from the Mouth of a *Doctor* and *Biſhop* of the *Romiſh Church*, ſeemed at firſt to deprive Him for a while of the Uſe of his Faculties. But, as there was a *Silence* for ſome time, and an apparent Expectation of ſome *Anſwer* on *his* Part; He at laſt broke through his Amazement, and expreſt Himſelf in the following Terms:

"You may perhaps be ſurprized at the Reception I ſeem to give your *Lecture.* "It is, I aſſure you, owing to the *Newneſs* and Strangeneſs of it to my Ears. I "have now lived above *Twenty* Years; through all which Time it has been my "great Aim, to imbibe into my very Soul, the True Maxims of the *Religion,* "which *You* as well as I profeſs. Till *this* Moment, I have never heard, from the "Lips of Any One of my *Inſtructors,* Any Words like *Theſe.* The Voice of "every *Spiritual Father* of the *Church,* the *Voice* of the *Church* itſelf, has ever "ſounded other Leſſons in my Ears. Were I to follow the Influence of *Perſonal* "*Reſpect* to any *particular Teacher*; I might perhaps throw myſelf ſafely upon "*You,* before Any Other *Director*; and build my Faith and my *Conduct* upon "the *Authority* of ſo Great and Good a Man, as the World eſteems You to be. "But You know, Yourſelf, This is not *our* Religion, nor conſiſtent with It. It "is the *Echo* of *God's Voice* at *Rome,* that I muſt follow, upon Pain of God's "Diſpleaſure. If You can ſhew Me, that the *Oracle* pronounced from thence is, "*Toleration* and *Forbearance* of *Hereticks* and *Schiſmaticks,* My Buſineſs ſhall be, "*An Unreſerved Unlimited Submiſſion* to that *Maxim.* You, *My Lord,* purſued the "ſame Method Yourſelf in your own Difficulties; and it was *That* Voice alone, "which took You out of all your *Embarraſſments.* You had taught the Flock "of *Chriſt* their *Duty,* as You thought, in the beſt Manner. But the *Deciſion* "of your *Superior* at *Rome* was otherwiſe. And, as ſoon as it arrived in *France,* "You immediately became *All Obedience.* Let Me follow ſuch an *Example*; and "gain the ſame Eaſe of Mind.

"Suppoſe your Leſſon of *Toleration* to appear *Manly, Rational, ſuitable* to the "*Ends* of *Society,* agreeable to the *Nature* of *God,* and the *Genius* of the *Goſpel*:— "what is *All* this but the *Dark-lanthorn* of Humane Reaſon? Let not *Me* be "moved by ſuch Appearances; but learn from *You,* that the Sacrifice of *All* our "*Ideas,* and our *Whole Underſtanding,* is the Perfection of Chriſtianity; and this, "accompliſhed only in our *Catholick Church.* Let *Me* not be ſo wicked, as to "follow my own Inclination to *Forbearance* and *Toleration,* or my own Apprehenſion, in judging well of them. But ſince the *Voice* is long ago gone out, "to the *contrary*; ſince I know, and have been taught, ever ſince I could hear "and learn, that the *Inſtruction* given to *Princes,* from *Rome,* is, To drive and "force their *Subjects,* as ſoon as their *Power* is ſecure, into the *Boſom* of their "*Holy Mother*; and ſince Experience has perpetually convinced *Me,* that All "Spiritual Honours, and Saintſhips, and Praiſes beyond the common Meaſure, "attend upon the *Name* and Memory of *Princes,* who practice this *Doctrine*; "whilſt Curſes and Execrations purſue *Thoſe* of another ſort:—ſince *thus* it is, "and thus it has been for *many Centuries,* Let it be *My Glory* to yield Myſelf up "to the Guidance of the *Church*: and to *That,* let Me ſacrifice My Reverence "for *You,* as well as for *Myſelf.* Permit Me to learn from Yourſelf in your "Affliction, how *happy* it is for *Us,* that *God* has placed a *Head* over Us; and is "ever ready to govern *that Head,* that *We* may be ſecurely governed by it. It "rids us of All our Uneaſineſſes; It ſcatters all the *Phantoms* that our vain "Reaſon, or our weak Apprehenſions of Religion, may raiſe. It compoſes all "our Scruples; and anſwers to God for all our Conduct.

"Give Me leave to cite to You your own *Mentor,* whilſt I promiſe You to "follow his *Advice.* He forbids *Princes* to meddle with the *Religion* of their "*Subjects,*

“ *Subjects*, as originally of Themſelves; but He commands Them to *ſtifle* all *Religious Diſputes*; and to conſult the *Friends* of the *Gods*, or Thoſe with whom the *Gods* have depoſited their Oracles; and when once *Their* Decrees and Deciſions are known, *then* to uſe their *Civil Power*, to ſupport thoſe *Decrees*, and to make thoſe *Deciſions* effectual. Thus I promiſe You to do, whenever the Opportunity ſhall come. I will not, of my own Head, interpoſe Myſelf to decide *Controverſies*; but I will *ſtifle them in their Birth* by my *Power*. I will not humourſomly, or as from Myſelf, deny to Any of my *Subjects* my *Protection* in that *Liberty* of *Religion*, You recommend. But I will liſten to the ſame *Oracle*, to which You Yourſelf have ſhewn ſo much *Docility*. And as the *Voice* of *That* has been, for a long Tract of Years, *One Uniform Voice* of *ſtrict Severity*; and as I have ever ſo received the *Tenor* of that *Voice* from *All* about Me; I muſt be a *Rebellious Son*, and an *Enemy* to our *Holy Mother*; nay, I muſt act in Oppoſition to Your own Leſſons, and Your own Example, of *Humility*, *Submiſſion*, *Docility*, and *Unreſerved Obedience*, if I do not firmly purſue the *Methods* of the *Church*, for the Deſtruction of *Hereſy* and *Schiſm*. In This Path of Submiſſion, You have gone before Me, and got Eternal Honour *without*, and quiet Repoſe *within*. Permit Me to *follow* You in your greateſt *Glory*; and envy Me not a *Satisfaction* which You acknowledge to have been ſo ſweet to Yourſelf. I have not *ſo learned* our Religion; neither have You ſo taught it; as to leave any room for *Argument* againſt ſuch *Authority*. But whilſt You ſpeak to Me, of *ſuffering with Patience what God ſuffers*, as an *Argument* for what You are recommending; You call to my Mind what You ſeem to have forgot, that the *Voice* of *God* in theſe Points can be known, according to Yourſelf, only by the *Echo of that Voice* at *Rome*; and therefore, that I ſtill follow your own *Maxims*, whilſt I aſſure You that *I will ſuffer with Patience*, whatſoever the *Echo* of *God's Voice* at *Rome* ſhall *ſuffer*; and whatſoever that *Echo* ſhall *not* ſuffer, *That* You require Me to believe *not* to be *ſuffered* by *God Himſelf*. This ſhall be the *Rule* of My *Conduct* for ever.”—The *Young Prince* was going on, in this Strain, fired with the *Zeal* of *Holy Church*, and diſdainful of all the *Reſtraints* either of his own *Good-nature*, or the *Authority* of the *Venerable Old Man*; when ſomething happened that broke off the *Converſation*.—But He had ſaid enough, (and has confirmed it ſince to be the Inward Sentiment of his Soul, by every Step of his Conduct) to make Him the *Joy* and *Darling* of all the *Fiery Bigots* in *Popery*; and the *Terror*, and Eternal *Dread*, of *Every Briton*, who deſires to bear the Name of a *Proteſtant* or a *Freeman*.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

* * *

LETTER LXVII. LONDON JOURNAL, January 4, 172$\frac{2\,3}{2\,4}$.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

IF You will ſuffer a Stranger to interrupt You a little, I have a Matter of *Common Juſtice*, to convey to the *Publick* through your Hands; and a *Matter*, in which the *Publick* may in a good Senſe be ſaid to be concerned, as well as the *Reputation* of a particular Perſon. But this is ſo far referred to You, that upon reading what I am going to write, You are at full Liberty, either to ſuppreſs it, or to publiſh it.

Methinks I never eſteem Myſelf more obliged to any ſort of *Writers*, than to *Thoſe* who have ſpent their Time in collecting all the *Materials* They have met with, of *Political* and *Practical* Knowledge; and placing in our View, with the Freedom becoming every *Hiſtorian*, whatever can give Us light into the true *Characters* of *Perſons*, and the true *Springs* of *Action*, in thoſe *Ages*, in which They Themſelves had the Opportunity of doing it. There is a pleaſing *Entertainment*, as well as a Uſeful Leſſon, in every Step We take. Our *Curioſity* itſelf is, as it were, bribed and flattered into our Inſtruction: and, if We be not dead to *Senſe* as well as to *Reaſon*, We cannot avoid an *Improvement*, which *ſteals* upon Us inſenſibly, unleſs We *reſolve* to forbid it, or to refuſe Entrance to it. This alone ſhould make Us, on all Sides, much the more favourable to *All*, who having been Themſelves Witneſſes to any great Scenes of *Political Life*, or converſant with Thoſe who have been ſo, have grudged no Pains, or Time, to communicate to *Poſterity* the *Notices* of *Things* and *Perſons*, which They thought worthy of preſerving. To examine as nicely as We can into the *Evidences* of what They relate; to make all reaſonable Allowances for the Common Failings of Humane Nature, or the particular *Imperfections* of a *Writer:* Theſe are Branches of what is due to Ourſelves in the Purſuit of *Hiſtorical Truth.* But to deal in *Mere Scandal*; to invent and to propagate the groſſeſt Falſhoods, in order to leſſen the *Credit* of a *Writer*, merely becauſe He happens to record what bears hard upon a *Cauſe* or a *Party*, which We have eſpouſed; *This*, let it be on which Side it will, let it come from what *Quarter* it will, is a Baſe Unmanly Return to the *Labours* of *Hiſtory*; and, beſides the intrinſick Wickedneſs of the Thing itſelf, has this *Malignity* in it, That, if it be generally practiſed, it muſt caſt a Damp upon *Every Hiſtorical Attempt* that can give Pleaſure and Profit to Mankind; and totally diſcourage *That Freedom*, without which *Hiſtory* muſt come to be little more than a *Sacrifice* of the Intereſts of the *Lower* Part of Men, to the Vanity of the *Higher*; and can end in *Nothing*, but a Sort of *Blind Idolatry* paid to the *Greater World*; which is, in other Words, the *Abjectneſs* and *Slavery* of the *Leſſer*.

You will begin to think, I have ſome particular Reaſon to expreſs Myſelf to You, at this Time, in this Manner. And indeed, ſo I have. Theſe Thoughts were raiſed in my *Breaſt*, and an unuſual Warmth raiſed with them, by a *Paragraph* in One of our *Weekly Papers*, of *Saturday*, *December* 21, which I will tranſcribe Word for Word; and then make a *Remark* or *Two*, upon this Way of treating any *Hiſtorian*, let him be of what *Party*, or *Denomination*, ſoever. The Paſſage is this:

" The late Right Reverend *Biſhop Burnet*, in his Account of *Italy*, ſpeaking " of the Streets of *Florence*, ſays, They were paved with Marble; and giving " an Account of *the Library* ſays, He found an Ancient *Greek* Manuſcript of the " *New Teſtament*, in which the following Text was not inſerted, ['Εγὼ ϗ ὁ πατηρ " ἕν ἐσμεν.] *Magliabechi*, the *Great Duke's* Librarian, printed an Anſwer in *Latin*; " and ſaid, that, as to the *firſt* Part of this Account, the very Children in " *Florence* could contradict him; and that, as for the *ſecond* Part, He remem- " bered a *Bulky* Gentleman, whoſe Name He underſtood was *Burnet*, entered " the *Library* at Eight o'Clock at Night, walked round it, but declared He " neither looked upon one Book, nor aſked to do ſo; and to his Confuſion, *that* " *Text* WAS in that *Manuſcript*. I only infer, *He* who does not ſtick at a " Falſhood to deſtroy an Article of *Faith*, will ſcruple at nothing below it."— The *Writer* then refers You to Mr. *Collier's* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, in which, He tells You, *Biſhop Burnet*'s Miſtakes, defective Reaſoning and *Partiality*, are plainly diſcovered; and alſo to Mr. *Collier's* Anſwer to ſome Exceptions in Biſhop *Burnet's* *Third Part of the Hiſtory of the Reformation*. Then follows the true *Key* to the whole *Satire*, in this ſtinging Concluſion—" And ſince theſe Miſ-performances in " *Biſhop Burnet* are *apparent* and *undeniable*, the *Queſtion* will be, Whether in his " *Poſthumous Hiſtory*, his *Bare Affirmation* is ſufficient Authority; and, Whether " what He reports from *Hearſay*, *Prejudice* and *Conjecture*, may paſs for a *Counterbalance* to *more* than *Legal Evidence*."

I fear, the *greater* Part of *Readers*, when They obſerved Two ſuch *Matters of Fact*, in the firſt Sentence, aſſerted with ſo much *Aſſurance*; and a *Story*, in Oppoſition to them, told with *Circumſtances* of ſuch a ſort, and *All* with an Aire of Certainty; could not well think it poſſible that any *Man* would venture at all *This* without good Grounds; and ſo, would not trouble themſelves to look into the *Book* referred to, or to examine whether *That* could be falſe, which is ſo poſitively affirmed to be true. But as for Myſelf; I have ſeen ſo much of the *Nature* of *Party*, and the *Wickedneſs* of *Party-malice*, and the *Falſhood* of *Quotations*, that I have conceived a *Diffidence* of Mankind, which always puts me upon My *Guard*. This ſets Me continually upon all poſſible Ways of ſearching out the *Truth* of *Facts*, where it can be found. And in this, I am ſure, I am impartial, becauſe I do it with reſpect to all Parties; and will purſue the ſame Rule, with regard to Biſhop *Burnet* Himſelf, as well as to *Any* of his *Adverſaries*. In the preſent Caſe, I thought it exceedingly neceſſary, as I am a *Lover* of *Hiſtory*, in a very particular Manner; becauſe I am ſo far agreeing with this *Writer*, that, if theſe *Facts* be *true*, i. e. if Biſhop *Burnet* made *theſe Reports* of *Two Things*, of which his own *Eye-ſight* was a competent Judge; very little Regard ought to be had to *Any thing* which relies *only* upon *his own* Affirmation. But then, on the contrary, If it be found that theſe *Aſſertions* are not only *Falſe*; but void of all *Appearance* of any *Ground* that could give a Handle to them: and this, in ſuch manner, that *They* could not be *Miſtakes*, but muſt be *Abſolute Inventions*, of the *Perſon* who was the *Original Author* of this *Accuſation*; This, I ſay, will rather add an *Authority* to a *Writer*, than leſſen it; when it ſo plainly ſhews Him to be of that Importance, that *Thoſe* who would not have him *credited*, are reduced to the Miſerable and Wicked Shift, of Shameleſs and Goundleſs *Lying* for their Cauſe.

In examining into this, I immediately found the *Sillineſs*, as well as *Falſhood*, of the *Contrivance*. I turned firſt to *p.* 138, of the *firſt Edition* of his *Travels*, in the Year 1687, where He ſpeaks of *Florence*, in theſe Words: " *Florence* is " a beautiful and noble Town, full of *great* Palaces, rich Churches, and ſtately

“ Convents. The STREETS are PAVED, in Imitation of the old *Roman* “ Highways, with great STONE, bigger than our Common Pavement-ſtone, “ but much thicker; which are ſo hollowed in their Joinings to one another, “ that Horſes find faſtening enough to their Feet.” Here He leaves off that Subject; and, in the very next Words, ſpeaks of their many *Statues* and *Fountains*.

Thus much for the Affair of the *Pavement*. Now for the *ſecond* Charge, about a Paſſage in St. *John*. In *p.* 140, He comes to the *famous Library* belonging to the *Convent* of St. *Laurence*; *not That* belonging to the *Great Duke*, where *Magliabechi* was *Library-keeper*; of which *Library* He ſays nothing, as having nothing very rare in it, We may ſuppoſe, though He ſpeaks accidentally of *Magliabechi*, with great Honour, in *p.* 141; where He makes an *End* of all that relates to *Florence*, and paſſes on to *Leghorn*. Nor in all that He ſays about the MSS. in this *Library* of St. *Laurence*, in this Place, does He mention any *Manuſcript*, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, of the *New Teſtament*. I then turned to *p.* 44, in *which*, and the *two* following *Pages*, He has put together all that He had obſerved in the *Ancient Manuſcripts* He met with, relating to a *Certain Paſſage* in St. *John*. But, 1, here is not One Word, or Mention, of the *Paſſage* this *Writer* ſpeaks of, in St. *John's Goſpel*, *I and my Father are One*. And how could there indeed? For there never was any Doubt or Controverſy about the Agreement of all Copies in *theſe Words*. 2. As to the *Paſſage* He really mentions, in St. *John's* firſt Epiſtle. *There are Three that bear record in Heaven, &c.* He does not ſo much as name a *Greek Manuſcript* of the *New Teſtament* at *Florence* at all; but a *Manuſcript* LATIN *Bible*, p. 45, and *This*, in the *Library* of St. *Laurence*, and not in *That* which *Magliabechi* had the Care of; and, what was more ſurprizing to Me, In this *Florence Manuſcript*, He affirms *this Paſſage* to be. His Words are theſe.—“ And in a Manuſcript *Latin* “ Bible, in the Library of St. *Laurence* in *Florence*, both St. *Jerom's* Preface, “ and this Paſſage, ARE EXTANT: but *this Paſſage* comes *after* the other, “ (*viz.* the *Verſe* about the *Three Witneſſes upon Earth*) and is pinned to it with “ a *ſicut*, as is That of *Venice*.”—From hence let Any One judge of the Truth of what follows, *viz.* that *Magliabechi* printed an *Anſwer* (as the *Writer* calls it) in *Latin*, to ſhew againſt Biſhop *Burnet*, 1. That *Florence* was not paved with *Marble*, which He never had ſaid; and, 2. That a *Certain Paſſage*, never once mentioned by the *Biſhop*, was in a *Certain Greek Manuſcript*, of which the *Biſhop* likewiſe never ſaid a Word; and this, in a *Certain Library*, of which the *Biſhop* alſo is totally ſilent. Beſides *this Demonſtration* of this Falſhood, many Gentlemen and Travellers can yet teſtify, that there was a *Civility* and *Friendſhip* continually kept up between Biſhop *Burnet* and *Magliabechi*; and that the *Latter* uſed to ſpeak of Him, with very great Honour and high Encomiums. So that this whole Abſurd Story of *Magliabechi* falls to the Ground; unleſs this *Unheard-of* Anſwer in *Latin* can be produced: and, if ever it could be, it would only prove that *Magliabechi* was capable of inventing Scandal, as well as this *Accuſer*.

As to the *Biſhop's* Miſtakes in ſo long and great a Work as the *Hiſtory* of the *Reformation*, He corrected Many of them Himſelf as they came to his Knowledge: and *We* ought to correct more, if there are ſtill more remaining, by any Lights which Mr. *Collier*, or any other Man, may diſcover. But to oppoſe this *Gentleman* to the *Biſhop*, as an *Hiſtorian*, and an *Impartial* One,—It muſt ſound like *Ridicule* and *Jeſt*, to All who know the *Genius* of *Men*, and the particular *Talents* They are Maſters of.

To return to the *Accuſation.* We ſee that in a few Words it contains at leaſt *Eight* Falſhoods. For, 1. The *Biſhop* ſays *Florence* was paved with *Stone.* 2. He mentions not *the Library* at all, meaning the *Duke's* Library. 3. He ſpeaks not a Word of Any *Greek Manuſcript* of the New Teſtament, at *Florence.* 4. He never mentions the *Paſſage* of St. *John,* here referred to. 5. He does not ſay the *Latin* MS. Bible *has not* the *Paſſage* He truly mentions; but poſitively affirms, *It has it.* 6. *Magliabechi* never publiſhed any ſuch Book, as is here affirmed, becauſe it is impoſſible He ſhould. 7. *Magliabechi* never ſpake in ſuch a Manner of the *Biſhop,* but in quite the contrary Strain. 8. *Magliabechi* could never affirm a *Matter* of *Fact,* about a *Greek* MS. in the *Duke's* Library, in *Anſwer* to *One,* for having *affirmed* the very ſame, of a *Latin* MS. in *Another Library.* Such an *Enormity* of *Forgery* as *This,* joined with ſo much *Ignorance,* is hardly to be met with in *Experience* or *Story.*

But the *laſt Sting* ſhews the Spirit and Principles of the *Accuſer.* It is plain, He could not forgive the *Biſhop* for the bare Relation of many Circumſtances relating to the *Pretender's Legitimacy*; which He lays together, and then leaves them to every one's Judgement. From *hence,* as it is plain from the Words about *Legal Evidence,* proceeded the *Indignation* of the *Man.* And his *Indignation,* raiſed upon ſuch a Ground, and working to ſuch a Degree of Wicked and Malicious *Invention,* plainly diſcovers (what I ſhall now conclude with) "That "ſuch an Aſſemblage of *Wilful Falſhoods* could proceed from no Perſon, but a "*Bigot*; and a *Bigot* of that *Religion,* which, He aſſures Himſelf, gives Him "a full Diſpenſation, before God, to *invent* and *propagate* all Scandal, which "may (as *He* imagines) aſſiſt and encourage the *Cauſe* of his *Pretended Prince,* "and his *Worldly Church.*

I am, *Sir,*

Your, &c.

PHILHISTORICUS.

LETTER LXVIII. London Journal, January 11, 17$\frac{23}{24}$.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

I HAVE a good while reſolved, to trouble You with ſome of my Thoughts, upon *Subjects* of the greateſt *Importance* to *Society* in general, and to *Our own* in particular: and in purſuance of that *Reſolution,* I now do it. If They can extort *Any* from *You,* upon the Subjects I propoſe; or from any other Perſon, by being ſent into the World through Your Hands; I ſhall not be diſpleaſed with the preſent *Liberty* I take: which, give me leave to aſſure You, proceeds from no Cauſe but a ſincere Deſire of the Happineſs of my *Country.*

I am a Member of the preſent *Parliament:* and though I have had the *Experience* but of *One Seſſion,* to furniſh Me with ſuch *Obſervations,* as may be the Foundation of very good *Rules* of *Conduct* in the *Political* World; yet, I have been long enough in that *Active Scene* of Life, to ſee the Neceſſity of many more Thoughts than I have yet had, upon ſo *Great* a *Subject*; and of the *Experience* of *Others* to ſupply the Defects of my *own* in *ſome* Inſtances, or to add a *greater Weight* to *It* in *Others.* As far as I know my own Heart, I can profeſs to You, that I accepted a Place in *Parliament,* not from any *Vain Ambition* of appearing *Greater* amongſt my Neighbours in the *Country*; nor from any *Aim*, either at *Place* or *Penſion* at *Court*: nor from any *Inordinate Paſſion* for *Popularity*, in oppoſing *Courts* and *Miniſters*; or deſire of *ſhining bright* in the *Circle* of *Patriots*: but from a *fair Opportunity* offering itſelf to Me; (which I interpreted, perhaps a little enthuſiaſtically, as the *Call* of *Providence*;) accompanied with a *Reſolution* of ſerving my Country as faithfully, and as zealouſly, as I could. From the Moment of that *Election*, I never looked upon *Myſelf* any otherwiſe, than as *One*, who, ſtrictly ſpeaking, owes *Himſelf*, his *Care*, his *Time*, his *Underſtanding*, and his *Paſſions*, to his *Country's* Service. Not but that I always thought, and think ſo ſtill, that *Every Individual* Private Man, Every *Member* of the *Society*, who is Part of the Support of it, has both a *Right* and a *Duty* belonging to Him, to intereſt Himſelf, with all his Powers, in the *Common Cauſe* of that *Society* to which He belongs. But, as this *Right* and *Duty*, for the avoiding *Greater Inconveniencies*, and for the anſwering the *ſole Ends* of entring into *Society*, is by *Conſent*, at all *Elections*, transferred (though I dare not ſay *abſolutely*, and in *all poſſible* Caſes) to *Thoſe* whom the *Electors* depute and commiſſion to *repreſent*, and as it were to *perſonate* Them: the *Perſons* ſo empowered, and accepting ſuch *Commiſſion*, lay Themſelves, in Honour and Conſcience, under the moſt ſacred Obligation that in humane Life can be imagined. They have, every Man of Them, not only the *Ties* of *private particular* Men, which ſtill remain ſtrong upon Them; but *Thoſe* which ariſe from their being the *Publick Truſtees*, to whom the Nation has in a Manner transferred Every Man's private *Right* and *Duty* of watching and guarding and ſupporting and increaſing the *Publick* Happineſs, in which *All* are equally concerned; and of conſulting and conſenting to ſuch Meaſures, as are either *deſirable* in *themſelves*, or made ſo by Unavoidable *Neceſſity*, for that *Great* and *Good* End.

How *This* fits upon the Minds of *Other Gentlemen*, is not *my* Concern. But my own *Conduct* is. And for Myſelf; as I have particularly employed the Leiſure Hours I have been able to command, in the Studies which regard *Humane Policy*; the *Original* and *Ends* of *Humane Society*; and the like: for *this* Reaſon, perhaps, the *Thought* lies upon my Mind, with a *Weight*, (I had almoſt ſaid, with an *Awe*,) that hitherto has created in Me an Anxiety of Mind, or a *ſcrupulous Uncertainty* of Conduct, rather than a Readineſs and Quickneſs of *Action*. But this is an *Inconvenience*, which the *Uſe* of *Judgement*, and the *Experience* of Life, will remove; and a *Fault*, like *Youth* itſelf, which *Every Day* will cure, whether We will or no.

The Mention of *theſe Studies* ſtops Me a little, and makes Me wiſh that They were, much more than they ſeem to be, the Studies of All *Gentlemen*; that is, of *All* who are poſſeſſed of ſo much of the *Property* of the *Kingdom*, as can allow Them any Leiſure to think upon and purſue what is indeed the Foundation of what They enjoy in this World. For I have always thus fixt it in my own Mind, that, next to thoſe *Studies* which may be ſaid to concern *Ourſelves* primarily, or ſolely; I mean, the Studies of *Morality*, *Honour*, or *Virtue*, (for They are All but different Words for the ſame thing:) *That*, *next to Theſe*, I ſay, (which for Diſtinction-ſake I will call *Perſonal Studies*,) the *Political Studies* muſt take Place, in the Opinion of All Wiſe Men, as the moſt *Ornamental*, as well as *Uſeful*, to *Every Man*, conſidered as a *Member* of *Society*. I place no *Study* of *private* or *perſonal Profit* and *Advantage* before Them, ſo as to *oppoſe* it to Them: but only, That *Endeavour* and *Study*, which firſt makes a *Man* what it becomes Him to be in *Himſelf*; and is not, properly ſpeaking, ſo much diſtinct from the *Other*, as it is neceſſary to it; and in the *Order* of Things *before* it. For, *He* who is not *within* determined to be in his private Capacity an *honeſt* Man; *He*, who does not feel, in the inward Sentiments of his *Soul*, a *Bent* and *Reſolution* towards being what He Himſelf can approve of; will feel but very faint *Movements* towards any *Attempts* which regard the *Good* of *Mankind*, and the *Intereſts* of *Society*; but will be too apt to think Them all very dry and jejune Employments for a *Mind* conſcious of *other* Tendencies within. And *He*, on the contrary, who firſt has laid the Foundation *within*, and poſſeſt Himſelf with the Senſe of a *Rectitude* and *Becomingneſs* in private Conduct, will have nothing to ſtop Him in his Endeavours after that *Political Knowledge* which regards the *Good* of *Society*, and that *Conduct* which is the ſole End of that Knowledge. The *Former* ſort may often join in what truly tends to this *Great End*: but then, it will be by *Accident*; and, if I may imitate the Saying of a *Great Man*, They may ſometimes be *publickly honeſt* out of *private Knavery*. The *Latter* ſort will be ſo formed by their Diſpoſition within, that it will be a ſort of *Nature* to Them, to regard the *Good* of the preſent and future Generations, with as much Eaſe and Readineſs, and *Uniformity* of *Intention*, as *Others* do their *Money*, their *Poſts*, or their *Perſonal Reſentments*. But I am going too far. What I meant to enlarge a little upon, (and I am carried to it, by the *Love* I have for ſuch *Enquiries* Myſelf,) was, the great *Honour*, *Uſefulneſs*, and *Certainty*, of the *Political Studies*.

It is not, that I have not a *Reſpect*, and almoſt a *Paſſion*, for ſome Others; which yet, I cannot but ſay, are to be eſteemed but as *Amuſements*, when They are put in the Ballance with *Theſe*. The *Polite Authors*, peculiarly ſo called, convey an inexpreſſible Pleaſure to Thoſe who are formed for Them; and many a good Leſſon might enter with this Pleaſure, were not the *Expreſſion* and *Beauty* more attended to, than any thing elſe. The Studies of *Natural Experimental Philoſophy* are of ſingular Uſe to Mankind, and at the ſame time convey a Noble and Exalted *Enlargement* to the *Souls* of thoſe who delight in them. It gives a Pleaſure, and a *New Birth*, as it were, to the *Mind*, to enter into the *Province* of *Mathematicks* and *Aſtronomy*; and is of very great Service, as it helps to free the Underſtanding from all groveling Narrowneſs of Thought; and of greater, as it ends often, and may do ſo more ſtill, in *Diſcoveries* which not only *adorn*, but *ſecure*, the *Happineſs* of Humane Life, and ſocial Commerce, in ſeveral Inſtances. But (not to name any more) Let all theſe be never ſo admirable, never ſo excellent in Themſelves; What are *Any* of *theſe*, or what are *All* of theſe put together, in Compariſon of the *Political Studies?* I *mean*, and would be underſtood to *mean*, this, with regard to *Gentlemen* of *Eſtates*; *Gentlemen*, who are *Members* of a well-formed Society, and who are, in themſelves, and their Poſterity, greatly intereſted in the Freedom and Happineſs of their Country; that is, in other Words, *Britiſh Freemen*.

There cannot, methinks, be a *nobler Field* of *Study* for *ſuch Perſons*; nor One more adapted to their *Honour*, their *Intereſt*, and to the Security of All that this World can boaſt of Happineſs, than to give ſome of their leiſure Hours up to the *Enquiries*, which regard *Political* and *Social Truth*. The *firſt Beginnings* of *Regular Societies*; the apparent *Ends* of *Government*; the Happineſs and Glory of thoſe Nations, where thoſe *Ends* have been tolerably anſwered; the inexpreſſible and continued Miſeries of thoſe Countries, in which Thoſe Ends have been totally neglected or overthrown; the *Original* and *Advantage* of *Written Laws*; the Devaſtation of all *Publick Good*, and this entailed upon *Poſterity*, for want of them; — Theſe, and many more Subjects, rightly purſued, give a *Plie* to the Mind, and leave an *Impreſſion*, which cannot eaſily be *done* *away*, or eaſily be prevented from operating, ſo as to produce the *Beſt Wiſhes*, and the *Beſt Deeds*, for our *Country's* Service. Nor is this *Knowledge* to be taken ſolely and chiefly from the *Dry Leſſons* of *Political Writers*, or from Mere *Argumentation*; but the *Pleaſure* of *Hiſtory*, and the *Memorials* of all *Ages* and *Nations*, will make the greater Part of the *Inſtruction*. And, as I look upon *Political Truths* to be a *Species* of *Morality*, and to be nothing elſe but the *Reaſon* of *Mankind*, given by *God* for the Purpoſes of *Humane Liſe*, and exerted ſo, as it becomes *ſocial Creatures*, conſidered as ſuch, to exert it: ſo I eſteem theſe *Truths* as *Certain*, and as capable of *ſtrict Demonſtration*, as any other: which makes amends for the Dryneſs of any Part of this *Study*, juſt as in another Caſe the *Clearneſs* and *Certainty* of the *Concluſion* does, for the jejune Parts of the *Mathematical Demonſtration* which leads to it. But add to ſuch *Truth* and *Certainty*, the *Pleaſure* of *Other* Branches of this Study; and the practical Uſefulneſs, or the *Immediate* Influence the *Whole* has upon the good Eſtate of Every Member of Society, (even upon *Thoſe* who know not from whence their Happineſs ariſes;) ſurely, This is enough to ſet on Fire the *Zeal* and *Induſtry* of *All* who have it in their Power, to purſue a *Science* which will be the *General Foundation* of their own Happineſs, the Happineſs of their Families, and of their Poſterity after them.

The *Senſe* I have of this, and the *Impreſſion* I have already received from it, have made Me forget Myſelf, and run into too long a *Digreſſion*, as it may appear to Some. And I own it to be a *Digreſſion* from what I had immediately before my Eyes, when I firſt ſat down to write: but yet I hope, not without its Uſe; as it lays the *Beginnings* where They ought to be laid, in *That* which alone can furniſh the *Mind* with thoſe *General Maxims* of *Political Good*; which, in the Nature and Order of Things, come before that *Particular Conduct* which is but the *Application* of thoſe *General Truths*, to the preſent *Occaſions*, and *peculiar Circumſtances*, of Every *Nation*. This *Application*, indeed, was what I had at firſt in my Thoughts to propoſe to You; and in *This*, I think, our *Difficulty* conſiſts; to make the true *Uſe* of *theſe General Leſſons*, as the *Good* of our own particular *Country*, the Nature of our own *Conſtitution*, and the *Neceſſities* of our own *Times*, peculiarly call upon Us to do. I cannot now enlarge upon *This*; but, with your Leave, I ſhall do it ſome time hereafter, unleſs I find that I have ſaid enough to You already, to make You underſtand what I mean, and to engage You to *proſecute* what I have now only *hinted* to You. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

A. B.

LETTER LXIX. LONDON JOURNAL, January 18, 17$\frac{23}{24}$.

THE Expectations of a *Free People*, under ſuch a Conſtitution as that of *Great Britain*, are never more upon the Stretch, than at the *Opening* of a *New Seſſion* of *Parliament*. Every One is waiting with Impatience, to hear the *Sentiments* of *Authority*; not only as They may be eſteemed a Deſcription of the *preſent Situation* of *publick Affairs*; but as in effect a ſort of National *Doom*, or *Sentence*, of what Burthens or Supplies will be requiſite for the enſuing Year. When a *Speech* from the *Throne* of *Great Britain* is delivered to the *Two Houſes* of *Parliament*, it becomes *Within Doors* the Subject of their *Free Debates*; in which They have a Right to conſider, and examine, with the utmoſt *Liberty* conſiſtent with *Decency*, Every *Sentence* and Every *Word* that compoſe it. And the *Guardians* of the *Nation*, always remembring that a *King* of this Country (happily for *Himſelf*, and happily for his *People*,) never acts or ſpeaks in his *Kingly Capacity*, but by the *Advice* of his *Counſellors*, can in Reaſon have no *Awe* upon Them, but that which ariſes from *Truth*, *Juſtice*, and *Decorum*; the *Adviſers* only being the Perſons They look at, in all the *Freedoms* of their *Debates* upon ſuch Occaſions. When the ſame *Speech* becomes yet more *publick*, by being diſperſed through a whole Nation of *Freemen*, and into the Hands of all *Ranks* and *Degrees*, from the *Higheſt* to the *Loweſt*; it is a Folly to think that Every Man living, who reads or hears it, will not examine, and cenſure, and judge, as He Himſelf ſees, and feels, and reaſons. Every *Publication* is an *Appeal* to the *People*, in its very Nature. And though the Exalted Name ſuch a *Paper* carries before it, may and ought to hinder all *Indecencies* of *Language*, and *Groſſneſſes* of *Expreſſion*; yet it will rather ſharpen and enliven the Enquiries of Men, than ſoften and repreſs them. Such is the *Freedom* of our *Nation*, in this reſpect! and ſuch, with all its Inconveniencies, may it ever be! becauſe, with all its Inconveniencies, it is infinitely to be preferred before the *Fettered Thoughts*, or *Fettered Tongues*, of *Slaves* and *Beggars*.

His *Majeſty's Speech* from the *Throne*, at the Opening of the preſent *Seſſion*, has led Me to theſe Thoughts: And it is upon the Force of *Theſe*, that I cannot judge it to be *Preſumption* in a *Private Perſon*, to enter freely into *That*, which all the *World* of *Readers* will enter freely into, whether We will or no; eſpecially, when He enters into it, under this *ſacred Tie*, That He will ſay nothing, either of *Perſons* or *Things*, but what appears to *Himſelf*, to be *true*; That He will not help to flatter the *Nation*, (if He *could*,) into any *better Opinion* of their *Publick Eſtate*, than what their own *Senſes* and *Feeling*, rightly attended to, and governed by *Reaſon*, and not carried away by *Prejudice*, ſhall juſtify to their own *Underſtandings*; any more than He will contribute to their having a *Worſe Conception* of their *Public Condition*, than what the *Nature* of Things, and their own *Experience*, ought to create in them. And for Myſelf, I have long thus thought, That, though there may be often Occaſion, in a *State* of Mixture of *Good* and *Evil*, to awaken the *Conſideration*, and aſſiſt the *Reflections*, of the particular *Members* of a *Nation*; yet, All the Conſiderations, and All the *moving Applications* in the World, cannot make a Nation *think* itſelf *happy* in *any* degree, which does not *feel* itſelf ſo; much leſs, which *feels* itſelf otherwiſe: any more than the fineſt Diſcourſe in the World to a *Perſon* in *Exquiſite Pain*, can give Him a *laſting Conviction* that He is in a State of *Eaſe* and *Pleaſure*.—But I will now come to what I have propoſed.

It is no Token of Evil, when a *Speech* from the *Throne* begins with *Congratulations*, upon any *Alteration* for the *better*, in the *State* of *Publick Affairs*. For, ſuch *Alteration* being a Matter of *Publick Senſe* and *Feeling*, We may almoſt *preſume* that *Common Experience* and *Fact* are well known to anſwer to them, before They are pronounced openly by ſuch an *Authority*: For certainly, Little Good, or perhaps Much Hurt, muſt be the Effect, where *Senſible* Facts are appealed to, and *Senſe* itſelf ſhall give no Teſtimony to them. But though this is hardly, or not at all, to be ſuſpected in the preſent *Caſe*; yet, ſuch *Probabilities* will not juſtify an *Implicit Belief*, where other and ſtronger Means of Conviction are at Hand; and eſpecially in the Caſe of *Publick Appearances*, which may be ſo varied by the *Cauſes* which produce them, and the *Circumſtances* which ſurround them, that (I will venture to ſay it) the very *ſame Things* may, in *One* Situation, be the

Happineſs, and in *Another*, the *Miſery* of a *People*. So that, if We would judge truly, and not impoſe upon our own Hearts, either by *Flattery* or *Diſcontent*, We muſt take into the *Account*, not only the *Appearances* themſelves, which look with a promiſing Face upon Us; but thoſe attending *Circumſtances*, which, I think, are the *great Criterion* to judge by, whether the *Scene* be a *deceitful Shadow* of *Good*; or Something as ſubſtantial and *well-grounded*, as the Nature of Things, in our preſent Condition, can well admit of. Every One will know what I mean, by the *Application* of this, in what is now to follow.

I will begin with the *Firſt Point* mentioned, *viz*. The *Riſe* of *Publick Credit*. What *This* is, and what it is that makes *This* a *Publick Happineſs*, is worth enquiring into. The *Riſe* of *Publick Credit* is not merely, or chiefly, a *Riſe* of the *Price* of *Stocks*; but *ſuch* an *Advance* of the *Price* of *Thoſe* Things, which depend upon the Management of the *Adminiſtration*, as ſhews itſelf to be the *Reſult* of *Plenty*, Eaſe, Contentment, and *Confidence* in that *Adminiſtration*. And this is a *Matter*, ſo diſtinct from the *Mere Riſe* of *Stocks*, that They, who are in the *right* in contending that this *Riſe*, conſidered by itſelf, is not at all the *Mark* of *Publick Credit*, are as much in the *wrong*, when They will not allow it to be ſo, in the *Circumſtances* I have deſcribed. I will go on to explain what I intend.

If We go back in our *Memories* but a little Way, to a *Scene* which has left behind it too deep Traces in every *Brain*, to be eaſily forgot; Never was ſuch a *Riſe* of the *Price* of *Stocks* ſeen or known; and yet, never had *Publick Credit* leſs to do with it, or indeed, more to fear from It. The *Exorbitant* Heighth of it did not *ariſe* from any juſt and reaſonable *Confidence* in the *Adminiſtration*; though it cannot be denied, but that there was *then Confidence* enough in it. But, I ſay, It did not *ariſe* from thence: Nor was it any the leaſt *Token*, properly ſpeaking, of ſuch *Confidence*. If it had, it would have ſtopt within reaſonable Bounds; and have been univerſally accompanied with a View of keeping the Property of ſuch *Purchaſes*, and not of parting with it. But it was All Extravagance; a ſort of Contagious *Madneſs* of Covetouſneſs, like a *Panick Fear*, communicated from One to *Another*. It was the *Joint Effect* of *Golden Dreams*, *Plauſible Inventions*, *Fruitful Imaginations*, *Heated Brains*, *Idle Stories*, *Deſigns* of *Immenſe Gain*, *Thoughtleſs Credulity*, and *Deluded Simplicity*. But that *Publick Credit* had little to do in it, appeared from hence, that the whole *Catalogue* of *Ridiculous Projects* that then appeared in the World, in which the *Publick Adminiſtration* had *no* Part, partook equally of the *Mad Humour*; and their *Prices* kept equal Pace with the *others*; nay, Some roſe to a *greater Exorbitance*, in Proportion, even than *Thoſe* which depended upon the *Publick*. And that *Publick Credit* had a great deal to fear from it, the *Event* had like almoſt fatally to have ſhewn. So that *here* was the *Greateſt Riſe* of *Stocks*, without the leaſt Riſe of *Publick Credit*; a *Riſe* indeed, which was the *Sign* only of preſent *Madneſs*, and the Preſage to *Wiſe Men*, at that Time, of future *Miſery*; but no *Token* of *Publick Credit*, or, which is all one, of *Publick Happineſs*.

From hence aroſe *Another* and very *Contrary* Scene. For, as it is natural in *humane Paſſions*, when They have been bent and ſtretched with an impetuous Force *One* Way, to recoil and fly back to the very *contrary* Extreme, and carry All before Them in their *Torrent*; ſo it happened in this Caſe. Men grew out of Humour with what They had before ſeen in a more agreeable Light; and, becauſe the *Adminiſtration* could not redreſs their *preſent Misfortunes*, Their Uneaſineſs made Them ready to caſt *All* the Blame from Themſelves; and created a *Diffidence*, and *Dread* of truſting to *Any Body*, or to *Any Thing*. From this *State* of *Deſpondency* and *Diffidence*, the Hearts of Men were to be raiſed. Here lay the Difficulty; and from hence, if it be effected, ariſes the *Praiſe* of *Thoſe* who have contributed to it. The *Riſe* of thoſe *Stocks*, in their *Price*, which are entirely depending upon the *Government*, is not of *itſelf* neceſſary at all to ſhew the good Eſtate and flouriſhing Condition of *Publick Credit:* becauſe, if that *Price* were always one and the ſame, and that a reaſonable one; ſuch as, all things conſidered, it might juſtly be; *This* would be enough to ſhew the happy Circumſtances of *Publick Credit*. But when This *Price* has been ſunk, with the Hearts of Men, to a *very low* Degree; it *thence* becomes *accidentally* neceſſary that it ſhould riſe, before *Publick Credit* can at all be boaſted of. And then, there are ſeveral Circumſtances, which do and muſt concur, to make *This* a *Mark* of *Publick Happineſs*.

It ſuppoſes a *Plenty* of *Money*; without which, All the Confidence in the World could not effectually do it. And it ſuppoſes in the *Proprietors* of this Money, a well-grounded *Confidence* in the *Adminiſtration*, without which *All* the *Money* in the World would not find *this* Courſe, but chuſe ſome other. When this *Riſe* appears to be the *Reſult* of *Mens Obſervation*, and not of their *Impatience*; not the Exorbitant Effect of any *ſudden Flurry* of their *Paſſions*, but the genuine Conſequence of ſome *Experience:* When it is not in the leaſt depending upon *Invented Stories* of I know not what *future Advantages*, or preſent *Events*, abroad or at home; When it is not the *Produce* of the *Speculation* of *Fruitful Head-pieces*, or the *Operation* of any *Chimerical Project:* When no *One* apparent Reaſon can be given for it, but the *Recovery* of Men's Spirits, by the gradual *Recovery* of their *Confidence* in *Thoſe* at the *Helm*—Then, It is indeed, and in truth, the *Riſe* (not of the *Stocks*, but) of *Publick Credit:* and This is, in other Words, the *Riſe* of *Publick Happineſs* to the *Nation*; and this is the *Riſe* of the trueſt and moſt valuable *Publick Honour* to *Thoſe* who have affected it.

When the *Complements* and Praiſe of *Words* and *Speeches* are paid to the *Governing* Part of the World: when They are told, in the Hearing of All around Them, that their *Capacity* for their *Province*; their *Experience* and *Addreſs* in *Buſineſs*; their Eaſy and *Expeditious* Way of performing it; their Exact and Comprehenſive *Knowledge* of the *State* of the *Publick Burthens*, and *Publick Wants*;—That All theſe, and many more *Accompliſhments*, placed Them in the Point of *Publick View*, and made the *Wiſhes* and *Expectations* of Men *formerly* centre in *Them*, as *now* their *Confidence*;—Were it *All* true, it would yet appear like the *Flattery* of an *Inferior*; and, in the Opinion of Wiſe Men, ſound, at beſt, a little like the Voice of *Slaviſh Dependence*. But if it can be ſaid, in plain and artleſs Words, and theſe confirmed by *Truth* and *Experience*, That in the Year 1723, after the greateſt *Diffidence* and *Heartleſſneſs* that *Loſs* and *Rage* could create, a New *Confidence* and *Truſt* was effected; not *precipitantly*, by the Workings of *Trick* or *Paſſion*, but gradually and by Judgement made upon the *Publick Conduct*; and that from this *Confidence* proceeded in Fact a *Reaſonable Riſe* of *Publick Credit*; and that *This* opened an eaſier Scene of *Publick Oeconomy* and *Frugality*; and that *This* was the Beginning of the *Great Work* of *reducing* the *Publick Debts*—[If it be aſked, Under whoſe *Adminiſtration*, and by whoſe *Superintendency?* The preſent *Generation* need not be told what They Themſelves are Witneſſes to: and the *Common Annals* will acquaint *Poſterity*. But] If what I have now mentioned can truely be ſaid; This is the Voice of *Nature*, and not of *Flattery*. The *Nature* of *Things*, and the *Evidence* of *Facts*, pay this Homage to Thoſe to whom it is due. A ſimple *Narration* of ſuch an Event, is a *Panegyrick*, worth the acceptance of the Greateſt Man; infinitely above the beſt framed *Panegyrick* of *Poetry* or *Oratory!* The *Beauty* and *Ornament* of it, is its Simplicity;

plicity; and its Freedom from thoſe *Beauties* and *Ornaments* of *Art*, which make all other *Praiſes* ſuſpected, and ungrateful to the Beſt Part of the World: And its great Glory and Privilege is, That it may be offered without Blame, and accepted without a Bluſh.

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER LXX. LONDON JOURNAL, January 25, 17$\frac{23}{24}$.

THE *Riſe* of *Publick Credit*, was the *Subject* of the laſt *Paper*, as one great Indication of *Publick Happineſs*, and the *firſt* Inſtance of the better *Condition* of our Affairs, mentioned from the Higheſt Authority; but yet, I will add, an *Authority*, which could not *make* it *true*, if before ſuch Declaration it were not found and felt to be ſo. The next *Inſtance* is, *The flouriſhing Condition of our Trade and Manufactures*. And, according to *my* Apprehenſion of theſe Matters, this is a *Point* which, in our Enquiries, very naturally follows the *Other*. I mean, if I have any ſort of true Conception of *Either* of them, the *Eſtate* of the *Nation* can never be eſteemed better diſpoſed towards Happineſs, than when *Theſe Two* are ſeen and known undeniably to exiſt at the ſame time. For, as on *One* Hand, if the *Riſe* of *Stocks* proceeded from *Humour* and *Paſſion* only; and the Eagerneſs of *Monied-Men* were carried towards *Them*, to a much higher degree, than is now ſeen; it might have a bad Influence upon Trade; and force that great *Bleſſing* into a Foreign, or unprofitable, *Channel:* So, on the *Other* Hand, if the *Bent* of *Money* threw it all into *Trade*; this would juſtly be eſteemed either as a perfect *Diſtruſt* of the preſent *Eſtabliſhment*, or preſent *Adminiſtration*; or at leaſt as a *Mark* of *No ſuch Plenty* of Money, amongſt Us, as could ſupply the *Demands* of *Both*. Upon theſe Accounts it is, that the *Stocks* themſelves have been underſtood, and treated by many, as the Great ſtanding *Diſcouragements* to *Commerce*; and every Inclination towards *Them*, and every *Riſe* created by it, have been ſeen immediately to raiſe an uneaſy *Jealouſy* about the *State* of the *Trade* of the *Nation*. So that whenever You ſpake of any ſuch *Heighth* of the *Publick Credit*, as ſhewed a *Univerſal Confidence* and *Repoſe* in the *Government*; the *Anſwer* preſently made was, That our *Trade* univerſally felt the ill Effect of it, and muſt do ſo, more and more. This ſeemed ſo plauſible (if not *juſt)* an Obſervation, that One hardly knew what *Reply* to make to it that might ſeem ſufficient to take off the Force of it. But We have lived to thoſe Days, in which Our own *Senſes*, without the Help either of *Invention* or *Argument*, have done the Work for Us, ——

Quod optanti Divûm promittere Nemo
Auderet, volvenda Dies en! attulit ultro.

The Difficulty is now, in great meaſure, removed. Our own *Eye-ſight*, *Knowledge*, and *Experience* aſſure Us, not only that theſe *Two Things* are in their *own Natures* conſiſtent together; but that They are at this Time actually united in this Nation; “ The *Riſe* of *Publick Credit*, and the flouriſhing Condition of our *Trade* and Manufactures.”—Two *Appearances*, which uſed to be thought viſible only by *turns*; and ever alternately checking and damping One Another; but now *Both* ſhining in their Vigour, and mutually ſhedding their good Influences, One upon Another. And if this be our Caſe—If at the ſame time that *Publick Credit* raiſes its Head; and the *Price* of every thing, depending on the preſent *Eſtabliſhment*, and preſent *Adminiſtration*, is high enough to ſhew to the whole World, the Number, and Good Diſpoſition, and Reaſonable Confidence, of the *Purchaſers*:—*If, at the ſame Time*, I ſay, Every *Channel* of our *Commerce* be likewiſe *full*; and Every *Branch* of it cultivated by Greater Numbers, than the *Memory* of *Man* can eaſily recollect it to have been: *then*, I cannot help ſaying,—[Truth and Juſtice engage Me to ſay it, Let who will call it *Flattery*—] " That there was hardly ever a *Time* to be pointed out, when the *Nation* could more juſtly, or more unexceptionably, be congratulated upon its happy Proſpect: A *Proſpect!* which nothing can make *ineffectual*, but the *Wilful Neglect* of *All*, both *High* and *Low*, who are equally concerned in it both from Duty and Intereſt. For, I pray, what can well be imagined more agreeable to the *Wiſhes* of a *People*, than to ſee Affairs in ſuch a Situation, That, if You look only upon the *Riſe* of what is ſupported by *Government Security*, You would almoſt conclude from it, according to all our former Ways of Reaſoning, that there was no other Channel for Men of *Buſineſs* and *Riches* to throw their Affairs into; and, on the *Other* ſide, if You look only upon the *Extenſiveneſs* and *Fullneſs* of *Commerce*, You would hardly imagine Any *Other* Track than this, left for *Money* to *take*.—The *Price* of *Stocks*, as *high*, as if there were little or no *Trade* ſtirring, to take off any Part of the Edge of Mens Inclination; and at the ſame time the *State* of *Trade* flouriſhing to ſo great a Pitch, as if there were *No Stocks* to *divert* any of the *Caſh* or *Credit* of the *Nation* from it!—There is ſomething ſo entertaining in the *View*, that I hardly know how to loſe Sight of ſo agreeable a *Subject*: which would indeed, be far from being *agreeable*, were it not founded upon *ſenſible* Evidence; and did not the *Teſtimony* of the *greateſt Traders*, upon Enquiry, entirely concur in the *Truth* of the *Matter* of *Fact*.

But it muſt ſtill be confeſt that *Trade* itſelf is not a *Bleſſing* to a *Nation*, unleſs it be ſurrounded with ſuch *Circumſtances* as are *neceſſary* to make it ſo. There may be a *Great Flow* of *Commerce*, from which particular Perſons may *for ſome Time* reap great Benefits, and immenſe Riches; which yet may be *Unhappineſs* to the *Publick*, and end in the impoveriſhing, inſtead of inriching, the *Nation*. And this is ever in ſome degree the *Caſe*, when, in the *Account* of *Commerce*, there is an *Over-balance* of *Importation*, to be paid for, by the *Money* of the *Nation*, above what the *Exportation* of its own *Commodities* can anſwer. The Greater conſequently, this *Over-balance* is, the greater the Misfortune muſt be. And, though this may be neceſſary and tolerable, upon ſome Occaſions, in ſome particular Branches of *Commerce*; yet, if in the *whole Calculation* of *National Trade*, this ſhould ever be the Caſe, it then becomes *Deſtruction* and *Poverty*; and the more *Extenſive* and the more purſued it might be for the *preſent*, the *greater* and more fatal muſt the *future Ruin* be. And therefore, a *Nation* cannot juſtly receive any *Congratulations* upon the State of its *Trade*, unleſs the *flouriſhing Condition* of its own *Products*, and its own *Manufactures*, can be *juſtly* added, to ſhew the *former* to be truly a *Publick Happineſs*. And that *this* is juſtly added at this Time, the *Experience* of the *Rich Manufacturers*, and the *poor Workmen* at *Home*; the *numerous Hands* employed, and the frequent Complaints of *Want* of more, are ſufficient Evidence. *Theſe* ſhew the *Demands* from Abroad, not for our *Money*, but for the *Produce* of our *Country* and our *Induſtry*. And it is *This Demand* of our own *Product*, which makes *that Traffick* a Glory to the *Publick*, and an *Extenſive Bleſſing* to Innumerable Families; which would *otherwiſe* be rather a *Diſhonour* to the *Government*, and ſoon end in the *Miſery* of private Subjects, and their Dependents. The *flouriſhing Condition of our Trade* therefore, is not an *Empty Form* of *Speech*, placed where We find it, to amuſe and pleaſe the Ignorant

rant and Unſkilful; but deſcribes ſomething real and ſubſtantial that anſwers to it in *Fact*; and whilſt *This* can be proved from the *Great Foreign Demands* of our own *Manufactures*, it may with the *ſtricteſt Juſtice* be pronounced a *publick Bleſſing* to the *Nation*.

I will not pretend to ſay, To what ſeveral Cauſes this Happineſs is owing. The *Eaſineſs* of our *Government*; the *Freedom* of the *Subject*; the *Equal Diſtribution* of *Juſtice*; the *impartial* as well as *ſtrict Guard* of Property; and particularly, the *Liberty* granted in the *Religious* Concerns of Mankind; (Every One of Them utterly unknown in *Moſt* Countries, and *All* of Them thus united, *not ſeen* in *Any* but our own)—*Theſe*, without doubt, have a powerful, ſecret and laſting Influence upon the *Trading* Part of Mankind: and *Theſe*, joined with *Other* Cauſes, have had the *Effect* which we now feel. This *Effect*, We are ſure of, That, by the *Diſpoſitions* of *Providence*; the *Miſtakes* and *Misfortunes* of *other* Nations; and the *Nature* of our *Conſtitution*; the *Beſt* Part of the *Trade* of the *World* has naturally thrown itſelf into our *Channel*. And though *One* cannot ſo well determine every particular Cauſe, and the particular *Force* of it, which has concurred to This; yet *This* I may and muſt ſay, that ſince this is the Caſe, and that We are in *Poſſeſſion* of ſuch a *Trade*, it can be only the future *Want* of good and proper *Regulations* and *Conſtitutions* relating to the *Encouragement* of *Commerce*, that can ever again *frighten* it from ſuch a *Country* as *This*; or deprive Us of a *Bleſſing*, which is of that Nature, as to increaſe the Publick Riches and Strength, by the *Diligence*, *Induſtry*, *Frugality*, and *Honeſty*, of the *private Members* of the *Society*: and which, if it ever adminiſters to the *Vicious Luxury* of *Some*, through their own ungovernable *Appetites*, yet makes ſome amends for it by the *Temperance* and *Laborioufneſs* of a *vaſtly greater* Number, through which it muſt neceſſarily work its Way.

But it would be to *anticipate* what may more properly come at *another* Time, to proceed now upon *This* Subject; which I ſhall therefore, at preſent leave, with this one *Remark*, That the *Attempt* to *preſerve* ſuch a Happineſs to future Times, needs only this *Reflection* to encourage it, That, as it is eaſier to *keep* Poſſeſſion of ſuch a *Good*, than to *obtain* it; ſo, if ever We *once* ſuffer it to *eſcape* out of our Hands, now We *have* it, it will be a *Difficulty* next to an *Impoſſibility*, ever to *recover*, or call it back again. And upon this Account, it is a Pleaſure to ſee that, in the ſame *Speech* from the *Throne*, in which the *Nation* is *congratulated* upon the *Poſſeſſion* of this *Happineſs*; it is earneſtly recommended to the *Great Council* of its *Repreſentatives*, to *conſider of ſuch Laws*, *as may be wanting for the Eaſe and Encouragement of Trade*: that is, in other Words, ſuch as may *effectually* preſerve it to Ourſelves, and continue it down to our *Poſterity*. The *Methods* to do This are as evidently *demonſtrable* from the *Nature* of *Commerce*, as any *Mathematical Propoſitions* are, from the *Principles* of that *Science*; and work as naturally and ſtrongly, when once They are fixed and determined, as the *Others* do. And therefore, We have no more *Reaſon* to doubt (morally ſpeaking) of the *Continuance*, than We have of the *preſent Poſſeſſion* of the *Bleſſing*.

I ſhall now break off for this Time, after having obſerved, That if We ſtop *here*, and go no farther than the *Two Inſtances* of the *Amendment* of our *Publick Condition*, which I have already conſidered, We may call upon the moſt *prejudiced* Perſon, who wiſhes well to his Country, under the preſent *Royal Family*, and is not *One* of Thoſe who pray for our Unhappineſs, and would confound Heaven and Earth to bring in *Another Government*, "Whether theſe *Two In-*
"*ſtances*, *the Riſe of Publick Credit*, and the *Flouriſhing Condition* of the *National Ma-*
"*nufactures*, are not of *Themſelves* a Foundation for *Praiſe*, and not for *Reproach*, to

" Thoſe, to whom They are in any Meaſure owing; Whether They are not " ſome *Encouragement* to think and to hope well of the *Publick*; Whether They " are not an *Argument* to determine Every Honeſt Member of it, to ſpend his " *Acrimony* and his *Anger* upon its *Avowed Enemies*; and to join with its *Certain* " *Friends* in *whatſoever* can improve, or eſtabliſh, theſe *firſt* Openings of our National Good and Happineſs."

BRITANNICUS.

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To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

The Regard to Juſtice, which you have ſhewn, in publiſhing my *former Letter*[c], concerning a ſcandalous Calumny, caſt upon the Memory of the late Biſhop *Burnet*, encourages Me to have recourſe to you again, upon a *Slander* of the like Nature, in the ſame *Weekly Paper* of *January* 18. I ſhall place the *Words* of the *Journal*, and the *true Fact*, in two *Columns*, oppoſite to one another; and then leave it to the Indignation, that I am perſwaded all Mankind muſt feel in their own Breaſts at ſuch an uncommon Degree of Infamy.

The Words of the *Weekly Journal*; *Saturday*, January 18.

" Nothing can give a clearer Idea of the Opinion the World conceived of Dr. *Burnet*, than the Conduct of the Commons of *England* in Parliament, when he was *Preceptor* to the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

That *Auguſt Aſſembly* were too well acquainted with the Standard of the *Biſhop's* Politicks and Religion, not to employ their laſt Efforts towards reſcuing that young Prince, from the Hands of a Man that would inſpire him with nothing, but the Art of Diſſimulation, Pride, and Treachery; and leaſt it ſhould be imagined, I deliver Affairs of Importance on Hearſay Evidence: *(obſerve the unwonted Aſſurance:)* I refer the Reader to the *Votes* and *Addreſs* of the *Commons*, for removing *Gilbert*, Biſhop of *Sarum*, from his Place of *Preceptor* to the Duke of *Glouceſter*."

An Extract out of the Votes of the Houſe of Commons, Numb. 18. *Mercurii*, 13 die *Decembris*, 1699.

A *Motion* being made, and the *Queſtion* being put, That an Humble Addreſs be made to His *Majeſty*, for removing *Gilbert*, Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*, from being *Preceptor* to His Highneſs the *Duke* of *Glouceſter*;

It paſſed in the NEGATIVE.

It would be no great Matter of Aſtoniſhment to me, if a Writer, like this Man, who ſeems ſo well hardened againſt all Modeſty, as to aſſert downright Falſhoods with this undaunted Confidence, ſhould, afterwards, when he is detected in his Forgery, add another Stroke of Shameleſſneſs, of yet a higher Rank than the former; and pretend, in his own Excuſe, That he believes the Perſon who detects him was himſelf the *Author* of that *Slander* which he brings to light.

But this *Pretence* will not ſerve *twice* for the ſame Wickedneſs; though I muſt acknowledge, that every one will be apt to ſay thus far with him; That *Calumnies* like theſe, ſo eaſy to be diſproved, muſt either come from a *Friend*, (if one capable of doing Services to another in ſo baſe a manner, can merit that honourable Name,) or from an *Enemy* too ſtupid to be formidable.

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[c] See Letter LXVII. *p.* 249.

I ſhall not trouble you with Remarks on the *reſt* of the low Abuſe with which this *infamous Writer* has taken the Liberty to aſperſe the Memory of Biſhop *Burnet:* But ſhall truſt his Character with the common Senſe and natural Candour of Mankind, to defend it againſt the poor Attacks of ſuch *Party Zealots* as this Man and his Aſſociates. It is enough at preſent to obſerve, that this wretched Writer has himſelf effectually deſtroyed the *Credit* of his whole Libel upon the *Biſhop*, by this ſingle Sentence. For He here ſolemnly puts his *Reputation* and *Credibility* upon this *one Point*. He refers the Reader to the *Votes* and *Addreſs* of the *Commons*, for *removing* Biſhop *Burnet* from the *D.* of *Gl.*; and if thoſe *Votes* and *Addreſs* do not confirm what He ſays, He is content to be eſteemed a *Slanderer*. Upon Examination, it is found that there was no ſuch *Vote* or *Addreſs*; but that, on the contrary, the *Commons* were for continuing Him *Preceptor* to that young *Prince:* Therefore this *Writer* is, out of his own Mouth, impartially judged to be an *Infamous Slanderer*, worthy of no Credit in any *one* Thing which He either ſays *now*, or may ſay *hereafter*. I am,

SIR,
Your, &c.

PHIL-HISTORICUS.

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LETTER LXXI. LONDON JOURNAL, February 1, $17\frac{23}{24}$.

THE General Tranquillity of a *Kingdom* is at *All* Times a *Happineſs* of that Nature, that, without it, Every *Other* Worldly Happineſs becomes little better than *Miſery* itſelf. So many *Cares* and *Fears* and *Diſquiets* and *Sollicitudes* and *Forebodings* and *Terrors* make up the *Beſt Part* of a *State*, in which *This* is wanting, that Life itſelf is turned into a Burthen, and all the *Enjoyments* of it rendered worſe than inſipid, under the Continual *Uneaſineſs* of *Expectation*, even when *Other Evils* are not actually preſent. But there is no *Circumſtance*, which either *can*, or *ought to*, recommend this *Great Good* more to Us, than the Enjoyment of it at a *Time*, when It has narrowly eſcaped the *Attempts* of Our *Enemies*; and after it had like to have been raviſhed from Us by *Violence* and *Treachery*. And yet, it fares with *This*, as it does with the *Common Returns* of *Good* in the *Natural* World; that, becauſe it was not *actually* broken into, and the *Quiet* of our *Poſſeſſions* and *Enjoyments* was not in *fact* torn to pieces, and changed for *Tumult* and *Violence*; therefore it is, and upon *that* very Account which ſhould endear the Happineſs to every conſidering Mind, that Men are inſenſible to it, and unaffected by it. It is but a melancholy *Satire* upon Humane Nature, to mention this; and but an uncomfortable *Reflexion* to make upon the *Species* of *Creatures*, to which We ourſelves belong; That the *ſame Condition* which, if They were for *One* Week deprived of it, They would purchaſe with almoſt *All* They hope for in *this* World; which *They* purſue with the *Cries* and *Tears* and Prayers, if They are, for never ſo ſmall a Space of Time, ſeparated from it— That this *ſame Condition*, preſerved *Whole* and *Untouched* to Them, ſeems as *Nothing*; feels only like the neceſſary Effect of *They know not what*; inſpires Them with no Paſſions of Love and Gratitude; but is received and entertained with a *Coldneſs* of *Indifference*, which is but barely enough to diſtinguiſh *It* from a *Poſitive* or Terrible *Evil*.

There needs but a little Thought, to call any Man in his Senſes from ſuch an Indolence of *Temper*, where *Indolence* is a *Sin* againſt *Heaven* and *Earth*; againſt the *kind Diſpoſitions* of *Providence* above, and of *Government* below. All I would beg, upon this Occaſion, of Any One who calls Himſelf a *Briton*, is, to ſuffer his *Memory* and *Imagination* to work a little for his own Advantage. Nay, I would even truſt the *Caſe* with Many of *Thoſe*, who ſecretly wiſhed Succeſs to the *Late Deſigns* againſt the preſent *Eſtabliſhment*; and deſire Them only to think and ſpeak freely and impartially. Suppoſe thoſe *Deſigns* not to have been detected, but to have proceeded to the firſt *Step* of *Execution*, under the *Influences* of *Malice*, *Rage*, *Deſpair*, and (what is worſe than All put together) *Bigottry*, operating, Every One of them, in its full and terrible Vigour; and, on the *contrary* Part, ſuppoſe ſuch an *Oppoſition* and *Reſiſtance* made to Them, as the *Nature* of Things, and the *Zeal* and *Intereſts* of *Others*, would require;—What Words could deſcribe, or what *Image* repreſent, the *Condition* We ſhould immediately have been in? The continual Apprehenſion and Dread of Ruin would have been the *Leaſt Evil* attending it. But the *Evil* would not have ſtopped there. *Diſorder*, *Confuſion*, *Violence*, *Plunder*, *Lawleſs Rapine*, and all the other Effects of the *Force* and *Neceſſities* of *Each* Contending Party; the *feeling* of our own Perſonal Miſeries from ſuch a *State*, and, during any ſhort Reſpite from *theſe*, the being Witneſſes to the *Miſeries* of all *Others* around Us—Theſe are but a *ſmall Part* of that *Train* of *Ruins* and *Miſfortunes*, which muſt attend *All* without diſtinction, who are within the Verge of ſuch a *Scene* of Things. And though, at a diſtance, Multitudes of Perſons think little of this; and even *Many* of *that* Part of the World, which is framed with but ſmall Strength againſt ſuch Hardſhips, and can combat with Calamities of this ſort but very faintly, will ſuffer Themſelves to be carried in their Wiſhes and Paſſions into a *Cauſe*, which cannot be proſecuted without ſuch a *Suite* and *Conflux* of *Terrors*: Yet, if thoſe *Wiſhes*, which have their Birth in Times of *Calmneſs* and *Quiet*, were thoroughly to take Effect; and the *Cauſe* They ſupport, to break out into *Action*; I am ſatiſfied, a very great *Number* of theſe ſame *Perſons* would let Nature work ſo far, as to curſe the Fruit of their own *Paſſions*; and much more earneſtly to wiſh Themſelves back again, into their former State of *Quiet* and *Enjoyment*, even under *That Government*, which at other Times They hate, and wiſh to ſee *deſtroyed*. There is ſomething ſo very terrible in the Means of coming at that *Deſtruction*, that *Humane Nature*, even in *Moſt* of *Thoſe* who long for it, cannot bear the *Preſence* of ſuch *Evils* as are neceſſary to effect it; but recoils, of Neceſſity, into the *Love* of *Order*, *Quiet*, and *Security*, when once the contrary *Evils* ſhew themſelves in their proper Colours, and preſs upon the *Senſes* of *Thoſe* who called for them.

And if this be, and always muſt be, the *Caſe*, with the vaſtly greater Number, even of *Thoſe*, whoſe ſecret Bleſſings attend the *Cauſe*, which requires ſuch a deteſtable State of Things, before it can ſucceed; how much more muſt it be ſo, to *All* the *Other* Part of *Our* World, who deteſt the *Cauſe* itſelf, as well as the *Confuſion*, and *Calamities*, which were deſigned to ſerve and eſtabliſh it? The *former* ſort, if They will follow the Dictates of *Nature*, cannot Themſelves but have ſome pleaſing Senſe of the *Abſence* of thoſe *Evils*, through which their own Cauſe muſt now have been working its Way, (had it not been withſtood,) with *Certainty* of the biggeſt *preſent* Calamities, but with great Uncertainty of Event, or Succeſs *to come*: and the *Latter ſort*, if They are not dead in Inſenſibility, muſt doubly taſte the *Bleſſing* of *Publick Tranquillity*, not only as a State of *Quiet* and *ſecure Poſſeſſion*; not only as a *State* free from thoſe *preſent* Evils of *Anarchy*, *Confuſion*,

Confuſion, and *Violence*; but as a *State* in which They feel Themſelves free from all "*That Train of Miſeries, which are inſeparable from* Popery *and* Arbitrary "Power," to the *Eſtabliſhment* of which amongſt Us, the *Other Evils* were only deſigned to lead the Way.—To think of a *Number* of *Men*, and of *Proteſtants*, attempting by *Fire* and *Sword, Rapine* and *Violence*, to eſtabliſh *That*, which, when it is once eſtabliſhed, is *worſe* in its laſting Effects than the ſudden Ravages of *Fire* and *Sword, Rapine* and *Violence*,—is hardly to be borne! And next to it, is to think of a *Nation*, reſcued from the *Greater ſtanding Evil*, by being reſcued even from the *Terror* of the *Leſſer tranſient* Ones; and yet inſenſible of ſuch a *Tranquillity*, ſo happy in itſelf! and made ſo much happier by ſuch touching Circumſtances! But I would hope, *This* is *impoſſible* to be *true* at all, or impoſſible to continue *true* long.

The *Fact* is plain and ſenſible: The *General Tranquillity* of the *Kingdom* is a *Matter*, of which *Senſe* itſelf is the proper *Judge*; and *Senſe* itſelf gives Teſtimony to it. The next *Thought* is, To *what* this *preſent* State of *Tranquillity* is owing, which is ſo great a Happineſs? And to *This* we muſt *anſwer*, by looking back a little. For, it being certain that there was ſome time ago a *ſetled Deſign* to break into this *Tranquillity*, and to try all the *Methods* of *Tricks* and *Force*, to bring Us under a *Popiſh* and an *Inſupportable Yoke*: We cannot anſwer the *Queſtion* propoſed, but by *anſwering* firſt the *Queſtion*, To what was it owing that thoſe Deſigns were fruſtrated, and ſo terrible an *Attempt* made *Impracticable?* And there can be but *One Anſwer* to this, That *This* was owing to the *Vigilance* of the *Adminiſtration*; to the early *Detection* of the *Conſpiracy*; and to the indefatigable Labours of Thoſe who *firſt* diſcovered the *Deſign*, and then prevented the *Execution*. For, as the *Attempt* to ſet all the *Engines* of thoſe *Deſigns* at work, and the very *Beginning* to reduce into *Practice* the *Schemes* formed *within*, muſt of Neceſſity have turned the *Kingdom* into a *Field* of *Blood* and *Confuſion*, for a ſpace of Time which would not have ended before this; It is to the *Early Diſcovery* of the *Thing*, and to the *Prevention* of the *Firſt Attacks*, that We owe Every *Degree*, and Every *Moment*, of that *Tranquillity* which We now enjoy. And This I eſteem a *Greater Glory* to *Thoſe*, to whom We are indebted for it, (as it is a *Greater Happineſs* to *Ourſelves*,) than if the *Attempt* had been made, and afterwards We ſhould, by many tedious, laborious and hazardous Steps, in Length of Time, have paſſed through *Storms*, and *Shipwrecks*, and *Diſtractions*, and all the various Forms of *Death*, to a *Life* of *Peace* and *Tranquillity*. The *Latter* may be *Glorious*; as *Hazards* and *Difficulties*, and the *falſe Opinion* of Men, meaſure out *Glory*, in the *common Account*: but the *Former* is *Glorious*, as the *Happineſs* of the *Publick* is, in the *Scale* of *Truth* itſelf, made the only *proper Glory* of *Thoſe* who preſide over it; and as it is much more *happy* to *Every Society*, and Every *Man* in it, that the *Greateſt Evils* ſhould *at firſt* be *prevented*, than *at laſt*, after a long *Scene* of *Miſery*, be conquered and ſuppreſſed: even ſuppoſing it *certain* that *This* would be the happy Event, at the End: which yet is ſo *uncertain*, and depends upon ſo many thouſand *Uncertainties*, that the very *Poſſibility* of the *Unhappy Iſſue* at laſt, is of itſelf enough to make the Price ineſtimable of a Continued State of *General Tranquillity*.

I have now ſpent a few Thoughts upon the *Three Inſtances* of *National Happineſs*, which were mentioned from the *Higheſt Authority*, at the Opening of the *preſent Seſſion* of *Parliament*. And I ſhall now leave Them to have their Force upon Every well-formed Mind, without adding more than *One Remark*, to conclude the Whole—If This *be* our Caſe; If the *Riſe* of the *Publick Credit*, from a former State of *Deadneſs*, be come to a reaſonable Height, enough to ſhew a

General Confidence in the *Eſtabliſhment* and the *Adminiſtration*; If, at the ſame time, the ſeveral Branches of our *Trade*, and particularly Our *Manufactures*, are in a *flouriſhing Condition* above what *former Times* could pretend to: If, to make all Our *Enjoyments* truly deſerving of *that* Name, *Devaſtation* and *Deſtruction* have been kept off from Us; and, inſtead of ſuch *Evils*, a *State* of General *Tranquillity* has been ſpread around Us;—Let the *Worſt* of *Men* anſwer, Is this a Time, for *Any* to *curſe*, but *Such* as, from the *Madneſs* of *Bigotry*, or the *Rage* of *Diſappointment*, eſteem the *Happineſs* of the *Publick* to be their own *Miſery* and *Infelicity*? Is this a *Seaſon* for *Any*, who have the leaſt Taſte of *Good* and *Evil*, to reproach Thoſe to whom the preſent Good Eſtate is owing, with all the Vileneſs of *Satire*, which the Characters of the Ancient *Sejanuſes*, or the later *Empſons* and *Dudleys*, and *other Wretches* of later Hiſtory, can furniſh out? Such Reproaches, indeed, at ſuch a Time, can come from no Hand, but that of a *Determined Enemy*, who has a *Cauſe* and a *King* and an *Intereſt* to ſupport, wholly different from *Ours*. And why then ſhould We complain? The *Revilings* of ſuch Perſons, are in Truth the higheſt *Praiſes*: and it adds to the *Certainty* of our *good Condition*, and to the *Glory* of *Thoſe* who have effected it, That whilſt *Senſe* and *Experience* themſelves aſſure Us of it, the *Anger* of *Others* breaks out, and ſhews that They cannot bear with any *Patience* what promiſes *Strength* and *Security* to the *Government* They hate; and That what makes their *Zeal* againſt *ſome Perſons* burſt out into ſuch *Uncommon Indecencies*, is really the *Merit* of their *Services* towards their Country, and the preſent *Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment*; and the *Deſpair* This has created, at leaſt for ſome Time, of bringing to Life again the beloved *Cauſe* of *Popery* and *Slavery*.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LXXII. LONDON JOURNAL, February 8, 17$\frac{23}{24}$.

THE *Riſe* of *Public Credit*; the *Flouriſhing Condition* of our *Trade* and *Manufactures*; and the *General Tranquillity* of the *Kingdom*; theſe *Three* great and *ſolid Inſtances* of *National Good*, I have already ſpoke of: and perhaps ſpoke of them in ſuch Terms of *Applauſe*, as might ſeem to *Many* rather Perſonal *Flattery* and *Panegyrick*, than *Rigid Truth* and *Juſtice*; were not the *Matters* of *Fact* open to the Senſes and Experience of all Men. And indeed, *Great* and *Evident* as theſe *Goods* are, I ſhould not Myſelf be ſatisfied with what I have ſaid of them; were I not as ready to go farther, and make Them an *Argument* of proceeding to *greater* degrees of *National Happineſs* than We yet enjoy, as I have been to acknowledge and celebrate the *Revival* or *Continuance* of them, under the preſent *Adminiſtration*. Nay, I will own, that the *Names* of All *Three*, placed where We meet with Them; and the *Sound* of ſuch *Good Things*, coming from the higheſt *Authority*, had made little Impreſſion upon Me, and raiſed but faint Sentiments of Happineſs within; if the ſame *Authority* had not at the ſame Time, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, recommended theſe very *Advantages*, as ſo many *Opportunities* of Future Good, and ſo many *Foundations* to build a more ſecure State of Things upon, in Time to come.

For, ſpeaking truely,—In a *Nation* like *Ours*; in *Circumſtances* like *Ours*; in the midſt of many Defects, which will be always in *All* Kingdoms; and under the Burthen of *Many Debts*, which *Publick Neceſſities*, or *Undeſigned Miſmanagements*, or *Wilful Miſtakes*, or *Unavoidable Misfortunes*, have brought upon *this*

Kingdom in particular;—In a *Nation*, I ſay, thus *circumſtanced*, What is the preſent *Riſe* of *Credit?* What is the preſent *Flouriſhing* Condition of its *Trade* and *Manufactures?* Or, what imports the *General Tranquillity* for a *Seaſon?*—If Theſe *Happineſſes* be not ſeized, and turned into *Opportunities*, of making that *Publick Credit* appear well-founded, whilſt there ſhall be Occaſion for it; of eſtabliſhing ſuch *Laws*, as ſhall, in the Nature of Things, keep the *Beneficial Trade* of the *Nation* in the *Channel* which it has now of itſelf found out; and of making that *Publick Tranquillity* (which is *always* agreeable) a laſting and ſolid Good even to our *Poſterity:* which otherwiſe is only a *fleeting Shadow*; or a State of *Momentary Happineſs*, to be broke in upon by every Enemy, as every Preſſure of *Evils* not removed, or *Abſence* of *Goods* not procured, ſhall operate upon the Follies, or *Affections*, of Mankind? Upon this Account I could not but think it a *Preſage* of Great *Good* to the *Publick*, when I ſaw this good *End* propoſed by that *Authority* itſelf, which congratulated the *Nation* upon the *better State* of its Affairs; and This, opened in ſuch a *Manner*, as to ſhew the *Noble Purpoſe* of Exciting from thence a *Zeal* towards *Greater Good* in every Breaſt, and a Diſdain of ſo ignoble a View as *That* of laying Them aſleep, with the pleaſing Dream of preſent Happineſs only. So far, I found, from this *latter mean Deſign*, was the Mention of the *preſent happy Situation of our Affairs*, that *This* Itſelf was made the *Encouragement* to *Every Thing* Good that may be ſtill wanting.

The *Greateſt Burthen* of All, being the *Publick Debt*; This is ſpoken of, to the *Houſe* of *Commons*, in very emphatical Terms: "I muſt in a particular Manner recommend to Your Care, the Publick Debts of the Kingdom, as the moſt *National* Concern You can poſſibly take into Your Conſideration. I am perſuaded, it muſt be a very great Satisfaction to all my Faithful Subjects, to ſee the Sinking Fund improved and augmented, and the Debt of the Nation thereby put into a Method of being ſo much the ſooner gradually reduced and paid off. It would be a Work truly worthy of a *Britiſh* Parliament, to begin this commendable Undertaking, and to make ſuch a Progreſs therein, as, with a ſtrict Regard to *Publick Faith*, and *Private Property*, may pave the Way to this Great and Deſirable End." Words, as Expreſſive as the higheſt *Wiſhes* of the *Beſt* Part of the *Nation* could have called for; and which I cannot paſs over without *One* or *Two Remarks* upon them.

There were always, ever ſince the *Debt* of the *Nation* was at any Height, *Two* very diſcouraging Subjects for the Thoughts of all Lovers of the Country to exerciſe Themſelves upon: The Greatneſs of the *Attempt*, even to begin this Work with any Hope of proceeding far in it; enough to damp the Spirits of the Boldeſt and Beſt-prepared Breaſt; and the *Fear*, or rather *Dread*, that whenever it ſhould be attempted, the Methods of *Honeſty* and *Juſtice* would be diſcarded as *Impracticable*; and the more expeditious One of *Force* and *Fraud* united, be made uſe of, under the Cover of *Neceſſity* from the *State* and *Circumſtances* of the *Publick*. I think, This *One* Sentence muſt give *Eaſe* to *Thouſands* of *Minds* amongſt *Thoſe* concerned, when they find the Methods of Common *Juſtice* and *Honeſty* made the Meaſures of *Proceeding* in this Important *Caſe*; without which the *Cure* of the *Evil* would be of more fatal Effect, as well as of more ſcandalous Reputation, than the *Evil* itſelf. And, if I may have leave to ſay ſo, The *Good News* of all that Happineſs, which the *Riſe* of *Credit*, the *Flouriſhing* of *Trade*, the *Publick Tranquillity*, all united and certainly now exiſting, contain in them, did not fill Me with half the Pleaſure, or *inward Satisfaction*, that preſented itſelf upon the Appearance of that *One* ſingle Good, of a ſacred inviolable Regard to *Publick Faith*, and *Private Property:* A *Good*, which never can come alone, but is indeed big with the many laſting Bleſſings, that will ever attend the *Honour* and *Security* both of *Governours* and *Governed* in a *Free Society*;—which will always operate ſtrongly upon the Hearts of *All*, to wiſh and effect the *long Continuance* of an *Eſtabliſhment*, under which They ſenſibly *feel* the Difference between *Right* and *Wrong*, *Slavery* and *Liberty*; and ever reflect Glory upon *Thoſe*, who propoſe to build upon ſuch a *Foundation*.

This is a ſort of giving new Life and Force to the Power of *Virtue*, in publick Affairs; and fixing *Policy* itſelf upon a *Baſis*, from which *Politicians* have almoſt always attempted to remove it; though ever in vain, and to the great Hurt *often* of Themſelves, and *always* of what was committed to their Care. It is doing once more, publick *Homage* to a *Maxim*, almoſt antiquated through the falſe *Taſte* of *Many*, who never had Virtue enough to try the *Value* of it by Experience; or Senſe enough to know it, without ſuch *Trial:* I mean the *Maxim*, that *Honeſty is the beſt Policy*. A *Maxim*, ſometimes baniſhed and exploded out of the *Political* World, but *often* forcing its Way back again, by its own native *Power* and Activity; and a *Maxim*, how *homely* ſoever in its Appearance, or how harſh ſoever it may ſound in the Ears of the *Undiſcerning Wiſe Men* of the World, yet, in *One* Advantage conſtant and unfailing, that it never brought *Shame* or *Infamy*, but always *Glory*, and the *Beſt Wiſhes* of Mankind, upon *All* (the *Few*) who have ever been conducted by it. And as this is a *Darling Maxim* with Myſelf, who think it ſafe in its own Strength againſt All the *Attacks* of its Contrary; and look upon it as in the ſame degree of *Evidence* with a *firſt Principle*; it could not but give Me a ſingular Pleaſure, to ſee ſuch a *Sanction* added to it, in ſo important a Matter, in which Many ſit ſo looſe; and a *Declaration*, as it were, made by the *higheſt Authority*, that even ſo *great* a *Good* as the *Payment* of the *Debts* which lie ſo heavy upon a *Whole Nation*, was not ſo much as to be begun, or entered upon, without a *ſtrict Regard* to *Publick Faith* and *Private Property*.

Weak and Deſigning Men have often attempted to make it a *Maxim* even in *Religion*, to do *Evil* that *Good* may come. But the higheſt Authority in *Religion* has not left the *Deciſion* of *This* Point merely to the *Light* and *Evidence*, ariſing from the plain Nature of the *Thing*; but has declared it, in high Words, a deteſtable and *damnable* Poſition. The Imagination of the Contrary, aroſe from Nothing but the narrow Views of ſhort-ſighted Men, who, becauſe *They* could not ſee the certain good Effect of *Juſt* and *Righteous* Methods at a diſtance, therefore would cut out for *Themſelves* a *ſhorter* Way than either *God* or *Religion* allowed. And it has been the *ſame*, in regard to the True and Falſe *Politicks* in *Humane Society*. Men of confined Views are apt to imagine, that whatever rids a Nation of a *preſent Inconvenience*, is therefore *Right* and *Good* in *Politicks*: and upon this Maxim, often exchange *One* preſent Grievance for a whole Combination of *Evils* entailed upon their *Poſterity*, as well as felt by *Themſelves*: Juſt as the *Weakeſt* of *Phyſicians* would apply a *Medicine* for *One* particular Diſeaſe, which muſt, by curing *That*, throw upon the *Patient* a *Complication* of Many *Others*, without Hope of a Remedy. But Perſons of a more extended View of Things; that ſee Them in their diſtant and future Operations; and have truly a Mind to do what is moſt for their own Honour, and their Country's laſting Intereſt inſeparable from it;—ſuch Perſons diſdain the *Maxims* of *Faithleſs Diſhoneſty* to Thoſe who have ſupported the *Government*; or of bringing that Diſgrace and *Feebleneſs* upon the *Government* itſelf, which muſt unavoidably follow upon it.

I muſt not *now* proceed upon a *Subject*, ſo agreeable to *All* who know what *Publick Virtue* means.—I may reſume it another Time. But I ſhall be allowed at preſent not to be much miſtaken, in ſaying This, nor ſo much as to border upon *Flattery* in it, "That ſuch a *Declaration*, ſo openly made, with a plain "Deſign of reducing it to Practice, is of more *Strength* for the Security of a "*Government*, than *Fleets* and *Armies*; and that *They*, who have Skill and Re- "ſolution enough to attempt and proſecute the great Work propoſed by a ſtrict "Adherence to this *Maxim*, will bind the *Heart* of every honeſt Lover of the "Publick to Them; and live in the Applauſes of their *Country*, as long as "their *Country* itſelf ſhall remain."

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LXXIII. LONDON JOURNAL, February 15, $17\frac{23}{24}$.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

I SEND You here ſome Thoughts upon the *Subject* of your *laſt Paper*; and I the rather do it without any farther Delay, becauſe I think We can never more effectually plead the *Cauſe*, or fix the Neceſſity, of *Political Honeſty*, than at a Time when it has been ſo ſtrictly recommended from the *Throne*; and received all the *Sanction* it can receive, from the higheſt *Authority* amongſt Us. I have attempted to do it in the ſimpleſt and eaſieſt manner poſſible; by laying down a few plain Propoſitions, and enlarging a little upon them. And if You have no better *Thoughts* of your own, ready for the World; or think well enough of *Theſe*; I deſire You to publiſh Them, and let Them ſtand or fall, according to their own Strength or Weakneſs.

1. There is ſo great a Reſemblance between the true *Intereſt* of any *Society*, or *Government*, and the true *Intereſt* of any *private Perſon*, that the *Rules* and *Meaſures* of the *Latter* will perhaps, to a great Nicety of Exactneſs, be found, upon a due Examination, to be the *Rules* and *Meaſures* of the *Former*. Particularly, As the true *Intereſt* of a *private Perſon* is, Not Whatever may, at any particular Time, or upon any particular Occaſion, be agreeable to one partial preſent View, in the Purſuit of *Pleaſure* or *Profit*; or, what may rid him of ſome one preſent accidental Uneaſineſs; but, Whatever is moſt expedient, all Things conſidered, to eſtabliſh Him in a ſetled Condition of Regular and Laſting *Proſperity*: As *This* is the Caſe with a *private Perſon*: So, the *True Intereſt* of Any *Society*, or *Government* over it, is, Not *Whatever* may procure ſome *ſudden* Advantage, or ſome one particular *Good*, or the preſent *Removal* of *ſome one* particular *Evil*; but, what will, in the *Whole*, contribute to enſtate *It* in a regular ſetled Condition of Laſting Proſperity and Happineſs. The *Similitude* between the *Two Caſes* goes on farther.

2. As it is ſo ordered by *Providence*, that the very ſame *Practices*, which are the *Laws* of *Eternal Reaſon* to Every Man, (or the *Moral Duties* of *Private Perſons*, in the ſeveral Relations of humane Life,) are the *Practices* which do, at the ſame time, moſt effectually eſtabliſh and ſecure their Regular and Laſting Intereſt in this World: So, in the Caſe of *Societies*, or *Governments*, the ſame *Practices* are equally conducive to the ſame Effect; to eſtabliſh and ſecure

the ſetled *Condition* of Every *Society*, or *Government*; and equally affect the *Publick Intereſt*, if They are ſuch as can be put in Practice in the *Political* Conduct of *Government*. It would be endleſs to be particular, or to give all the Inſtances of this which might be produced. I ſhall confine myſelf therefore, to the particular *Subject* We are now upon.

3. As, in the mutual *Dealings* and *Traffickings* of private Men, with one another, Nothing can effectually eſtabliſh any Perſon's *Reputation*, nor raiſe or ſupport his *Credit*, ſo as to lay the Foundation of Conſiderable Buſineſs, and a Laſting *Proſperity*, but the *ſtricteſt Honeſty*, ſeen and experienced in his punctual Performances of All his Obligations; and, As the *Want*, or *ſuſpected Abſence*, of This will at once create ſuch a *Diſtruſt* and *Uneaſineſs* in *Others*, as will ſoon have a bad Effect upon *his Deſigns* and his *Condition*: So, in the Publick Affairs of *Society* and *Government*, Security is effected by the ſame ſtrict Adherence to the Maxims of punctual *Honour* and *Honeſty*; and, juſt in Proportion to the Real Want, or *Non-appearance* of This Regard, a Decay of Strength, and an Increaſe of *Feebleneſs*, enter into all the Meaſures, and threaten the very *Vitals* of any particular *Society*, or *Government*. If any *private Man* ſhould think *This* a tedious Method of proceeding; and reſolve to ſtrike out of this plain Road of *Honeſty*, and enter into the Paths of *Trick*, or *Deceit*, or *Force*; if, inſtead of *Punctuality* in his *Payments*, *Exactneſs* to his *Contracts*, *Faithfulneſs* to his *Creditors*, He ſhould chuſe to elude his Obligations by *Fraud*; or to break through them by *Force*: Such a Proceeding will *almoſt always* infallibly *end* in Diſtreſs and Ruin; though it may anſwer ſome particular *End*, or pleaſe ſome particular *Appetite*, for the preſent. Nobody will *truſt*, Nobody will ever have any more Dealings with ſuch a *Perſon*, if it can be avoided. And juſt thus, in the greater Affairs of *Government*, the Diſdain or Neglect of an *Honeſt Punctuality*, in the Dealings between the *Publick* and its *Creditors*, muſt have the very ſame Effects. It muſt create a *Diffidence* and *Diſtruſt*; and, inſtead of a *Greedineſs* to lend Aſſiſtance to a *Government*, (which is ever the Reſult of *Honour* and *Honeſty*,) muſt create an *Averſion* to the Thought of it, and a *Reſolution* not to be ſhipwrecked where *Others* have been ſeen to be *ſhipwrecked* before.

I know of but One *Difference* in this Affair, between the *Two Caſes*; and This ſuch an *One*, as lays the Obligation ſtill ſtronger, if poſſible, upon a *Society*, or *Government*, than it does upon any *particular Perſon*. A *private Man*, of great Addreſs and Dexterity in *Knavery*, may watch his Opportunities ſo narrowly, and be ſo fortunate in his Wickedneſs, as at a *few* Trials, before He is quite diſcovered, He *may* put Himſelf into ſuch a *Condition* of *Wealth*, as not to care much whether He has any future *Credit* or *Truſt* from the other Part of the World, or not: though Many, I doubt not, are undone in the Experiment; and He Himſelf who ſucceeds beſt, has ſtill no *Certain Security*, but much to fear from thoſe Viciſſitudes of humane Affairs, which may reduce Him again to ſtand in need of that *Credit* and *Truſt*, which He has before abuſed, and can never more regain. But it cannot be ſuppoſed in the *Caſe* of the *Publick*, that ever any Society *can* put itſelf into ſuch a *Condition*, as to be, in *any* degree of Probability, ſecure from all future *Want* of *Credit*, and the *Truſt* of *Others* to ſupport and preſerve it; much leſs, that it can ever put itſelf into ſuch a *State* of *Independency* or *Security*, by breaking through all the *Ties* of that *Truſt* and *Confidence*, which will ever be, in ſome degree or other, upon ſome Occaſions or other, abſolutely neceſſary for its Preſervation.

Theſe then, are the proper *Queſtions* here. If a *private Man*, or a *publick Society*, has been faithful and punctual to Thoſe who have dealt with Them; Who is there, that will not *run* to deal with Them, and aſſiſt Them again? If a *private Man*, or a *publick Society*, has broke *Faith* with Thoſe who have ſupported and preſerved Them; Who is there, that will have any Heart to give that *Aſſiſtance* and *Truſt*, in thoſe critical Circumſtances, when even the *Want* of ſuch *Aſſiſtance* and *Truſt* muſt be abſolute *Ruin* and *Deſtruction?* The *Anſwer* to theſe *Two Queſtions*, and particularly the *Latter*, will ſhew the *Political Neceſſity* of *Honour* and *Honeſty* in all *publick Truſts* and *Contracts*; and the Wiſdom of a *Government*, which always follows ſo certain a Maxim. I hope, it will not be ſaid, that in ſuch *Caſes* of *Diſtreſs*, the Senſe of Every Man's own Intereſt combined with *That* of the *Publick*, will operate ſufficiently; and ſtand inſtead of *Confidence* and *Truſt*; and produce the ſame Aſſiſtance to the *Publick*. *He* knows little of Mankind, who does not know that a *Wound* in the great Concern of *Money*, goes deep; and feſters and rages ſeverely; and, that They who feel the Smart of it, are diſpoſed to think *All Governments* alike; and come by degrees to imagine that They can ſuffer but little more under a *Worſe*, than what ſuch a *Breach* of *Faith* would bring upon Them, under a *Better*; and ſo ſupinely wrap Themſelves up in a State of *Indolence* and *Careleſſneſs*, as to whatever may happen. Such is the *Nature* of *Mankind:* and to depend upon the Contrary, would be, at beſt, but *Political Madneſs*. But yet, leſt any ſhould imagine, that the *Caſes* are ſtill more different than they are; I add,

4. That the *Meaſure* and *Rule* of *Juſt* and *Right*, are exactly the ſame, with regard to all *Societies* and *Governments*, as They are with regard to *private Perſons*. *Honeſty* is one and the ſame Conſtant Good, without Change or Variation. There is not *One* Rule of *Juſtice*, as to the Point of *Compacts*, for *private Perſons*; and *Another*, for the *Publick*. But *Honeſty* is the *ſame* to *Both*; of the ſame Nature exactly, and the ſame Obligation; and does not bend and comply, and change its Countenance or its Voice, at the Command of the higheſt Powers upon Earth. It is juſt the ſame *Malignity* of *Evil*, and has the ſame *Infamy* annext to it, for any *Society*, or *Government*, to break through the *Obligations* of Compacts and Agreements; as for any *private* Perſon to do it: Neither does *Power* make any Difference in it, unleſs to make it more diſhonourable and ignominious. There is the ſame *Foundation* in both. For in *Compacts* with the *Publick*, brought into Execution by the *Legiſlature*, there are *Two Parties* neceſſarily ſuppoſed, and always plainly appearing: The *One* is the *Government*, giving ſuch *Terms* and ſuch *Security*; the *Other* is the *Perſons* giving their *Aſſiſtance* upon ſuch *Terms* and ſuch *Security*, expreſſly offered and ſtipulated to Them; or, which is all one, the *Perſons* who by Purchaſe ſtand in their Place: to which *Perſons*, a *Right*, a *perſonal Right*, is transferred by ſuch *Stipulation* and *Agreement*; and can never, after *that*, be in the *ſole* Power of the *Publick*, which has tranſferred it from itſelf to the *Other* Party. This appears to *All* in any *Caſe* of more private Concern. For if, in ſuch Caſe, *One* of the *Parties* takes upon Himſelf to be *ſole Judge*, and, without the *Conſent* of the *Other*, to cancel all his Obligations; and either to *force* or *cheat* Him out of his juſt *Pretenſions*; This is eſteemed deteſtable Iniquity, upon this very Account, becauſe He, who is but *One Party* in the *Contract*, takes upon Himſelf to judge and determine as *his own* Intereſt only directs, for *Himſelf*, and for the *Other Party* too, who has a *perſonal Right* in it, inſeparable from Him. And it is juſt the ſame with regard to the *Publick*, in the Affair of *Voluntary Compact* with its *Creditors*. It is equally *Unjuſt* for the *Publick*, which is but *One Party* in this Caſe, to judge and determine its own Cauſe, without the Conſent of the *Other* Party. And if Any One ſhould pretend

to invent a *Diſtinction* for a *Government* in *this* Caſe, to ſet it above this *Eternal Rule* of *Juſt* and *Equal*; He may pretend as well to deſtroy all the *Differences* of *Good* and *Evil* in the *Moral World*, and as ſoon ſucceed in it.

Theſe are ſome *haſty Thoughts*, which firſt occurred to Me, upon reading your laſt *Paper*. And I own to You, the *more* I turn them over in my Mind, the more certain and indiſputable I think them; and the *more* Satisfaction I have, in living under a *Government*, which has itſelf prevented our *Wiſhes*; and in the moſt ſolemn manner declared ſuch a *ſacred Regard to Publick Faith*, as muſt at once quiet all the *Jealouſies* and *Uneaſineſſes* of the *Subject*, and increaſe its own *Honour* and *Security*, through Ages yet to come. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

A. B.

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LETTER LXXIV. LONDON JOURNAL, February 22, 17$\frac{23}{24}$.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

THE following Converſation I cannot forbear communicating to You, with free Permiſſion to make what Uſe of it, you pleaſe: and it ſeems to belong in ſome ſort to You, becauſe ſome of your *late Papers* about the *Publick Happineſs* and *Publick Tranquillity*, gave riſe to it.

As I live at a diſtance from the Company and Amuſements of the *Town*, the Great Scene of *Action*, I endeavour to fill up the vacant Hours of Life, as well as I can, with the moſt agreeable Society theſe diſtant Parts afford; being never better pleaſed than when the Opportunities return, of ſeeing, and hearing, and converſing with, the *Perſons* of the *Beſt Senſe* around Me. The *other* Day, as the *Diſcourſe* ran upon the *General Quiet*, and perfect *Tranquillity* of the *Nation*; and the probable Hope of the Continuance of ſuch Happineſs; I could not miſs the *Obſervation*, that, as the *Diſtreſſes* of *Bad Princes*, heretofore, had been eſteemed, and caught at, as *Seaſons* for the obtaining ſome Good and Excellent Laws for the *Subject*, which might be ſo many *Fences* and *Guards* of *Liberty* in the more proſperous Days of ſuch *Princes*; ſo, in my Opinion, the happy Times of *Good Princes*, and the *Seaſons* of *Tranquillity* under Them, were the proper *Opportunities* for the *Cure* of any remaining *Evils*, *Defects*, and *Unhappineſſes*, either in the preſent State of the *Laws*, and *Government*; or in the *Inveterate Cuſtoms* and *Practices* of the *Governed*. It was agreed on all Hands, that never could there be a *Time* that might more properly be ſaid to *invite Every Head*, and *Every Heart*, to this Work, than when there was a *Prince* upon the *Throne*, who, having no *Deſigns* of *His own*, in any peculiar Senſe; and having a Soul, (his *Enemies* themſelves being Judges,) inwardly formed to Juſtice and Honour, could not admit a Thought into it, I will not ſay, of oppreſſing or diminiſhing its *preſent Happineſs*; but even, of oppoſing or hindring any one proper Step towards the *Greater Happineſs* of his *People*: And that in the *Reign* of ſuch a *Prince*, I mean, in the *quiet* and *flouriſhing Part* of it, *Much* might be *hoped*, if there could be found a *Willing Mind* in all Perſons concerned.

One of the *Company* preſently took up the Diſcourſe. There is *(ſays He)* no End of *General Harangues*; and but little *Uſe* of them, unleſs to ſet fire to the inward *Enthuſiaſm* of a few honeſt Men, without the leaſt Hope of *Effect*. Where therefore, ſhall We begin? Fix your *Point:* and name *What* it is, You would try the Skill of the World upon; and let Us then, if You pleaſe, enter into the *Debate*, about the *Neceſſity* of the Attempt, and the *Poſſibility* and *Probability* of the *Cure:* always remembring that the *World* is what it is; full of *Men*, and not of *Deities*. Without taking *theſe* Points into the Account, You will be truly employed in *tinkering* Affairs; which is not only, not mending them, but *ſpoiling* or endangering them. And any ſuch Points, We may without offence freely *moot* amongſt Ourſelves, as long as We aſſume not the Aire of *Legiſlators*, nor interrupt any *Publick Affairs* by our *private* Diſcourſes and Opinions. I anſwered, that I thought what He offered was exceeding reaſonable.

I am not *(ſaid I)* going to delineate any new *Utopia*; or to draw a *Model* of *Perfection*, for *Imperfection* to manage and conduct. I always thought it wrong, in the *Affairs* of *Society*, which are the *practical* and not the *ſpeculative* Buſineſs of *Men*, to create and form *Ideal Worlds*, to which there could be nothing in *fact* below, to anſwer. It may be a beautiful and very agreeable *Theory*, to dance the *Imagination* through All the poſſible and delightful Scenes of *Political Invention*, till it is even wearied with the Brightneſs and Light which Itſelf alone has produced. But this is an *Entertainment* only for ſuch, as may be called *Monks* in *Politicks*; *Recluſes* in their *Cells*; who, by long *Sequeſtration* from the *World*, have loſt the *Remembrance* of, what a *Nation* of *Men* is, or what, in its preſent Situation, it is capable of; and, judging of their own *Species* from the *Definition* They find in their *Books*, imagine that *Reaſon* either ever has governed, or may be eaſily brought for the future to its Right of Governing, wherever it ought to do ſo. A *Romance*, formed upon this *Scheme*, by the Hands of a *Plato*, or any other *Great Genius* of later Years, may be, like other well-writ *Romances*, pleaſant enough: but yet, the Pleaſure will always be accompanied with the ſame Diſappointment and Uneaſineſs, which follow the *Other Fictions* of that kind. The *Heroes* of the *Fable* being adorned with every Grace, the Unexperienced Reader expects to meet with the ſame *Heroes* and the ſame *Treatment*, in *Life*, which is there, in *Painting*; and at laſt becomes uneaſy under the Diſappointment, that *Nothing* in *Practice* is found to *Anſwer* to the *Idea* of *Perfection* raiſed within: juſt as Thoſe who have been delighted much with the *Poetical Juſtice* of the *Theatre*, which is (as They ſuppoſe) the *Little World*, are apt to demand the ſame Pleaſure in the *Great World*; and can almoſt find in their Hearts to be diſpleaſed with *Providence* itſelf, for not being governed by the ſame *Rules* of preſent *Retribution*. And ſo may They, who, at their firſt Look into the *Political* World, frame their *Notions* and *Expectations* upon the *Model* of *Perfection*, by the ſame Miſtake, fall into the ſame ſort of Diſquiet and Diſappointment.

This therefore, is not what I aim at, or think tolerable upon our preſent Subject. My uſual Language upon Affairs of a *Political* Nature, has been of quite another Turn. You know, I have upon ſeveral Occaſions argued amongſt You, That Government here could not be carried on, but by *Miniſters*; that theſe *Miniſters* muſt be *Men*; that theſe *Men* muſt always be liable to the *Imperfections* of *Men*; to *Miſtakes* and *Errors* of *their own*, as well as to the *Miſ-informations* of *Others*; and therefore, as *Perfection* could not be expected, the only *Rule*, and the only *Meaſure* of *Judgment*, in this Caſe, muſt be, The greater *Eſtabliſhment*, or higher *Advancement*, of *Publick Happineſs*, in *any* degree, or *any* Inſtance: That *Praiſe* and *Applauſe* are the *natural* Reward of *Every Step* taken towards that *Great Good*; that the *Aſſiſtance* of *All* is due, in the Account of *Rigid Juſtice*, to help it forward; and that, whenever ſuch Attempts truly appear in earneſt, *Oppoſition*, for *Oppoſition's* ſake, ought to hide its Head; All perſonal Reſentments ought to diſappear; and the Scene left clear of all Diſcouragements, and *Impediments*, to ſo deſireable a Work. You ſee, I think it *Great*, to *begin* a *Great Work*; and that I am far from raiſing up a *Chimæra* of *Perfection*, which may only amuſe Thoſe who meet with it; and make Them uneaſy that *All* is not finiſhed, before *any Thing* can be *begun*; or that *Exploits* in *Politicks* are not attempted and performed, which the *Nature* of *Things*, and the *Circumſtances* of *Affairs*, pronounce to be impoſſible.

But You will ſtill ſay, This is not coming to *particular Inſtances*. Perhaps, It is not yet my Deſign to do ſo. Thoſe *Points*, which are the fit Matter for *publick Deciſions*, are the proper *Subjects* of Debate and Conſideration for *Thoſe* who adminiſter *Government*, and who are now ſitting to *make* or *unmake* Laws, as They ſhall appear to advance or retard *Publick Good*. But if We were obliged now to *name* particular Inſtances, Who would not be carried in his *firſt* Thoughts to that Greateſt of all *National Concerns*, the *Publick Debt*; and to that *Greateſt* of all *National Glories*, Our Extenſive *Trade* and *Commerce*? In the Affair of the *Publick Debt*, Who would not make his *firſt* Wiſh, to ſee a *Reduction* once ſet on foot, upon the Maxims of *Honeſty* and *Honour*? And in *Trade*, who would not preſently deſire to ſee ſome *Attempt* made, to wreſt it out of the Hands of the *Worſt Men*; and to put it into ſuch a *Courſe*, as to deſtroy all *Diſcouragement* to the *Fair* and Open Dealer? But our Wiſhes and our Tongues are here prevented by *Thoſe*, whoſe peculiar Concern theſe Affairs are. A *Reduction* of that *Immenſe Debt*, in ſome Branches of it, is now going forward, upon the *Principle* of *punctual Honour* to the *Creditors* of the *Nation*; from which *One Party* concerned will reap every Thing that could in Juſtice be expected; and the *Other*, preſent Glory, and future Security: And in the Affair of *Trade*, (if We may truſt Univerſal Report) a Diſpoſition is made for an *Attempt* in *ſome* Inſtances, which, upon the Succeſs of the *Experiment*, may by degrees be extended to all *Others*; and at once give the higheſt Encouragement to the honeſt and induſtrious Man of Buſineſs, and add an Increaſe to the *National Revenue*. You ſee therefore, that the *Maxim* I mentioned juſt now, of turning the *Seaſons* of *Publick Tranquillity*, into *Opportunities* of *Good* to the *Publick*, is not always an *Idle Speculation*; but that it is at this Time a ſenſible Matter of *Fact*, that *They* who are at preſent moſt concerned in it, are not content with having kept off from Us the *Miſeries* and *Confuſion*, in which the late *Deſigns* of our Enemies muſt have ended; but, after having *gained*, and for the preſent *ſecured*, (as far as *Humane Endeavours* can pretend) the *Peace* and *Quiet* of the *Nation*, are determined not to ſuffer It to be a *Uſeleſs Calm*, or a *Stagnation* of *Eaſe*, like *Sleep*, or *Death*; nor yet, to try *hazardous Experiments*, which muſt *kill*, if They do not *cure*; but to make it a Foundation for *future* Security, by a gradual Diminution of thoſe *Evils* or *Burthens*, which muſt otherwiſe ſink the *Whole*, by their own Weight, and break down, in the ſame Ruin, all the *Supports* which *Other Methods* could apply to it. To bring this into a proper Light, was One *End* of my ſaying what I did at firſt: and if what I have now added, be not found true in *Fact*, I am content You ſhould eſteem it, to be either the *Baſeſt Flattery*, or the *Weakeſt Miſapprehenſion*. But on the other Side, give me leave to ſay, *Praiſe* is the Genuine Return to *Praiſeworthy Actions*; and indeed, a *Debt* of *ſtrict Juſtice* due to them: For, as far as *Actions* are *Praiſeworthy*, ſo far They have a Right to Praiſe annext to them by the Reaſon of Things. And the *Approbation* of *Men*, conſequent upon a Wiſe or Beneficial *Conduct*, is ſo far from being hurtful in itſelf to the *Cauſe* of *Wiſdom* and *Publick Good*, that it is the due and great *Encouragement* to *Thoſe* who have once made a *Beginning*, not to ſtop, but to proceed with Vigour farther and farther in the ſame Courſe—But I will for the preſent leave the View of theſe *Two* Great Points now in *Agitation* above; nor will I pretend to name Any *other* Particulars of a *publick* Nature, in a *private* Converſation. I will rather *turn* the *Diſcourſe* to *Ourſelves*; and, if You will give Me leave, I will name an *Inſtance* or *Two*, in which We are truly concerned, and by which We *Ourſelves* can and ought to promote that *publick Happineſs*, which We demand and expect ſo ſtrictly that *Others* ſhould promote. And This perhaps, may be more *proper* for *Us*, in *our* Stations, whilſt our *Superiors* have full Employment upon their Hands—But, this *Letter* being already long, I muſt refer the remaining Part of the *Converſation* to *Another*, which You ſhall ſoon receive from,

SIR,

Your, &c.

ANONYMUS.

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LETTER LXXV. LONDON JOURNAL, February 29, 172$\frac{23}{24}$.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

THE Converſation, *of which I have already given You ſome Account, went on thus.*—

I ſay it again, that it is *our own* Province, how much ſoever We may conſider Ourſelves under the Character of *private* Perſons, in many Inſtances to promote, improve, and eſtabliſh, that *Publick* Happineſs, which We ſo ſtrictly demand at the Hands of our *Superiors*: And I add, that it would be exceedingly unreaſonable Partiality, not to put Ourſelves in mind of *This* ſometimes. The Word *Private* has no Charm in it, to work the *Contrary*, upon Any, even of the meaneſt of Us. It does not, in its *Idea*, carry along with it, the *Secluſion* of Any One Perſon, from his Concern for the *Publick*; any more than You will allow *It*, to ſeclude You from your *Perſonal* Intereſts and Properties in it. Every *Private* Perſon is a Member of the whole Body; and though He is by *that* Appellation, diſtinguiſhed from All Thoſe, whoſe peculiar *Choice*, *Buſineſs* and *Duty* it is, to make *Rules* of *Government*, and to put Them in Execution when they are made; yet He is not at all *unmade* by it; or changed, either in his *Relation*, or *Duty*, to the *Society* to which He belongs.

I know, It is in *this* Caſe, as it is in the Caſe of Mens *Perſonal Faults*. We are all glad enough to hear of the Defects and Failings of *Others*; and always ready enough to repreſent the Neceſſity of their *Amendment*: and always diſpoſed to cenſure or reproach Them, if They do not purſue the Advice. But when it comes to *our own* Turn to hear the like of *Ourſelves*; and when the Taſk of *Amendment* comes to be impoſed upon *Us*; We are apt to ſhrink, and to invent a thouſand Excuſes, and to daub with a thouſand Colours, in order to throw off the Uneaſy Burthen from our own Shoulders. And thus, in the *Caſe* of *Publick Affairs*, We expect and demand the greateſt *Performances* from our *Superiors*; We love to ſpeak *Ourſelves*, and to hear *Others* ſpeak, without Intermiſſion, of their *Duty* and *Obligations*. And thus far We are certainly right, That Whoever They are, who undertake the great Office of the *Adminiſtration* of *Publick*

Affairs, in any degree, They ought inceſſantly to be reminded, That the *Publick* has a ſtrict Title, in the Account of *Common Juſtice*, to all their *Labours*; and to the Efforts of all their Powers for its Security and Proſperity. But then, We are apt to ſtop *here*, and to imagine, *All* is to be done by *Them*; who yet, if We truly conſider, can effect little, or nothing; can eſtabliſh no *Good* for any Duration of Time, nor ward off any *Evil* long, without the Concurrence of *Private* Perſons towards the ſame Happineſs.

One of the *Company* anſwered to This, That He, for his own Part, had not been uſed to ſee this in the ſame Light; that He looked on Himſelf only as a *Paſſenger* in a *Ship*, who had nothing to do but to ſit ſtill, and permit himſelf *quietly*, to the *Pilot* and the *Weather*. This does but confirm Me, *ſaid I*, in the Obſervation I was making, of the great Willingneſs in Us, to diſcharge *Ourſelves* of all Trouble, and throw it wholly upon *Others*. You lay hold on a *Simile* to this Purpoſe, and pervert it from what it was firſt deſigned, or ought to have been deſigned, to ſignify. " *What would You have* Me *do? I am but a* " Paſſenger"—was a *truly philoſophical* Anſwer of a Man, unmoved in his Paſſions, when He was interrupted, and told of the *Unavoidable Danger* the *Ship* that carried Him was in, from an Uncommon *Tempeſt* with which it had been long ſtruggling. But the *Anſwer* was *therefore* only wiſe, becauſe there was no Room, in that Caſe, for the Help or the Skill of the Perſon who gave it. For had it been ſo, that his *own* Aſſiſtance could have been of any Uſe to the Safety of Himſelf, and all his *Company*; it muſt have been the Stupidity and Inſenſibility of a *Brute Animal*, and not the Calmneſs and Philoſophy of a Compoſed Mind, to have given ſuch a *Reply*, upon the Advice of ſuch a *Danger*. In *that* Caſe, even in a *Ship* itſelf, no Hands refuſe to be employed in the meaneſt *Branch* of the *Work* of *Self-preſervation*; and the *ſame* Wiſe Man, who ſhewed ſo much Compoſedneſs, where He Himſelf *could* act no Part, would, upon the Maxims of the ſame Wiſdom, have exerted his *whole* Strength, and have *acted* with the utmoſt *Vigour*, where *Action* could have been of any *Importance*. Let therefore, the *Publick* be the *Ship*; and let Thoſe who adminiſter the Affairs of *Government* be the *Maſters* and *Pilots* of it; and let *Us* be only *Paſſengers*: Yet ſtill, This will afford Us no Indulgence in our beloved Thought of *Total Repoſe* and *Negligence*. If the *Publick* muſt be ſpoke of, under the Figure and Name of a *Ship*; it is a *Ship*, in which the *Aſſiſtance* of Every *Paſſenger* is *poſſible* to be afforded; and in which it may *therefore* be expected, becauſe the *View* of Every *Paſſenger* in this *Political Ship*, is not, like *That* of the *Others*, the *Mere Removal* from Place to Place; but the *Great End* in *their* Eye is, the *Good Condition* of the *Ship* itſelf, and *their own* Continuance in it, and their own *happy Eſtate*, whilſt They remain in it through their whole Lives.

But let us have done with *Figures* and *Similes*—What can be plainer, than that the *Influences* of *Happineſs* itſelf, coming from the Hands of Thoſe who adminiſter the Office of *Governours*, are of no Significancy, but fall to the Ground like uſeleſs Water, unleſs as far as They are received and imbibed by the *Governed*; and that in a *Society*, in which *Every Man* has his *Concern*, his *Part*, and his *Poſt*, (whether properly called of a *publick*, or of a *private* Nature,) *Every Man* can do ſomething, either to hinder or to promote, either to deſtroy or to eſtabliſh, the *Good* of the *Whole*. It is in his *Power*; and therefore, it may be *demanded* of Him: It is *his own Good*; and therefore, It is his *Intereſt*: It is the *Good* of *All* around Him; and therefore, It is his *Glory*: It is *becoming* Him, in all his Circumſtances; and reſults from all the *Relations*, under which He can be conſidered; and therefore, It is his *Duty*; never to be diſpenſed with, never to be thrown off, without throwing off at the ſame time *All* the *Ties* of *Manhood*, and *Society*.—This is ſtill *General* Diſcourſe, *One replied*; You want nothing but to apply it, in particular Inſtances, to convince Us, that what appears reaſonable in *Theory*, is as juſt when reduced to *Practice*.

I am going to do this, *I ſaid*, though it really is ſuperfluous, and unneceſſary, in a *Caſe*, which every Day, in the natural Courſe of Things, ſhews to be entirely of a *practical Nature*. But I will come directly to the *Point*; to the *preſent* Situation of the *Government*, and the *Adminiſtration* of the *Affairs* of *Great-Britain*, in which *We Ourſelves* are concerned: And I will only aſk a few plain *Queſtions*; of which, if They do not carry *their own* Anſwer along with them, I will immediately repent, and of *Every Thing* I have been ſaying.—At a Time, when the *Enemies* of that *Eſtabliſhment*, to which We are all *(I truſt)* ſincere Friends, have ſpread their Poiſon through the Land, with all the aſſiduous Endeavours of Zeal and Malice united, by the loweſt and vileſt *Miſrepreſentations* of *Things* and *Perſons*: Is it not in the *Power*, the *Duty*, and the *Intereſt* of *Every One* of Us, to ſtop the *Progreſs* of ſuch deſtructive Wickedneſs, in every *Converſation* We enter into, and in a *Sphere* much larger than our perſonal Converſation, by oppoſing to it the *True Accounts* of what is ſo unjuſtly treated, and by doing this with all the *Influences* We are capable of calling in to our *Aſſiſtance?*

To begin with the *Higheſt*; When from the firſt Date of this Reign, We have ſeen all the Methods of Artifice made uſe of, to alienate the Affections of the *Body* of the *People* from a *Prince*, in *Himſelf*, and in his *Governing Qualities*, the moſt truly *amiable* perhaps that ever ſat upon this *Throne*; and this done by deſcending to all the Loweſt (even *Perſonal* as well as *Political) Abuſes*; (by the *Former* of which, the ſtrongeſt *Bands* of *Duty* in *vulgar* Minds are known to be moſt effectually diſſolved: and by the *Latter*, Thoſe in Perſons of a higher Forme;) ſhall *We* think our Time and our Pains ill beſtowed, or our *Conſciences* ſatisfied at too dear a Price, by giving Another and a different *View* wherever We can reach; that is, by doing an *Act* of *ſtrict Juſtice* to a *Prince*, who never willingly did an *Act* of *Injuſtice* to the *Meaneſt* Man living; and who has *no Crime* towards his *bittereſt* Enemies, but what is in itſelf the higheſt Obligation upon *Us*, [and I will add, whether They will or no, upon *Them* too]—the *Crime* of *Reigning*, where They would have *Bigotry* and *Lawleſs Power* to reign uncontrolled;—the *Crime* of forcing *Them*, Themſelves, to be eaſier and happier than They wiſh to be;—the *Crime* of ruling with the *Juſtice* and *Equity* of *Laws*; of guarding *Them* in their *Properties*, even againſt their own headſtrong Wills; and of keeping off from *Them* and *Us*, All the *Evils*, (the *Evils* not to be deſcribed in Words,) which in a *Torrent* would flow in with the *Power* and the *Will* of their *Pretender?* This is *One* Taſk for Us; and a *Taſk*, which ought to be as delightful to every well-formed Mind, as it will be beneficial to the private Intereſt of every Member of the Society.

The ſame may be ſaid with reſpect to *Other* Particulars.—When Every Thing done by the *Adminiſtration*, or by the *Legiſlature*, though never ſo neceſſary; whether for the Puniſhment and Terror of *Traitors*; or for the preventing the *Ruin* threatened by a *Conſpiracy* againſt Every Thing dear to *Britons* and *Proteſtants*; or for the guarding the *Nation* againſt the *Shocks* of all ſudden Attempts, either of *Invaſions* or *Inſurrections*; or for the obtaining ſuch a State of preſent *Tranquillity* and *Security*, as is requiſite for the ſucceſsful Execution of *any* the leaſt *Eſſays* towards our greater Happineſs in Time to come;—When

Every Thing of *this* ſort, I ſay, is ſatyrized, lampooned, dreſſed out in the moſt offenſive Colours, and turned even into ſuch a *Charge* of *Accuſation* againſt theſe *Benefits*, as the greateſt Crimes alone could juſtify;—Is it not in the *Power*, and ought it not to be in the *Will*, of *every private* Man, who has a better Knowledge of the true State of Things, to raiſe up *another Senſe* of ſuch Proceedings, in All around Him; and to uſe his Endeavours (with the Unweariedneſs and Warmth of the *Enemy*,) to preſerve and enlarge *that Senſe* in *Inferiors*, without which the *Beſt Deſigns* and the *Wiſeſt Attempts* of *Superiors* are of little Effect; and always liable to be checked, and even annihilated, by the ungovernable *Caprice* and miſguided *Paſſions* of *Others*?—Nay, I will add, When any Thing deviſed upon a *good Ground*, and deſigned to a *good End*, has proved *unſucceſsful*, and anſwered *other* Purpoſes than what were intended, partly through the humane Miſtakes of the Greateſt Men, and a great deal through the Iniquity of Ill-will and Diſaffection; Cannot Every *private* Man, who wiſhes his Country's Good, withſtand the Motions of Thoſe, who would, by their *unmerciful Aggravations*, turn every unlucky *Event* into an Occaſion of *Diſturbance* and *Ruin*; and help againſt ſuch *deſtructive Views*, by ſuch favourable Conſtructions and Repreſentations, as *Reaſon*, and the *Nature* of humane Affairs, and the *Intereſt* of his Country, always demand?

I have entered thus far into Particulars: and I may with the greateſt Juſtice add, that “In theſe and the like Inſtances, Every *Private Man*, who makes it his Buſineſs to act this Part, does at the ſame time contribute to the *Eaſe* of a *Government*, and *his own* perſonal *Security*; the *Peace* of a *Nation*, and *his own* preſent *Repoſe*; and, in the *Happineſs* of *this* and *future* Generations, to the proſperous Eſtabliſhment of *his own* Family, and *his own* Poſterity.” But, do not imagine, from *All* this, that I am inſpiring into You a *Spirit* of *Slaviſh Applauſe* or *Undiſtinguiſhing Acquieſcence*. I ſcorn, I abhor it: And therefore, on the contrary, before I break off my *Diſcourſe*, I ſtill am ready to aver that “It is as much your Duty and Honour and Intereſt, to *oppoſe* every publick *Evil* Attempt, by all the Force of *Truth* and *Juſtice*, whether it regard *Property* or *Common* Liberty, *whenever* it ſhall appear, or *whenceſoever* it may come; as it is, to aſſiſt, promote, and eſtabliſh, in every Inſtance, whatever may at any Time be well propoſed and attempted for the *Settlement* of your Country in a *State* of Quiet and Tranquillity, which can indeed be no farther worthy the Poſſeſſion of *Men*, than as it is guarded by the Protection of *Laws*, and ſweetened by the Enjoyment of *Liberty*.”—*This occaſioned ſome farther* Diſcourſes *from* Others, *which may perhaps be communicated to You in a third Letter from*,

SIR,

Your, &c.

ANONYMUS.

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LETTER LXXVI. LONDON JOURNAL, March 7, 17$\frac{23}{24}$.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

I *Now go on to the remaining Part of the* Converſation, *which has already filled up* Two Letters.

Probus, a Young Gentleman of great Senſe, great Fortune, but *ſmall Experience*, who had hitherto ſaid nothing through the Whole of our *Diſcourſe*, began now to ſpeak. You have, (ſays He,) indeed named ſome Particulars, in which every *Private* Man is both capable of aſſiſting and ſupporting the *Publick Happineſs*, and under a ſtrict Obligation to do it. But I will now beg leave to name an *Inſtance* of an *Evil*; an *Evil* long and loudly complained of,—which *may be* cured; and which, (All who complain of it, acknowledge by their Complaining,) *ought to be* cured; and which *can* be cured by *Nothing* but the *Reſolution* and *Labours* of *Private Gentlemen* themſelves: and, at once to eaſe You of your *Curioſity*, It is *Corruption*, the *Univerſal Corruption*, ſo much inveighed againſt by *Popular Orators*; ſo much lamented by *Thoſe* who either are, or would paſs for, *Uncorrupt* themſelves; that I am going to preſcribe a *Remedy* for. And as it is a *Remedy* I am reſolved to make uſe of, *Myſelf*; I have the leſs Reaſon to bluſh in preſcribing it to *Others*.

It is hardly poſſible to expreſs the Surprize which diſcovered itſelf in the Faces of the *Company*. One of Them preſently ſaid, Sir, You ſeem to have forgot that at the Entrance into our preſent Converſation, there was a ſort of an *Excluſion* pronounced againſt all *Romantick*, *Utopian*, *Imaginary*, *Impracticable* Schemes of Perfection; that it was well laid in, by One who has already given Us his Thoughts, that the World is to be taken, as it is in fact; and the *Evils* of it conſidered as They are; and the *Cures* propoſed, ſuch as *can* take Place, and not any ſuch, as are rather *Celeſtial*, than of kin to our *Earth*.—To undertake the *Cure* of *Corruption!*—If *Don Quixote* were now alive, and iſſuing forth from the Plains of *La Mancha*, with all the impenetrable Armour of a *Knight-errant*, and all the unſhaken Courage of an *Adventurer*; even *He Himſelf* would ſooner chuſe to fight with a *Thouſand Giants*, in the moſt frightful Shapes, than once attempt to demoliſh this *Monſter*. That Great *Righter* of *Wrongs*, and *Redreſſer* of *Grievances*, Himſelf, would firſt ſet in order *Every other* Difficulty through the World, before He would let his intemperate Heat carry Him to *This*. He would at leaſt reſerve *It*, for his *laſt Exploit*; his finiſhing *Stroak*; a *Coup de gloire*, that would compleat his Character, and as much tranſcend all his *other* Adventures, as *They* did the common dull Mouvements of the reſt of Mortals.

I thank You, (*ſaid* Probus,) for the Complement. I ſee, You look upon Me, in my preſent Situation, as a *Don Quixote* in *Politicks*; an *Enterprizer* in publick Affairs, that will undertake *Monſters* and *Giants*, in what Shape, or in what Place ſoever They appear; and am only framing Imaginary and Impracticable *Schemes* of *Good*, as if We now lived in Sir *Thomas More's Utopia*, or *Plato's Commonwealth*; and not in the *Dregs* of a *Corrupted Nation*. All this ſhall not diſcourage Me from going on with what I have to ſay. Only You have now forced Me to remark to You, before I enter upon the *Subject*, that You have already greatly miſtaken my *Deſign*. I was not ſo mad as to pretend, that *my* preſcribing a *Remedy*, would have Effect upon *Others*; or that What I ſhould recommend, would preſently be fallen into by *All* around Me. As *Young* as I am, I know, the World is not ſo well-judging, and ſo diſintereſted a *World*, as it muſt be, before this can come to paſs: And I would not willingly be thought by my Neighbours ſo perfect a *Knight-errant*, as to undertake to make the World *Honeſt*, *Unprejudiced*, *Diſintereſted*, with a *Breath* of mine. When the *Saturnian* Reign returns, *Aſtræa* will return with it. When the *Earth* brings forth *Spontaneous Sweets*, and *Roſes* unattended with *Thorns* and Briars; *They* who live upon ſuch an *Earth*, will *then* breathe nothing but *Sincerity*, and practice nothing but Unſuſpicious and Unſuſpected *Integrity*. But this is *Poetical Prophecy*; which, like *other Prophecy*, cannot be fulfilled, even in the loweſt Signification, without the *Action* and *Concurrence* of the *Moral Agents* themſelves concerned in it. It is *We*, muſt bring on the happy Time; or elſe it will *never* come. It is *We*, muſt attempt to tranſmute the *Iron-age* into *Gold*; or elſe the *Metal* will ſtill remain the ſame *coarſe*, *heavy*, *low-prized* Metal. Do not be again afraid, as if I was now running from *Romantick Chivalry*, to more *Romantick Chemiſtry*; and going for this End to apply a ſort of *Philoſophers Stone*, ſo often applied either to no Purpoſe, or to very ill Purpoſe. The Reaſon why *that* Experiment has ſo ill ſucceeded, and ſo often impoveriſhed the *Attempters*, is found to be This, That there is *Nothing* to work upon, which can poſſibly anſwer the *View* of the *Labourer*; Nothing of *Gold*, out of which only *Gold* can poſſibly be effected. But, (if You will carry on the *Poetical Simile*,) it is not ſo in our Caſe. The *Age* was once itſelf All of *pure Gold*; and after its various Transfuſions, and Tranſmutations, there muſt ſtill remain *ſome Gold*, that by exerting its *Virtues*, and its Influences, It will beget and produce *more* of its own Kind, unleſs it be wholly oppreſt, or quite ſeparated from the *Touch* of the *Metal* around it. *Iron* itſelf will take a *Tincture* from it: and there is a *Contagion* in *Good* Company, as well as in *Bad*; only of another, and a happy Kind. But let Us come down from this *Poetical Heighth*, and tread a little upon plain Ground.

And here, till I am ſomething better acquainted with the *World*, I will hope that it is not ſo *Romantick*, ſo groundleſs, ſo ridiculous a Thing, to ſuppoſe that, *Corrupt* as the *Age* is, There are a *few Souls* at leaſt untainted; that there are *ſome Men* ſtill in being, who would not refuſe to mortify Themſelves (if need were) even in their own laudable Ambition, in order to *amend* Multitudes about them;

—— Pauci quos æquus amavit
Jupiter——

(Or in the other Words of the *Poet*)

——Et queis
Ex meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan.

But, whether this be ſo, or not; What I offered was far from deſerving ſuch a Cenſure. I ſaid, and I will faithfully make it good, That I would ſhew, *in my own Example*, and by *my own Conduct*, the only poſſible *Method*, as I apprehend, of curing the *Evil* ſo loudly complained of. This is *Practice*, and not *Romance*: and when I tell You only what I Myſelf am reſolved to do, I do not deſerve to be treated as a *Viſionary*, unleſs the *Trial* ſhews Me to be One. I do not deſerve any degree of *Blame*, if I *Myſelf* do, what I think *All* others in the ſame Circumſtances ought to do: nor will it be any Part of *My* Crime, if there ſhould not be *One* Man in the World who ſhould think it worth his while to imitate Me; nor would This indeed be the leaſt Proof of the Mere Empty Imaginarineſs of the Thought, whilſt I ſhew in Myſelf the Practicableneſs, (to *Me*, the *eaſy Practicableneſs*) of the *Propoſal*.

But, leſt You ſhould ſtill think Me more *enterprizing* than I am, I muſt tell You, what the *Corruption* is, I am concerning Myſelf about. You know that almoſt All the *Popular Diſcourſes* and *Writings* upon this *Subject*, ſpend the Strength, and aim the Sting of their *Satyr*, at *Great Men* peculiarly ſo called; ſuch as act either in the *Legiſlature*, or in the *Adminiſtration* of the *Government.* I think it will no more become *Me* to enter even into any *Unhandſome Suppoſition* of this ſort, than it would be conſiſtent with *Common Senſe* to attempt, from a private Corner of the World, to begin *there* in the Cure of ſuch an *Evil*, if the Suppoſition were allowed. I will only ſay that, if the *Ground* of ſuch *Satyrs* be true, (which I cannot yet believe) it muſt, I fear, be true, at the ſame time, that the *Perſons* ſo *corrupted* hardly wait for the Temptation; but, long before it comes in their Way, *go up* with a *Reſolution* of *demanding to be corrupted*, to make up to Themſelves the *Damages* They may have ſuſtained in their *corrupting* Others, in order to put Themſelves into a *Situation* of being Corrupt Themſelves. I will hope better Things, and believe better Things. But, to come forward towards the *Point* I aim at; If that be *ſuppoſed* True, only for *Suppoſition-ſake*, yet I will ſay, *That* is not the *Beginning* of the *Diſeaſe*; and therefore, the *Cure* (I will not ſay, *ought not*, but *cannot* properly) *begin* there. I am for applying to the *Root* of the *Evil*; and if That Application touches *Ourſelves* only, No *Self-love* ought to hinder Us from regarding it, or move Us to throw it all off upon *Others*, as if We had no ſort of Concern in it. If there has been *Corruption*, which *Gentlemen* themſelves have, in ſome Times, encouraged at *Elections*; It is *This* which has been the firſt Foundation of every other *Corruption*, if there have been any; and the *Grand Cauſe* of *All* that follows, let it be what, and where it will: and it is *This* alone, I ſhall ſpeak of. Far be it from Me, ſo much as to make any *Suppoſition*, which can reflect upon *Any particular Man*, or Body of Men, in the World: What I have to ſay, I will ſay with relation to *Myſelf* only.

As there is now a *Vacancy* in a *Burough*, where I have many *Tenants* and *Dependents*; and as I have a Right to appear amongſt *other Candidates*, at the *enſuing Election* of a *Member* of *Parliament*; I have thought thus with Myſelf—From *this* Hour I muſt date either my own *Danger* or *Security* from Corruption, in Time to come. If I myſelf now *begin*; and in any Form, or any Degree, *Corrupt* Thoſe who are to ſend *Me* up, to ſerve my Country; I doubt, I ſhall not have an *utter invincible Averſion* to being *Corrupted* Myſelf, if *Corruption* can be found out; and from having *no Averſion* to the *Thing* itſelf, I *may* come to be *reconciled* to the Thought of it; and from being *reconciled* to that Thought, I *may* come to *love* it, and to *wiſh* the *Offer* may come in my Way; and from wiſhing That, I may naturally prevent it, and ſeek after the *Trial* of my Virtue; till I invite, ſollicit, and force it upon *Myſelf*, from *Thoſe*, who of Themſelves had no ſuch *Thought* or Intention. If I *begin*, I know not where, or when, I may ſtop; and therefore, I am determined *not to begin*, where I can moſt eaſily do it; as the ſecureſt Prevention againſt Any *Conſequences* after it, which at preſent at leaſt do not ſit eaſy upon my Mind; and which I cannot otherwiſe ſo well anſwer for. If you will permit Me, I will now go on to tell You, what I take *Corruption*, in the preſent Caſe, to be; [which You will preſently ſee can never, in the Nature of the Thing, be *cured* by *written Laws*;] and to ſhew You what, I am determined, ſhall be *My own Conduct* upon this Occaſion.

The Reſt *I muſt reſerve to* One *more* Letter, *which You ſhall ſoon receive, from,*

SIR,

Your, &c.

ANONYMUS.

LETTER LXXVII. LONDON JOURNAL, March 14, $17\frac{23}{24}$.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

THIS Letter *will conclude the* Converſation *I have already given You ſome Account of.*

Probus purſued his Subject in the following Manner: The firſt Step We have to take is, To find out what *Corruption* truly is, before We can poſſibly ſee the Way to any proper *Remedy.* I know, the Thoughts of Men upon this *Subject*, preſently run into what is moſt commonly called *Bribery*; I mean, *Bribery* by *Money:* and I may ſay That *Many* of Thoſe, who *are* really more *righteous* than their *Neighbours*, as well as of *Thoſe* who would willingly *appear* ſo, hardly ever go any further than *This*; and ſeem fully ſatisfied with Themſelves, and even *applaud* their own *Zeal* againſt ſuch an *Evil*, if They can but waſh *their Hands* of this ſort of *Corruption.* Now, as I have been reflecting upon this *Point* a good while, I find in my *Syſtem* of *Morality* and *Honour*, This is a groveling, poor, confined *Notion*, and goes but a very little Way in the Affair. For, as there is no moral Harm, nor Intrinſical *Evil*, in a Piece of *yellow* Earth, or in a Portion of *Stampt Metal*, conſidered as ſuch; *Gold* or *Silver*, given out of *One* Hand into *Another*, is in itſelf no more *Corruption*, and partakes no more of the *Immorality* of it, than the moſt diſtant Thing in *Nature.* It is merely *accidental*, and *extrinſical* to the *Diſtribution* of *Money*, that it can at any time become ſo bad a Thing; and be properly called by ſo bad a Name. If this were not true, the *greateſt Charity* in the World, beſtowed by *One* who was even inviſible, or uncapable of receiving any Worldly Return from it, would immediately become the *greateſt Corruption.*

We muſt therefore, ſearch out What it is, that brings the *Diſtribution* of *Money*, at *Elections*, (for We are concerning Ourſelves only about *Theſe*,) under the *Denomination* of *Corruption:* and You are, I believe, before-hand with Me already, in obſerving Yourſelves, That Whatever it is, that has the *ſame Effect*, with the *ſame Circumſtances* accompanying it, muſt be content to come under the ſame *Denomination*, and to be ranked in the ſame *degree* of *Evil.* Now, the only *Circumſtance* that makes the *Diſtribution* of *Money* to be *Corruption* is this, That it is done with the expreſs *Intent*, and accompanied with the Certain Conſequence, of taking away the *Freedom* of Judgement, and *Freedom* of Choice, from the *Electors*; and of determining Them to *One* or *Two* Certain Perſons, in oppoſition to *Others*, for no Reaſon, but becauſe They Themſelves reap a private Advantage from it. If You blind a Man's *Heart*, that He *will not* ſee; or, if You blind a Man's *Eyes*, that He *cannot* ſee; They are pretty *equal* in their *Conſequences.* Were it not for *this* Circumſtance, You ſee plainly, *Money* itſelf would not juſtly lie under this *Scandal* at all; the ſole *Circumſtance*, I mean, of taking away that *Freedom* of Seeing and Judging, which is eſſential to a *proper Election.* And were it not for *this* other *Circumſtance*, that *Money* has, in moſt Times, been the Common *Medium*, and the moſt remarkable one, of this ſort of *Election-traffick*; It would not run in Mens Heads, as it does, not only as the *firſt*, but as the *only* Inſtrument of *Corruption.*

This therefore, is as demonſtrable as *Any Propoſition* in *Science*, That Whatever it is which has the ſame *Intent* and *Effect*, of blinding Mens *Hearts* or *Eyes*; or of taking away or diminiſhing their *Freedom* of *Choice*, is equally *Corruption* and *Bribery*: that is, It has that very ſame *Intrinſical Evil* in it, which alone makes *Money* itſelf to be *Corruption*. By Conſequence, All *Falſhood*, *Trick*, and *Deceit*, which repreſent *Things* or *Perſons* in another Light, than what They have a Right to be placed in, are *Corruption*. All *Lies*, *Inventions*, *Forgeries*, to this Purpoſe, are *Corruption*. Every *Hope* and Expectation, raiſed by *Promiſes* or *Intimations*, to the ſame Intent, is *Corruption*. Every *Fear* and *Terror*; Every Threatning of *Bad Uſage* to *Inferiors* and *Dependents*, upon ſuch Occaſions; or Any *Apprehenſions* of *Evil*, raiſed and preſerved in Them, by the more Cunning and Hidden Methods of Art, is equally *Corruption*. The *Material Actions*, even of *Beneficence*, or of External *Piety*, muſt *themſelves*, in the ſame Circumſtances, come under the ſame *Condemnation*. They ceaſe to be *Charity*, *Generoſity*, *Munificence*, or *Devotion*, when They are thus directed. And it is *no leſs Corruption* to build a *Market-place*, a *Town-houſe*, an *Alms-houſe*, or even a *Church*, upon *this* Account; than it is to open all the *Cellars*, or ſcatter *Largeſſes* through every Street, of the biggeſt *Corporation*: becauſe Theſe Methods will *no leſs turn* the *Heads*, and *darken* the *Eyeſight*, of *Electors*; than it would do, to *intoxicate* Them with good Liquors, or to throw the largeſt Quantities of *Gold-duſt* in their Eyes. All theſe, and the *like* Methods, are no otherwiſe eſteemed, in the Account of *Moral Agency*, but as *Force* and *Conſtraint*; under different, and ſofter Appellations indeed, but ſtill as truly *Force* with regard to *Liberty*, as if *Chains* and *Pullies*, in their proper Figure, were applied. Every Thing is *Force* in this Caſe, which impairs or deſtroys *Freedom* of *Choice*; and Every Thing impairs and deſtroys *That*, except the One only proper *Motive*. And all the forementioned *Methods* made uſe of, as *Machines* of *Elections*, are therefore *Force* and *Corruption*, becauſe They do not, (no not any One of them) tend to ſhew Any Perſon truly fitter and worthier to ſerve his Country, than *Another*, in any one Point which regards *Government*, and the making of *Laws*: which is the only *Good Motive* in the preſent Caſe: but have *other* and very *different* Effects.

And now, under *this* View, It may, I fear, be truly ſaid to be beyond all the *Wiſdom* of *Legiſlators*, (if They were never ſo much in earneſt) to apply an *effectual Remedy* to this *Evil*; becauſe, when They have done their *beſt*, and purſued It through all its *viſible* and *open* Tracks, there will ever remain ſome ſecret, inacceſſible Reſort for *It*, to ſport and entertain itſelf in. The *Engines* are numberleſs: and ſome *Evaſion* or other will be ever within the Reach of a Subtle and a Reſolute Man. But the *Cure* is not out of the Reach of Every *Candidate*. I will therefore, as I told You, put the Labouring Taſk upon *Myſelf*; and take the preſent Opportunity to practice what I have determined in my own Mind to be uniformly right, and unexceptionable. And the *Reaſon* why I have brought Myſelf to This with ſo much Eaſe, is, becauſe I am much more concerned to preſerve Myſelf free from *Reproach* within, than to have a *Seat* in *Parliament*; and becauſe I think, *Other Gentlemen*, as well as I, may labour in the Service of their Country with tolerable Succeſs; but no *Perſon*, nor *Thing*, in this World, can reſtore Me my Innocence into *this* Breaſt, when it is once debauched, or fled.

Upon the *Whole*, If You now expect Me to tell You in what Manner I deſign to apply Myſelf to my own *Tenants* and *Dependents*, upon this Occaſion; I am determined to ſpeak to Them in the following Terms *only*, which I am reſolved by Facts to make good: “ You think perhaps, *Neighbours*, that I have called

“ You now together, to impoſe Myſelf upon You at your enſuing *Election* of a *Member* of *Parliament*. It is far otherwiſe. You are My *Tenants*, it is true, and my *Dependents*; and I have, upon that Account, a *ſtrict Right* to every thing due from *Tenants* and *Dependents*. But I think Myſelf obliged to put You in Mind, That You do not *vote* for *Members*, as You are *My Tenants*, but as You are *Freemen*; and, as ſuch, that *You* have Yourſelves a *ſtrict Right* to all *Freedom* in your Nomination of a *Perſon* to ſerve his Country; and that, as my being your *Landlord* is a Conſideration entirely foreign to the preſent Affair, and an *accidental* Thing, You are not brought by *That* under the leaſt Obligation to fix your Voices upon *Me*, any more than if You had never heard my Name before; unleſs You Yourſelves think *Me* to be really better qualified to ſerve my Country *above*, than *Any* of my *Opponents*. And, as I am reſolved to ſhew My Regard to your *Rights* and *Liberties*, leſt You ſhould think the Caſe otherwiſe than I have now ſtated it, or frame to your own Imaginations any *Terrors* or *Fears* from My Side; I here promiſe You, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, I give You my Word and Honour for it, That Whatſoever your Behaviour be upon this Occaſion, and on Whomſoever your Votes may fall, You ſhall never experience, from *My* Dealings with You, either more *Favour* or more *Hardſhip*, more *Advantages* or more *Diſadvantages*, in your *Tenures*, in any *Degree*, or of any *Kind*, than if *No Election* had been heard of. It ſhall all be a *Blank*; and as abſolutely forgot, as if no ſuch *Event* had ever been. Depend upon it, My Condnct ſhall punctually anſwer to this Declaration; by which I have at once given *Eaſe* to *My own* Mind, and, I hope, *Freedom* and *Unreſtrainedneſs* to *Yours*.”—

One of the *Company* could hold no longer, but interrupted *Probus*: and, almoſt laughing, ſaid, That at this rate no Body could anſwer for the *Event*, which might be worſe than the *Evil* avoided; That the *People* generally were *not* good Judges; and that if Men of Senſe and *Capacity* would not *direct* and *influence* their *Dependents*, what could We hope for? To leave *Them* to *Themſelves*, is to leave Ourſelves and the *Nation* to *Ignorance* and *Miſapprehenſion*: and therefore, You ought not to do it. Why then, [ſaid *Probus*] leave off to ſpeak of *True Freedom* of *Elections*; or to talk in the high Strains of *Purity* and *Incorruption*. There is not *One* Rule for *Men* of *Senſe*; and *Another Rule* for *Others*: nor is *Any Man* Judge of *his own Senſe*, or of his own *Fitneſs* to ſerve his Country. I will never ſcruple to influence my *Dependents*, ſo far as *Facts* and *Behaviour* can prove to Them *One Man* more truly qualified for *Publick Service* than Another; becauſe *This* is only giving Them the *Reaſon*, which alone ought to determine Them in this Affair. But I will at the ſame time aſſert their own *Freedom*. I ſaw, You ſmiled at the *Weakneſs* of my *Propoſal*. And You may have ſome Right to do it, becauſe You do not ſeem to be much diſpleaſed at *Any* ſort of *Corruption*, if I may judge from your *Argument*, which will juſtify the *Direction* of the *Electors* by *Money*, as well as by any *Other* ſort of *Force* upon Them. But if *Any* of *Thoſe* who uſually talk moſt about *Corruption*, ſhould *laugh* at *Me*, and my *Experiment*; or refuſe to imitate it; I will at leaſt take this innocent and juſt *Revenge* upon Them, That I will never believe *Any One* of *Them* to be in earneſt in his Harangues againſt *Corruption*, as ſuch; whilſt I ſee He is not *uniformly* and *equally* againſt It, in *all* Shapes, and *all* Forms. If He abhors *corrupting* Electors by *Money*, and yet takes away their *Freedom* by *other* Methods; I will be ſo ill-natured as to ſay, This is either becauſe He abhors *parting* with *Money*, and can *corrupt* Them, at a *cheaper* rate, by his *Power* to *help* or *hurt* Them in their *Tenures* under Him; or becauſe He has never thought what *Corruption* is: and that therefore, This is not the *Hatred* of *Corruption*, but the *Love* of *Money*; or elſe, a Total Inadvertence to the true Nature and Malignity of the *Vice*. But at the ſame time, I will be ſo juſt as to own, that it would be a *Happineſs* worth the ſeeking after, if a *Stop* could be put to any *One* ſort or *Species* of this *Evil*; or if ſo much as *One Channel*, in which *Corruption* can flow, could be ſtopped up. For, I mean not to put out of Countenance any *Attempts* that Way; but only to carry your Thoughts ſtill farther, that You may not think *Yourſelves* Pure and Undefiled, meerly becauſe You are free from *Corruption* in *One* Form; and in that particular One, which is moſt troubleſome and chargeable to *Yourſelves*. You ſee what I aim at; and—I need ſay no more but that, whatever be the Event, my *Conduct* ſhall be agreeable to my Words.

The *Company* ſeemed ſtill diſpoſed to ſmile at the *Scheme:* and I doubt, by this Time You are ſmiling at it too. I believe, You will be in Pain about *Probus*'s Election, when You think of it, hanging upon ſo ſlender a *Thread*. Or, perhaps You will conclude that there is *no ſuch* Man as *Probus* in the World; and that *All* this is *Fiction* and *Invention*. Whether it be, or be not, it does not at all affect the *Argument*; nor the *Deſign* of Him, who is,

SIR,

Your, &c.

ANONYMUS.

LETTER LXXVIII. LONDON JOURNAL, March 21, 17$\frac{23}{24}$.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

IT was a great Diſappointment to Me, as well as to ſeveral Others, in the *Courſe* of ſome of your *Late Papers*, that, after having ſpoke pretty largely upon *ſeveral Points*, which were the *Subjects* of His *Majeſty*'s *Speech* to his *Parliament*, You ſtopped ſhort, and ceaſed Your *Obſervations*, juſt at that *Part* of it, in which our *Wiſhes* and *Expectations* moſt attended You: I mean, the Paſſage which relates to the *Induſtry* of the *Nation*, and particularly, the *Employment* of the *Poor*. Whether it was, That You thought it a *Paragraph* of mere Form, which has taken its Place in *Speeches*, perhaps for Hundreds of Years, and for ſo long Time gone off without any Effect, or even Remark; or whether You imagined the Thing to be impracticable, and were afraid to mix Yourſelf in an *Enquiry*, which has hitherto proved uſeleſs and inſignificant, in deſpair of any tolerable Succeſs; I know not. But this I am ſure of, That no *Well-wiſher* to his Country, no *Projector* for the Good of Society, no Perſon who has any Concern to ſetle Us upon any laſting Foundation, ſhould ever loſe the Sight of this One Point; or omit any Opportunity of keeping alive the *Spirit* of *Some*, or of reviving the decayed *Zeal* of *Others*, upon this *Subject*. And therefore, though I am not at all prepared with any *particular Scheme*, fitted to remedy an *Inveterate Evil*, now bound down upon Us by a Length of Time, which is gone beyond the Limits of a Preſcription; yet I muſt take the Liberty to ſend You a few *looſe* Thoughts, which, if not exact enough to be of great Uſe, will, I hope, carry their Excuſe with them, as They come from a *warm Breaſt*, and a *Heart* long zelous of ſo good a *Work*.

I will begin with obſerving, That there cannot be a *greater Scandal* to a Regular *Civilized Society*, than ſuch an *Appendage*, as the preſent publick known Condition of *our Poor* muſt appear to *All*, who ſee any thing of the Nature and End of ſuch a *Society*. And I will give this Reaſon for it; becauſe it becomes, in *This One* Reſpect, worſe even than that Looſe, Separated, Unconfined State of *Untaught Nature* itſelf, of which Society pretends to be a *Reformation* and *Amendment*. For to this Purpoſe of amending the *State* of the World, it was abſolutely neceſſary, in civilizing, and reducing Mankind to the Bounds and *Rules* of *Government*, (which is only another Word for *Regulated Society*,) That every thing *Good* or *Laudable*, even in the firſt ſuppoſed *Wild Lawleſs* State of Man, ſhould be retained and improved; as well as that Every thing *Bad* and *Deteſtable*, ſhould be thrown away, remedied, and exchanged for ſomething of a Contrary Nature. Now, it will be very evident, if We look back upon the State of *Confuſion*, That, even in the midſt of thoſe numberleſs Evils that attended that *Condition*, in which *Might* was *Right*, and every Man's *Arm* was his *Will* and *Pleaſure*, and *Self-defence* made the ſame *Reſort* neceſſary for the *Beſt-diſpoſed*, which Wickedneſs dictated to the *Worſt*;—that, even in the midſt of *Thoſe Evils*, Perſonal Induſtry, Labour, Watchfulneſs, and a Conſtancy in Theſe, were abſolutely inſeparable from it, and the Buſineſs of every *Man* in it, as much as *Life*, and *Defence*, and *Preſervation* themſelves were. Every One's Affair was to procure the *Neceſſaries* of *Life* at leaſt; and to be inceſſantly *hunting* after what He and his *Children* abſolutely wanted; who, as ſoon as their Strength ſhewed itſelf, were Themſelves preſently forced upon a Condition, level with that of *All* Others, in the ſame *Nighbourhood*. In ſuch a *State* therefore, it is a monſtrous Suppoſition, to think of *Any One* Man, much leſs any Number of *Men*, living *idle*; and free from the Labours with which *All around* preſerved Themſelves; and expecting to be fed, or covered, at the Hazard and Toil of thoſe *Others*. Should any ſuch have once appeared, the firſt Anſwer would have been, an Univerſal Conſent in getting rid of ſuch *Neighbours*, as ſo many *Enemies*, or *Wild Beaſts*, made only for deſtroying and waſting the *Things* which Others procured by their own *Sweat*. Now, as it was the Buſineſs and Deſign of *Regular Society*, to *better* the State of Men, and not to bring it into *worſe Circumſtances*, in any *one* reſpect; It is a flaming *Scandal* to it; it is a *Reproach* never to be covered; if, in a *Point* of ſuch *Importance*, and a *Point* which it is in the Power of *All Societies* to remedy, an *Evil* appears plainly for a long Duration of Years, which even the *Worſt Eſtate* that ever Mankind was in, or can be in, always abhorred and kept far from.

So that if We conſider the *Original* Formation and Deſign of a *Regular Society*, created (if I may ſo ſpeak) out of the *Chaos* of *Anarchy* and *Diſtraction*; This will greatly add to the *Scandal* and *Ignominy* of the State of Things now complained of. The *End* and *View* of *Civilized* and Regular *Society* was, without doubt, the aſcertaining, ſecuring and improving the *Property* of ſuch as ſhould acquire any ſuch *Right* of *Property*, by their own *Labour*, *Induſtry* and *Services*: and at the ſame time, the *Preſervation* and *Diſtribution* of the Neceſſaries of Life to *ſuch* as, by *Reaſon* of Diſeaſes, or *Old Age*, could not poſſibly ſubſiſt without ſuch Aſſiſtance. The *Former* ſort were the *Rich*, in the firſt Account of *Society*: and the *Latter* alone were the *Poor*; and ſo eſteemed ſolely, becauſe They had not in their Power *any Means* of *Self-preſervation*. It may be ſaid to have been *One great* Benefit of *Society*, to aſſiſt and ſupport theſe *Latter*; becauſe it is to be feared that, in the former disjointed wild Condition of Men, *Theſe* were often cut off, without

Pity, as *Burthens* and *Troubles* to the *Strong* and *Mighty*. But the *Other* and *Main End* was, The Encouragement of that *Induſtry* and *Labour*, (which were not wanting from the Beginning) by the Reward of Security, and Quiet, in the *Poſſeſſion* of what ſhould be procured by them. If therefore, inſtead of the *former* of theſe Goods, the truly Honeſt, and Needy, and diſabled Part of Mankind, are frequently known to be left without Suſtentation, without Help, without any of the Comforts of Life; and that, at the ſame time, the other Part of the *Lower World*, who have it undoubtedly in their Power to contribute to their own Preſervation, and the *Good* of the Whole, are ſeen in Shoals and Multitudes, to be permitted, and even patronized, in a conſtant uninterrupted Idleneſs, Indolence, Lazineſs; and by theſe led even to the *Exceſſes* of the *Rich* and *Voluptuous*, in their *coarſer* Way of Wickedneſs—What can be a greater *Contradiction* to the *Glorious Deſign* of *Society*; or, what can be a more *Reproachful Objection* againſt any particular *Civilized Country*?

And ſhall any One of that *Great Number*, whoſe Duty it is, to conſult the *Publick Good*; or who has ſo much as One ſecret good Wiſh in his Soul, towards his Country, ſit by contented, and continue this *Evil* down to *Poſterity*; and think it enough to ſay, This *cannot* be cured, It is in vain to attempt it?—Give over then, all Pretences to *Publick Services*, and leave off to call *Yourſelves* a *Regular Governed Society*: But do not, only to ſpare Yourſelves a little Thought, or even *One* ſingle *Trial*, call it an *Impoſſible Thing*, to put the *Poor* of this *Kingdom* into ſuch a *Condition*, as that the *Labour* and *Induſtry* of *Thoſe*, whoſe Limbs and Strength are good, may be ſubſervient to *their own Subſiſtence*, and to the *Trade* and *Profit* of the *Whole Body*; and that the *Real Wants* of *ſuch* as are utterly *unable* to work, may be ſupplied in a regular, certain and comfortable manner.

The *Poſſibility*, I may ſay, the *Eaſineſs*, of the Thing, is demonſtrated already, by the *Example* and *Experience* of a *Neighbouring Nation*; by the *Regulations* made and put in Practice before your Eyes, by the *ſecond City* of *England* itſelf; and, as I am told, in a leſſer Way, by ſome *few* particular *Pariſhes*, which have by Conſent and Contributions attempted ſomething of this ſort, with great and agreeable Succeſs, and are going on to improve their Deſigns. But alaſs! It is not a *private*, but a *publick* Work; and it muſt have the *Power* and *Encouragement* of the *Whole Legiſlature*, before it can be a *publick Good*. And without the Sanction of *Supreme Authority*, All that will be obtained is perhaps this, that *ſome* Parts of the *Nation* may be the *Worſe* for the good Management of *Others*, not imitated; that the *Reſt* of our *Cities* and *Towns* may be the *more* plagued with Inconveniencies, becauſe *One* keeps them off from itſelf; and that *Many Pariſhes* may fare the worſe, for the *Wholeſome* and *Wiſe* Schemes of a very *Few*. I am far from pretending to point out an *Infallible* Method of *Cure* for this *Calamity*; or indeed, Any One Method free from all *Objection*. Perhaps, no ſuch can ever be found. I have heard that it has been propoſed by *Some*, who have long thought with great Concern of this *Evil*, That this Affair, and the whole Conduct of it, might (by a *Law* made at firſt for a *Time* only, in order to a *Trial*,) be put into the Hands of *One* Great and High *Officer*, or a *Commiſſion* in his *Stead*, veſted with particular *Privileges* and *Honours*, to create Reſpect; and with Powers ſufficient for the *Ends* propoſed; to receive and manage the *Revenue* of the *Poor-rate* yearly at this Time collected in our *Pariſhes*, (and employed to hurt and not to help the *Publick*,) for building Work-houſes, in all proper Places of the Kingdom; for taking up all Idle, Diſorderly Vagrants and Beggars; as well as all truly Helpleſs Indigent Perſons; and in a Word, for contriving, regulating, diſpoſing, Every Thing neceſſary for ſo great a Good. But, whether *This* will be an Adequate Remedy, or not; no *Objection* againſt *This*, or any *other* particular *Scheme*, can poſſibly anſwer the *Queſtion*, Why is not a *Neighbouring Example* ſo far imitated, as is poſſible; under ſuch Reſtrictions and Alterations, as may accommodate it more, if need be, to our own *Conſtitution*, and *Cuſtoms*? Or, Why is *Nothing* done, or *That* which is in many *Inſtances* worſe than *Nothing*? Why is not *ſome Attempt* made, when You cannot put your Head out into the Streets, but You are either *allarmed* with ſuch *Objects* as are deteſtable to Humane Eyes, and not fit to be permitted to appear in the View of a *Civilized Nation*; or *provoked* with ſuch Idleneſs, and Wickedneſs, as well as Importunate Begging, of Strong *Men*, *Women*, and *Children*, as cannot be ſeen or received with *Patience*? I ſay, *not with Patience*, whether You conſider the *Morals* of a Nation; or the *Loſs* of ſo *many Hands* to it; or the *Miſery* entailed upon it by a *Succeſſion* of *Thoſe*, who are no better than *Enemies* to *One great End* of *Society*, under the Guiſe of *Poverty* and *Diſtreſs*.

My chief Deſign at this Time is only to ſet the *Subject* on foot; and to force out, if poſſible, ſome of the *Thoughts* of *Other* Perſons upon it, who have any regard to their *Country*, or their *Poſterity*; and to excite the *Aſſiſtance* and *Care* of Thoſe, without whom no *publick good Work* can either be well begun, or ſucceſsfully carried on. And I will venture to ſay, in a very poſitive manner, (and with this I will conclude,) That if it could once be written in the *Records* of *Our Laws*, That under the auſpicious *Reign* of *King* —— and under the happy *Adminiſtration* of —— and —— and —— a wiſe Diſpoſition was made by the *Supreme Authority*, which brought in a Face of *Univerſal Induſtry*; which reſtored the numerous Hands of the *Able Poor*, to their own Comfortable Support, and their *Country's* Intereſt; and provided for the *Diſabled*, the *Sick*, and the *Aged*, in a regular and certain Way; which effectually put an *End* to all the *Ignominious*, *Frightful*, and *Scandalous* Appearances in the Places of publick Concourſe; and in *this Inſtance*, *truly* made *Society* (what it *pretends* to be) the *Inſtrument* of Happineſs;—*That*, *if this could be ſaid, and tranſmitted down*, Glory would dwell for ever upon the *Memory* of that *Government*; and the *Nation*, whilſt it ſhould remain a *Nation*, under all the poſſible Changes and Viciſſitudes of humane Affairs, would *worſhip*, with almoſt Religious *Worſhip*, the very *Names* and *Remembrance* of thoſe *Perſons*, who had delivered down to them ſuch a *State* of *Publick Happineſs*, and *Publick Honour*. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

A. B.

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LETTER LXXIX. LONDON JOURNAL, March 28, 1724.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

AS every thing which nearly touches the *Intereſt*, and *Government*, of the *City* of *London*, is of Importance to the *Whole Kingdom*; I could not forbear to requeſt of You, that You will publiſh the following very remarkable *Claim* of a *Negative Voice* by the *Lord Mayor* and *Aldermen* of that *City*, in Proceedings in Common Council. By ſuch a *Publication*, Multitudes may be apprized of the Nature and Grounds of it, who will never hear of it otherwiſe but by *Common Fame*, which is ſeldom known to repreſent Things truly. The *Account* here ſubjoined, is formed upon the *Report* drawn up by a *Committee* of *Aldermen* appointed for that Purpoſe: which, though done with great *Judgement*, *Clearneſs* and *Exactneſs*, and now printed; yet cannot, in the Nature of the Thing, come into ſo many Hands, as it might be wiſhed to do. This makes me again deſire You to give the World the following *Paper*; which, in *ſome* Parts of it, is a faithful verbal *Abſtract* of that *Report*; and in *others*, pretends to nothing more than to render it more uſeful, by a plain *Remark* or *Two*. I will only add, (what, I dare promiſe, will be found true,) "That *They* alone will be ſurprized at the "*Claim*, who will not *read* the Grounds of it; and that *They* who do, will be "much more ſurprized that *It* has not been long ago, and *effectually*, inſiſted "on."

The *Firſt Fact*, which is a general *Foundation* of this, and other *Antient Rights*, is, that in the 15th Year of K. *Edw.* III. a Charter paſſed in Parliament, in like manner as the Great Charter of the Liberties of *England*; when the King by Conſent of His Parliament, willing to do the Citizens a Pleaſure, did (amongſt other Favours beſtowed upon them by this Charter) for Himſelf and His Heirs, "Grant and *confirm* to the Mayor and Aldermen of this City, That if any of the "Cuſtoms of the ſaid City, thitherto obtained and uſed, were in any Part difficult or defective, or any thing in the ſame City newly happening, where before there was no Remedy, ſhould need Amendment, The ſaid Mayor and "Aldermen, and their Succeſſors, with the *Aſſent* of the Commonalty of the "ſaid City, might (as often as *They* thought expedient) apply and ordain a fit "Remedy, agreeable to good Faith and Reaſon, for the common Profit of the "Citizens and City, and other Perſons having Recourſe thither." The *Obſervation* upon this is, That this Charter *confirms* the Conſtitution and Government of this City, (as *then* it was) and, in expreſs Terms, points out the Method of acting for the Time to come; as alſo, That it lays the City under the ſtrongeſt Obligation to purſue that Method, not only as it became a Law of the Land, by being paſſed in Parliament; but that in the Body of it many valuable Privileges are granted to this City, which to this Day the Citizens enjoy.

But, if We come from *General* Obſervations to the *Particular Point* before Us, it is very remarkable, That the Negative Voice of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in making of By-laws in Common Council, was never (as far as appears) called in Queſtion, or objected to, until the Time of the unhappy Troubles in the Year 1644. It was in the Month of *January* in that Year, that the Commons in Common Council diſputed this Right. And *four Years* after this, *viz.* in the

Year 1648, a Bill relating thereto was brought into the Houſe of Commons, and on the 28th of *February* paſſed into an Act, whereby it was (amongſt other things) ordained and enacted by the *Commons* in Parliament, "That in all Times "to come, all things propoſed in Common Council ſhould be fairly debated, put "to the Queſtion, voted, and determined, in and by the ſame Common Council, "as the major Part of the Members preſent in the ſaid Common Council, ſhould "deſire or think fit; and in every Vote which ſhould paſs, and in the other Pro"ceedings in the ſaid Common Council, neither the Lord Mayor, nor Aldermen, "(joint or ſeparate) ſhould have any negative or diſtinct Voice, or Vote, other"wiſe than as with and amongſt, and as Part of, the reſt of the Members of the "ſaid Common Council, and in the ſame manner as the other Members had. "And that the Abſence, or Withdrawing of the Lord Mayor, or Aldermen, "from the ſaid Council, ſhould not ſtop or prejudice the Proceedings of the ſaid "Council; but that every Common Council of the City of *London*, ſhould ſit "and continue ſo long as the major Part of the Council ſhould think fit; and "ſhould not be diſſolved or adjourned, but by and according to the Order or "Conſent of the major Part of the ſame Council." There are *Two* Remarks here ſo obvious, that They cannot be avoided; 1. That it was the *Act* of the Houſe of *Commons* ALONE, in a Year of the *Greateſt Diſorder*, and under the Influence of Arbitrary Force, by which the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were *firſt* deprived of their Right to a Negative: and 2. That the taking it away in the Terms of that Act, is a very *ſtrong* Proof, that they had exerciſed and enjoyed it to that Time; or elſe the making ſuch an Act had been vain and unneceſſary. Theſe *Two Obſervations* are of themſelves ſufficient to eſtabliſh the *Point* in debate, unleſs a *Demonſtration* of no ſuch *Right* could be given from *Facts* and *Records* of former Times. And that This is not at all pretended, will appear from what follows, in thoſe Years *after* the *Reſtoration*, when *This Queſtion* came to be conſidered a little by the *Court* of *Aldermen* and *Common Council*, Themſelves.

The next remarkable Occurrence was in the Year 1674, when the Commons, thinking it a Hardſhip on the City, that the Aldermen lived out of Town, would have paſſed a Law, with ſevere Penalties, upon ſuch of the Aldermen as ſhould continue their Reſidence out of the City. This the Aldermen reſented, and *diſſented* to the ſame. And on the 13th of *November*, 1674, the Recorder declared their Diſſent in Common Council, which the Commons *proteſted againſt*, and appointed a Committee to ſee what their Power was; yet *Nothing* was done therein by *Them*, as far as appears: the reaſon of which could be no other, but that, upon Enquiry, They found their *own Cauſe* without all Foundation. But, on the contrary, *Something was done* by Thoſe who claimed this *Negative*. For, on the 5th of *December*, 1676, there are found entered in the Repertory of the Court of Lord Mayor and Aldermen, by Order of that Court, the Opinions of Sir *William Jones*, Sir *Francis Pemberton*, Sir *John Maynard*, Sir *Francis Winnington*, and Mr. *Steele*, touching a Negative Voice claimed by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in Common Council; who ALL of them, (except Mr. *Steele)* gave their Opinions, That the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had a Negative Voice in making of Laws and Ordinances in Common Council. And on the 21ſt of *February*, 1677, we find alſo entered in the Repertory of the ſaid Court, the Opinions of Sir *William Dolben*, (the then Recorder) and Sir *George Jeffereys*, (the then Common Serjeant) upon the ſame Queſtion; and *They* concurred with the reſt of the Lawyers, in Oppoſition to Mr. *Steele*.

And as to Mr. *Steele*, ſurely no Perſon living can believe him to have been unbiaſſed, and to have given his Opinion upon this Point without Prejudice, when it is well known, that (from the Confidence they repoſed in him) he was by the Commiſſioners for the Tryal of the King, choſen to be Attorney General, and (with others) to draw up and manage the Charge againſt him: And that he was alſo choſen *Recorder* of *this* City itſelf, not by a Regular *Free* Choice, but by Virtue of an Ordinance of the Houſe of Commons *only*, ſome ſhort Time after that this Right of the Mayor and Aldermen had been illegally aboliſhed by an Ordinance of the ſame Houſe, moſt probably by his Advice, of which this ſeems to have been the Reward. So that here is a Concurrence in *Opinion* of the *Greateſt Lawyers* of Thoſe Days: and the *Oppoſition* only of *One*, under ſuch Circumſtances, as to make this *ſingle Oppoſition* itſelf an Argument *for* it, rather than *againſt* it. And to the *Judgement* of theſe *Great Men* nothing can be added but *This*, That though They reaſon excellently well upon the Charter granted by *Edward* the Third, as ſuppoſing it to be a Charter ſolely granted by the King's Prerogative, their Reaſonings would have taken yet a ſtronger Turn, if it had been obſerved by them, that this Charter was granted *in Parliament*.

After this Proceeding of the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, and the *Anſwers* given by theſe *Eminent Lawyers*, it is of the higheſt Importance, and will give the finiſhing Stroke to the Whole, to obſerve, "What was the *Opinion* of the Commons "themſelves after this Tranſaction, and in what Manner *They* recognized this "Right of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen." In the Year 1683, a Committee of Common Council was appointed to inſpect the Acts, and other Proceedings entered in their Journals in the Times of Uſurpation, or at any Time before or ſince, that might be fit to be explained or repealed. And the ſaid Committee did on the 6th of *June*, in the ſame Year, make a Report, in which They ſet forth, that "They had peruſed and examined the Journals of this Court in the Times "of the late Rebellion; wherein They found, not only many *Innovations* and "*Irregularities* brought into THIS COURT, and the Government of this City; "but alſo moſt pernicious and abominable Proceedings in abetting and carrying "on thoſe wicked and unnatural Diviſions, then raiſed in the Kingdom, and "ſerving the Uſurpation of thoſe Times. All or moſt of which (They perſwade "themſelves) could never have had Place in this Court, had not Violence been "offered to the Government of this City, the Lord Mayor been arreſted and "impriſoned, divers Loyal Aldermen and Commoners, ſome impriſoned, others "diſplaced, and all Loyal Citizens generally diſcountenanced and diſcouraged; "and others of *factious*, *unquiet* and *turbulent* Spirits, got themſelves into the "Common Council, and made up the greater Number therein. All which "Acts and Proceedings, ſtill remaining in the Books as the Acts and Proceedings of this Court, and never having been particularly diſclaimed and repealed "by any Vote or Act of this Court, They thought it very fitting that the ſame, "and all other like diſloyal and *irregular* Proceedings, ſhould by an expreſs Act "of this Court, be renounced, repealed, and made abſolutely null and void." [Then follow many particular Acts and Orders propoſed to be repealed, even with *Abhorrence and Deteſtation*: and among them,] "Orders and Reſolutions touch-"ing the calling and manageing of Common Councils, 24 *January* 1644. And "24 *April* 1645, a Difference between the Mayor and Aldermen, and Commons, "touching the Mayor and Aldermen's Right of a Negative Voice, propoſed to "be determined by the Parliament, and Order to ſuſpend their Right in the mean "Time.—Reference touching a Petition to the Common Council, for a Common "Hall, and a Declaration afterwards, That it is in the Power of the Common

“ Council to aſſemble the Common Hall, 1 and 3 *June* 1648.—Upon a Petition prepared to the Parliament for Juſtice againſt all Capital Actors, from the higheſt to the loweſt, in the War againſt the Parliament, brought into Common Council; and on the Lord Mayor's Refuſal to put it to the Queſtion, and he, with the Aldermen and Officers, at laſt withdrawing, the Commons continued, and put a Commoner in the Chair, and then voted the ſaid Petition, and ordered it to be preſented, in the Name of the Commons in Common Council aſſembled, with a Narrative of that Day's Proceedings and an Ordinance thereupon, ſhortly after made, by the Houſe of Commons, touching the calling and holding of Common Councils, 13 *January* 1648.—*William Steele* choſen Recorder by Common Council, by virtue of an Act of the Houſe of Commons, 3 *July* 1649.—Narrative touching Common Councils held without Lord Mayor's Directions, and held after his Departure from it, by virtue of an Ordinance of Parliament, 14 and 17 *June* 1650.—Queſtion put after the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were gone out of the Common Council, 26 *Sept.* 1650.—Order that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen withdraw out of the Common Council, and the Commons turned into a Grand Committee, 3 *Dec.* 1651.—Common Councils held without the Lord Mayor, or continued after his going out, 7 and 14 *Dec.* 1652; 14 and 15 *June*, and 24 *Oct.* 1653.—Common Council held without the Lord Mayor, and Lord *Titchbourne* voted into the Chair, 21 *Sept.* 1659.”—And then the ſaid Report proceeds in theſe Words, *(viz.)* “ All which Particulars aforeſaid, being highly *diſloyal*, or ſavouring of the *Faction* and *Uſurpation* of thoſe unhappy Times, are fit, by Act of this Court, to be diſclaimed, revoked, abrogated, and repealed, to all Intents and Purpoſes whatſoever. Which, as it will demonſtrate the Loyalty and good Affections of the preſent Members of this Court to His Majeſty and the eſtabliſhed Government, and vindicate them from all Imputation of the like pernicious and deſtructive Principles and Practices; and will alſo expreſs their diſlike of all *Factious Innovation* in the *Uſages* and *Conſtitutions* of this *City*; ſo will it prevent any ill Uſe that may be made in Time to come of the ſaid *irregular Actions*.

“ And we have alſo ſeen ſeveral Entries in the Journals of this Court, that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in Matters here propounded, have *taken Time to adviſe and conſider* thereof, and to others have *declared their Diſſent*, and even, in the worſt of Times; as for Inſtance, 14 *March* 1641, upon two Petitions brought into Common Council by a Committee, to be preſented to the Parliament, they were read, but not voted, becauſe the Mayor's *Locum Tenens*, and the major part of the Aldermen thought fit *to adviſe* of the ſame. And 24 *January* 1644, It was *declared* by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, That they had a *Negative Voice* in Common Council, by *Antient Cuſtom*, and *Charters* of this City. And we have alſo ſeen the Opinions of diverſe learned Council, heretofore given to the Court of Aldermen, under their Hands (*viz.*) The preſent Lord Chief Juſtice *Pemberton*, Sir *William Dolben*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Sir *William Jones*, Sir *George Jeffereys*, and Sir *Francis Winnington*, That the Lord Mayor and Aldermen have a Negative Voice in making Laws and Orders, and admitting of Officers, in Common Council.—We humbly propound, to take away all Diſputes in this Matter for the Time to come, that the ſame may have the Approbation and Concurrence of this Honourable Court.”

Which Report, was the ſame Day, by Act of Common Council, agreed to, and confirmed in the Words following, *viz.* “ After Reading of which Report,

" here openly in this Court, the ſame was by this Court, in *the ſeveral Particulars* thereof, *well approved of, agreed to, and confirmed*; and it is Enacted, " by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in this Common Council " aſſembled, That all the ſeveral Acts, Orders, and Proceedings therein pro- " pounded, to be diſclaimed and repealed, be repealed and made void: And they, " and every of them, are by Authority of this Court, diſclaimed, repealed, and " made null and void."

The plain and Summary State of the *Caſe* is this: 1. That there was *heretofore* a very ancient uninterrupted *Uſe* of this *Right* to a *Negative*. 2. That it was *firſt* brought into *Queſtion* in the Times of Greateſt *Confuſion*, and *Illegal Power*. 3. That it was *violently* taken away from the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* by an *Act* of the *Houſe* of *Commons* only, and for the particular Ends and Views of *Thoſe* then in *Power*. 4. That this itſelf was a *Proof* of the foregoing *Exerciſe* of ſuch a *Right*. 5. That, *after* the *Reſtoration*, this *Right* was again *claimed* by the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*. 6. That the *Beſt Lawyers* then in the Kingdom, thought the *Claim* juſt beyond all diſpute. 7. That the *One Lawyer* who was of a contrary Opinion, was in *Intereſt* and *Reputation* concerned to be ſo. And, 8. That not only the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* claimed it, and the *Lawyers* judged it ſo to be; but the *Commons* of the *City* Themſelves, after Examination of the *Point*, did, *in effect*, aſſert it, and acquieſce in it. And what *ſtronger* Evidence can be deſired? I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

A. B.

P. S. There are annexed to the *Report*, the *Opinions* of the *Lawyers*, now mentioned, in *their own* Words: but theſe are too long to be here added.

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LETTER LXXX. LONDON JOURNAL, April 4, 1724.

THERE are *Seaſons*, in which all *Political* and *Worldly Conſiderations* juſtly yield their Place to *Thoſe* of a higher Nature: and though there may be *Some* Perſons, who out of *Worldly-mindedneſs*, and *Others*, who out of a peculiar Religious Opinion, may be *averſe* to the publick Determination of *Days* and *Times* to *particular* Purpoſes; Yet there are very few, in the whole Number of Thoſe who think at all, who are not upon many Occaſions glad of retiring into their own Breaſts, from the *Noiſe* and *Buſtle* of a *Buſy* and *Impertinent* World; and of entertaining Themſelves with Thoughts of *Another* ſort, and *Another* Tendency. Whoever therefore, He is, who makes *Truth* his Province; and takes upon Him, in any publick Manner, to *inſtruct* or *inform* Mankind, has a *Right*, (or rather, I may ſay, a *Duty*,) upon all proper Occaſions, to pay a Regard to the *higheſt* and *moſt Important* of all *Truths*, as well as to *Thoſe* of a *ſubordinate* and *ſecondary* Nature. And accordingly *I*, who would willingly, in *Every* Inſtance, do ſome ſmall Service to *All*, even amidſt the unſpeakable *Variety* of their numerous and inconſiſtent Opinions, cannot but think it proper to offer a *Leſſon* now and then, upon what is of *Equal Moment* to Them *All*, and of *infinite Concern* to *Every* Chriſtian amongſt Us. If *Any* ſhall think otherwiſe, and judge *This* to be a frivolous and unneceſſary *Digreſſion*, or an Interruption to more *uſeful* Subjects;—let them know, I write not *now* for *Them*; but for Thoſe of *Another* ſort, who cannot perſwade Themſelves that *this World* is their *All*; and who have *Souls* large enough to graſp at Something that is *Better*, than what is truly *good* for *little*, or *nothing*.

All *Chriſtians* (conſidered as *ſuch*,) have no *Pretence* to the Happineſs expected by *Chriſtians*, but by believing in *Jeſus Chriſt*. The *One* Point of the higheſt Conſequence to *All* who profeſs to do ſo is, The Sufficiency of the *Real Grounds* and *Reaſons* of this *Belief*: and this is the *Point* which I have now in view. The proper *Seaſon* of ſtating and *defending* Theſe *Grounds*, is the *Seaſon*, when They have been publickly handled in a *Manner* which ſeems to demand it: and *This Circumſtance* will make what I have now to offer, appear *ſeaſonable* to *All*; and if the *Topick* I ſhall chiefly go upon, may ſtill prove more agreeable to *Some*, by appearing *more ſeaſonable* at *this* ſolemn Time, than at any *Other*; the honeſt End I propoſe, will, I hope, be yet better anſwered, upon *this* Account.

The *firſt* Point, in order of nature, is, The *true Foundation* of the *Faith* of a *Chriſtian*, or of his believing *Jeſus* to have been ſent into the World by *God*. And aſſure Yourſelves, You muſt not ſearch for *This*, in any of the Writings of *Thoſe* who are *Enemies* to this *Belief*; who, as far as I ever yet ſaw, are much more diſpoſed to entertain You with Pleaſantry upon the *Weakneſſes* and *Abſurdities* of *Men*; than to enter into the plain *Truth* of the *Matter*. And, leſt I ſhould be thought partial, I will on the *other* Side acknowledge, that it is no more to be taken upon *Truſt* from Any of Its *greateſt* Friends of *later* Ages. The Nature of the Thing ſpeaks. It muſt be *Something*, that lies open and plain to *All* who are equally concerned; *Something*, which was fixed at the *very Beginning*, and not *now* to be deviſed; *Something*, which was made the Univerſal Baſis and Argument of Belief, by the very firſt *Preachers*; and declared by Them, *ſo* to be. In ſhort, It *muſt be* Something, upon which that Belief SO depends, as to ſtand *with* it, and to fall *without* it. And *this*, if I may be pardoned the Poſitiveneſs of the Word, I *affirm* to be the *One* only ſingle *Fact* of the *Reſurrection* of *Chriſt* from the dead. For it is very evident, that, if this *ſingle Fact* be well-grounded, and tranſmitted down to Us with the Marks of *Truth* upon it; *then*, and in ſuch Caſe, Our *Belief* ſtands firm and unſhaken, notwithſtanding that We may not be able to account for All or Any of thoſe *Difficulties*, which may ariſe upon *other Appearances*, through the whole *Series* of the *Bible*; if They be ſuch as do not at all affect this *Great Point*. And it is as evident, on the *other* Side, If this *One Fact* be *not* true, or not proved by credible Authority ſo to be; *then*, and in ſuch Caſe, the Belief of a *Chriſtian*, as ſuch, falls with it: even though all other *Incidental Queſtions* and *Points* of Debate, from the *Creation* to the *Death* of *Chriſt*, ſhould be ſuppoſed ever ſo favourable to his Pretenſions.

I am convinced of the Juſtice and Importance of what I have now laid down, from *Two* Reaſons. The *One* is an Argument *a priori*; and, as it is founded upon thoſe natural Notions of *God* and his *Attributes*, which are *preſuppoſed* as fundamental Truths, before You can ſo much as begin to argue about any *Revelation* at all, is to *Me* of unanſwerable Force: *viz.* That *God* is *Juſt* and *Equitable*; and, being ſuppoſed to require of *All* who have the *Goſpel* of *Chriſt* fairly propoſed to Them, that *They* believe it, and embrace it, *muſt be* ſuppoſed to furniſh an *Argument* for *this* Belief, which may, in *equal* Circumſtances, be *equally* plain and open to the Capacity of All conſidering Perſons of *Common Senſe*: and *Nothing* can better anſwer to ſuch a *Deſcription*, in a *Caſe*, to which *God* Himſelf is ſuppoſed to ſet his Seal, than this *One* wonderful *Event*.

The *Other* Reaſon, is an Argument *a poſteriori*, That whoever will look ſeriouſly into the *Preachings* of the *Immediate Followers* of *Chriſt*, (thoſe Preachings I mean, which did not begin till after his Death,) will find good Reaſon to believe, and, till he is miſled by *Prejudice*, will not forbear to believe, that the *firſt Preachers* of *Chriſt* relied upon *This Fact*; upon This *Chiefly*; upon This *Only*, as the *Final ſufficient Argument* of *Conviction* to *all Unbelievers*; and, I believe I may ſay, the *Sole Argument* to the *Great Body* of them. I do not ſay, They mentioned *no Other*. I know the contrary, and the juſt Reaſons of the contrary. They were in many Places to diſpute with the *Jews*, who had a *Sacred Book* already in their Hands; and had made uſe of it, to form Prejudices to *Themſelves* againſt Our *Bleſſed Lord*. It was highly reaſonable that ſuch *Diſputants* ſhould be oppoſed, and convinced of *Error*, out of their own Writings. But this was, as it were, an *Incidental Intermediate* Affair, ariſing from *their* particular Circumſtances. But even to *Them*, the *Reſurrection* was the *Final Reſort*. *Without* This, No Conviction from *all* former *Prophecies* united, could reach Them; but *with* This, No *Contradiction* from any Paſſages, underſtood in their own peculiar Way, could avail Them. But when the *Apoſtles* preached to the *Heathens*, who were the *Great Body* of *Unbelievers*, the *Argument* to *Repentance* was, That *God would judge the World*; and the *Argument* of *This* was, That He had declared ſo by *Jeſus Chriſt*; and the Demonſtration of *This* is placed, in *That He raiſed him from the dead.* And when They write to a *mixed Body* of *Diſciples*, or *Profeſſors* of the *Goſpel*, They rely upon *This*, That their great Maſter is *declared*, or *demonſtrated*, or *defined*, to be the *Son* of *God*, (or to be what He profeſſed Himſelf to be,) by his *Reſurrection* from the *Dead:* and St. *Paul*, in particular, very expreſly, that All their *Hope* and *Faith* depends upon this *One* Point. *If Chriſt be not riſen, then is your Faith* (in Chriſt) *vain.* But if *Chriſt* be truly riſen, then is it well founded; and This without any *abſolutely-neceſſary* View to *Other* Matters: which yet may become afterwards, and very deſervedly, *Subjects* of *ſerious Enquiry* amongſt *Believers*. I need not cite particular Places of the *New Teſtament*, to prove what appears in the ſame Light, upon the ſame *Occaſions*, throughout the *Hiſtory* of their *Preaching*, and the whole Tenor of their Writings.

The next and great Point to us, is, Whether the *Belief* of *this ſingle Fact* be not *well-founded.* I would not willingly be confined in ſo important a *Diſquiſition*; though no very long One: and therefore, will beg the *Reader's* Patience for *Another Paper*; in which I have no Doubt to prove the *Affirmative* of this *Queſtion*, by ſuch *Moral Evidence*, as is a ſufficient Ground for a firm Belief, and a Conduct in Practice agreeable to that *Belief*; and in a manner ſuitable to the *Capacities* of *Thoſe* who are concerned in it. In the mean while, I will add only a Word or two.

I have always ſo judged it, that, in *Proteſtant* and *Free Countries*, where (to the great and apparent Intereſt of true *Religion*) All Men of *Common Senſe* are encouraged and invited to think, and try, and examine, in the *Spirit of Seriouſneſs*, and the Love of Truth; that in ſuch Countries, I ſay, the *Decay* of *Religion* and reaſonable Devotion, ſo much complained of by good Men, ariſes from the *Real Want* of *Belief* in the great *Body* of profeſt Chriſtians; *Some* of whom know this to be the Caſe; but *Many* of whom, by never looking into *Themſelves*, ſeem not to ſuſpect what their own *State* truly is. All of them, through Careleſſneſs and Inattention, lie perpetually open, and unguarded, to the Attacks of *Infidelity*; and theſe, the eaſier to make Impreſſion, if worldly Views, or vicious Inclinations, have taken Place in the Heart before hand. Men even of very good common Underſtandings cannot attend to long and nice Deductions of Arguments; nor extricate Themſelves out of the *Mazes*, into which the many and various Debates amongſt the Learned may ſometimes carry them, and too often leave them. My Deſign (I own it freely) has been to find out, (what Reaſon bad me hope muſt appear) ſome *One plain Reſort* for honeſt and well-diſpoſed Perſons of *Common Senſe*; in which They may find the *Inward Support* of their *Belief* in *Chriſt*, and the *Outward Defence* of it againſt All Attacks. And in *This*, All are concerned. There may be *Many*, even *Infinite* Points, upon which Men of Stupendous Learning, Immenſe Reading, and Great Leiſure, may employ their *Thoughts*, or their *Pens*, to the Entertainment and Inſtruction of *All* who have Time to look into them. But give Me leave to ſay, There is not *One Religion*, as of indiſpenſable Obligation, for the *Learned*, or the *well-read* Man, and *Another*, for the *Unlearned*; there is not *One* ſort of Conditions of *Eternal Salvation* for *One* ſort of *Chriſtians*, and *Another* for *Another*; there is not *One Faith* for *One* Man, required as of Neceſſity to the being a *Chriſtian*, and *Another* for his *Neighbour*; nor *One Argument* of *Belief* for the *Uncommon* Capacity, and *Another* for the *Common*. And indeed, if this were otherwiſe, how comfortleſs would the Condition of *Chriſtians* be; unleſs an exact Standard could be found out, to meaſure and fix that Difference, upon which ſo much depends? No. It will be the Happineſs and Support of every thinking *Chriſtian*, and a Comfort which He ought never to be robbed of, That, as He might in Reaſon hope, ſo in the Diſpoſitions of Providence He finds it, That his *Obligation* to *believe* in *Chriſt* is put upon the *Reaſonableneſs* of doing ſo; and that the *Reaſonableneſs* of *That* reſts upon the *Evidence* for *One main Fact*; which (as I ſhall ſhew) He may readily and ſucceſsfully apply againſt *All* the *Attempts* of *Infidelity* in *Speculation*, or *Wickedneſs* in *Practice*.

BRITANNICUS.

LETTER LXXXI. LONDON JOURNAL, April 11, 1724.

I AM endeavouring to point out to *Chriſtians* ſome *One* Point, which may be of the greateſt Uſe to Them, as a *Short* and *Certain Preſervative* againſt the *Attempts* of *Unbelievers*: And I have ſaid, that the *ſingle Fact* of the *Reſurrection* of *Chriſt* from the *Dead*, is *That One Point*; becauſe the *Belief* of a *Chriſtian* in *Chriſt* does SO depend upon This, that, *without* the Truth of this *Fact*, It muſt fall to the Ground; and *with* it, It muſt ſtand. The Strength of this *Aſſertion* relies upon *Two* Points. *One* is, the *Nature* of the *Fact* itſelf; which is of that exalted ſort, and ſo peculiarly belonging to *God*, conſidered as the *Maker* and *Governour* of the World; or as the Diſpoſer of the *Life* and *Death* of *Intelligent Agents*; (which is *One* of the *higheſt Acts* of *Government*;) That it cannot be ſuppoſed to be a Matter put into the Power of any other *Being*; or *ſo* put into the Power of any *Other*, as ever to be exerciſed without the expreſs Will of the *Supreme Governour*. The *Other* Point is, That it was the *Fact*, which *Chriſt* Himſelf, before his Death, foretold; and this, in ſuch a manner, as in Effect to put all his *Pretenſions* upon it. And theſe *Two Obſervations* will bring this *ſingle Fact* under the *Deſcription* I have now given of it; and diſtinguiſh the *Argument* drawn from *This*, from all *Other Arguments*, though tending to the ſame End: which I will now, to prevent all Miſconſtruction, explain a little farther.

As to the *Wonderful Works*, performed by *Chriſt*, in the Courſe of his Preaching, *before* his Death; there is no doubt, but that *They* were fully ſufficient to turn the

Eyes and *Expectations* of the *Jews* upon Him; and much more ſo, to make their *Treatment* of Him utterly *inexcuſable*. But there can be no doubt likewiſe, that, if This *ſingle Fact* of his *Reſurrection* had not afterwards come to paſs, according to *his own Prediction*; the *Want* of this *One* Evidence would have juſtified all their *future Infidelity*; and have made the *Scene* that had appeared *before*, to have paſſed for *little more* than an *Unaccountable Scene* of *Deluſion*. Again, As to his *Holy Life*, and *Pure Doctrine*; the *Evidence* taken from *Theſe* is of this negative ſort, That if *Theſe* had been *abſent*, or if the *Contrary* had been *true*, No Proof could have been ſufficient for his Reception, under the *Great Character* He aſſumed. A *Good Life*, and a *Doctrine* in no reſpect unworthy of *God*, but in *all* Particulars agreeable to the *Maxims* of Uncorrupted Morality, may and will prove a Perſon, *capable* (if I may ſo ſay) of being ſent by *God*; or, in *theſe* Reſpects, *ſuch an One*, as that He *might be* ſent by God; but will not at all prove the other more important *Point*, "That *This* Perſon is *actually* ſent into the "World by *God*." And the Reaſon is, becauſe it is in itſelf far from being impoſſible, That a *ſerious* Man, of an excellent reaſoning Faculty, under the common Direction of *Almighty God*, *may* lead a Life unreproachable in the Eyes of Men; and may teach a *Doctrine* which *They* cannot demonſtrate to be at all unworthy of *God*; and yet may *not* be *ſent into the World*, or particularly appointed by the expreſs Deſignation of *God* Himſelf, in ſuch manner, as that *All* ſhould be *authentically* obliged to hear and follow Him. Some publick, uncommon, external *Token* of *Approbation* muſt be expected to this Purpoſe: and This is what we are now ſeeking after. Nay, if I may go a Step farther back, Suppoſing the *Perſon* who profeſſes Himſelf to be the *Prince*, *Teacher*, or *Prophet*, long ago pointed out in the *ſacred Books* of the *Jews*, does in all appearance *fulfill* and come up to thoſe antient *Deſcriptions*, and in ſuch a manner, as in *other* Particulars to leave no room for juſt *Exception*; and yet entirely *fails* in fulfilling One Great and remarkable Prediction, upon which He always declared Himſelf to rely; *This Failure* alone muſt take off the Force of *All other Appearances*, and juſtify all Men in accounting for Them, in ſome other Manner than They did before.

But now, let us turn the *Suppoſition*, and ſee what an Extended and Comprehenſive Effect the *Truth* of this *ſingle Fact* will have, even with reſpect to the *Particulars* mentioned. Whoever conſiders the raiſing of *Chriſt* from the dead, either as an *Act* of *ſtupendous Power*; or as an *Act* of *Providence*, in a peculiar manner belonging to the *Sovereign Government* of the Univerſe; or as an *Event*, foretold, and appealed to, by Himſelf; will find it, in ſome Senſe, to comprehend *All other Evidences* within it. And under theſe Views; (which ought always to be kept in Mind;) 1. If *God* raiſed *Chriſt* from the *Dead*; This will prove the *Reality* of *Many* paſt *wonderful* Works, whatever they were, or whether *All* delivered down to Us, or not; to which He certainly appealed, in the *Courſe* of his *Miniſtry*; and upon the Strength of which He demanded the *preſent Attention* of Thoſe who heard him. 2. If *God* raiſed *Chriſt* from the *Dead*; This *ſingle Fact* will prove that He was, what He profeſt Himſelf to be, that *Great Perſon* antiently promiſed and deſcribed to the *Jews*; and conſequently, that He truly fulfilled *all thoſe Predictions*, which were *really* and *certainly* Prophecies concerning that *Perſon* whoſe Character He took upon Him; and this, whether *We*, at this great Diſtance, can judge, or not, of *Every One* of thoſe *Paſſages*, which are come down to *Us*, under that Notion. 3. Again, If it be found true, that *God* raiſed *Chriſt* from the *Dead*; This will prove that, during his Miniſtry, and Converſation before his Death, He neither did, nor profeſt, nor taught any thing, but what was agreeable to the *Nature* and *Will* of that *God*, whoſe *Authority* He aſſumed to Himſelf. And the *Reaſon* of *All* this is plainly, Becauſe it is utterly *irreconcileable* to thoſe Notions of the *Divine Attributes*, which are to govern all our Enquiries; and therefore, utterly impoſſible to conceive, That the *Supreme Governour* of the World, ſhould either decree, or permit, a *Teſtimony* or *Evidence* of ſo high a Nature, to be given to any *Perſon*, who had taken upon Him a falſe *Character* in the Name of *God*; or who had lived and taught under that Character, in a manner contradictory to the Nature and Perfections both of *God* and *Man:* unleſs at the ſame time it appears, That He had put any Marks of Diſlike and Diſapprobation upon Him, ſufficient to deſtroy that *Authority*, which a *Reſurrection* from the *Dead* muſt unavoidably derive to Him. It is utterly repugnant to the *Nature* of *God*, to conſent to ſuch a *Deceit*, or ſuch a *Diſtraction*, as a Procedure of this ſort muſt create to his *Intelligent Creatures:* and conſequently, It cannot be ſuppoſed. I have ſaid thus much concerning the *Effect*, with regard to *Evidence*, which the *Abſence* of this *great Event*, upon one *Suppoſition*, and the *Preſence* of it, upon *Another*, muſt have; in order to juſtify Myſelf in putting ſo much upon *This ſingle Fact*, as I ſtill think it juſt and right to do.

The remaining Important *Point* is, The *Credibility* of this *One ſingle Fact*, of the *Reſurrection* of *Chriſt* from the *Dead*. And this *Credibility* does not depend upon a Chain of *Nice Reaſoning*; but upon a very few plain *Obſervations*, ſuited to all Common Underſtandings, which deſerve that Name. It is a *Fact* poſitively atteſted, at the *very firſt* and only proper Time, by ſuch *Witneſſes*, as declared They *ſaw* Him with their *Eyes*; and *touched* Him with their *Hands*; and *converſed* with Him by *Diſcourſe*, at ſeveral Times, and upon ſeveral Occaſions, after his *Crucifixion*, and being laid in his Grave: and *Theſe* ſuch, as had ſtrong Inducements from *without*, as well as preconceived Notions *within*, ſufficient to *incline* Them, at leaſt, rather *againſt* than *for* the *Truth* of it. It was a *Fact*, ſo ſtrongly *believed* by Thoſe who thus at firſt atteſted it, that upon *It* alone, They altered their whole *Scheme* of Notions and Practices. And theſe two Things are exceedingly obſervable, that It was an *Event* They were not led raſhly to believe by any ſtrong Prepoſſeſſion; but were at leaſt uncertain, and diffident about it; and ſome of them very averſe from any Notion of it: And the Conſequence of it was, a Total immediate Change of the Nature of all their *Hopes* and *Expectations*, from *preſent* to *future*; from the Flattery of Worldly Grandeur, to the certain View of all Worldly Calamities. It is upon *this* Fact, *I ſay*, that They thus changed their Hearts, and their Conduct: and upon the Strength of *this Fact*, and on Account of their *Teſtimony* to it, They actually ſuffered all Temporal *Evils*, and *Death* itſelf. Again, Upon *this Fact*, ſo reported and atteſted, at a Time when all proper Enquiry might have been made, Multitudes of Enemies to *Chriſt* were brought over to the ſame *Belief* in *Him*. Of *Theſe*, many were undoubtedly Perſons of Senſe and Conſideration; and could not be ſuppoſed to be content to part with *All* their Views in this World, without an *Enquiry* into the *Truth* of this *ſingle Fact*, which alone was to make ſuch a *Change* in their *Minds*, *Bodies*, and *Eſtates*. It is a *Fact*, (and *This* is a very material Conſideration,) which the *Firſt Enemies* of Thoſe who atteſted it, oppoſed and contradicted in a manner which ſeems greatly to confirm it. Theſe *Firſt Enemies* were moſt of all qualified to ruine the *Credit* of the *Relation*. They had *Power*, *Malice*, and *Cunning*, ſufficient for the Purpoſe. But how did They make uſe of them? They never pretended to diſprove the *Fact*, either by alledging that the Perſon had never been truly dead, and had now eſcaped, and was *living* in ſome other

Part of the Country; or by diſcovering his *dead Body* diſlodged from the *Sepulchre*, and removed to ſome other diſtant Place. They contented themſelves with repreſenting it as a *mere wilful Theft* and *Cheat* of his *Diſciples*; (which is a *Suppoſition* ſo ſenſeleſs, that *Modern Refined Infidelity* will not accept of its Aſſiſtance;) but They did nothing which could ſhew the *Truth* of what They as fooliſhly as wickedly aſſerted. If it be ſaid, that *No Enemy* ever allowed the *Fact* to be true; the Reaſon is, becauſe Whoever was convinced of the *Fact*, immediately ceaſed to be an *Enemy*, and became a *Believer* in *Chriſt*: and becoming a *Friend*, His *Teſtimony* then is unjuſtly repreſented as the *Teſtimony* of a biaſed *Friend*, or *prejudiced Perſon*; whereas his *Teſtimony* is in truth the *Teſtimony* of *One*, who entered into the Enquiry as an *Enemy*, and who had continued an *Enemy*, even out of Worldly Intereſt, unleſs He had been convinced of the *Truth* of this *One Fact*. And this is a *Teſtimony* of *great Weight*; far different from the *Teſtimony* of *Thoſe*, who are to get or increaſe *Riches* and *Honours*, by coming into the *Belief* of a *Fact*, or by adhering to a particular Sect of Men. And agreeably to all this, Upon the Strength of this *One Fact*, the *Church*, or *Number* of *Chriſtians*, was firſt gathered, and afterwards enlarged, long before the *Intereſts* of this *World* could unite together ſuch a Multitude of Perſons of different Ages, Sexes, Countries, Educations, Cuſtoms, and Notions; who muſt *All* be ſuppoſed *Madmen* or *Idiots*, if They came over from a State of *Quiet* and *Security*, to the moſt deſpiſed and perſecuted *Profeſſion* under Heaven, without a competent Satisfaction in the main *Fact* which ſupported it.

There are but *Two poſſible Suppoſitions*, to account for This *Procedure* in the *Firſt Preachers* of the *Reſurrection*, ſuppoſing the *Fact* not to be True. And if *both* theſe are groundleſs, it will remain that the *Fact* was True. The *One* is, the *Suppoſition* of a Voluntary Wicked *Cheat* or *Impoſture*: and the *Other*, the Suppoſition of *Enthuſiaſm*, or a Diſtempered *Heat* of *Brain*, and *Strength* of *Imagination*. In judging of Both theſe, We can proceed by no Rule, but what we take from the *Workings* of *Humane Nature*, in *all* like or parallel Caſes. As to a *Voluntary* and *Deſigned Cheat*, the *Modern Unbelievers* themſelves will not, and do not, put their Cauſe upon *That*; becauſe it is too hard, even for *their Faith*, (which, in *their own Cauſe*, has been often obſerved to be as ſtrong and enterprizing, as *That* which They would ſtyle *Bigotry* in *Others*,) to imagine a *Set* of *Men* inventing and relating a *Fact*, which They knew *Not to be true*, in order to make Themſelves the moſt unhappy of Men here; and this in Circumſtances, in which nothing could ſupport Them, but the *Truth* or *Firm Belief* of this very *Fact*, or ſomething equivalent to it. And as to *Enthuſiaſm*; or *Heat* of *Imagination*; It never was known to produce ſuch an Effect in *Many* at the ſame Time; and to continue it to *Many* more, from Day to Day; (unleſs in *Caſes*, to which a ſtrong previous *Fancy*, *Belief* and *Prepoſſeſſion*, or a diſordered Habit of Body, irreſiſtibly lead;) or to dwell long upon a *plain open Fact*, capable of being examined, and ſearched into, by all around them; who all firſt come to it as *Enemies*, and are to be *changed* into *Friends*, no farther than They find *Evidence* for this *Fact*. *Enthuſiaſm* is well known to delight more in Speculation and Notion; in *Rants* of *Fancy*; in terrible or pleaſing *Predictions*; than in appealing to ſome *One* plain paſt *Fact*. And We have ſeen, in our own Days, when It once attempted to appeal to a *Fact*; (like *That* in the preſent Caſe;) It was a *Fact* not *paſt*, but *to come*; and all the Men of heated expecting Imaginations gathered together, in *full Faith*, could not ſo much as influence *their own Senſes* into the Deceit; much leſs, if They had been deceived Themſelves, could

They have been able to have perſwaded a World of *Enquirers*, into the Belief of a *Fact*, which They could not ſufficiently make out. For I muſt obſerve this *Abſurdity* in the preſent Suppoſition, That if *Enthuſiaſm*, or *Madneſs*, be the whole *Ground* of the *Fact* before Us; it will follow, Not only that the firſt *Diſciples* were *Enthuſiaſts*; but that *All* who followed, and enquired into *this Fact*, at the firſt proclaiming it; and believed in *Chriſt*, upon the *Truth* of it; were likewiſe *Enthuſiaſts*, who had taken no Care to examine into the *Truth* of what was the *Ground* of the *Greateſt Change* imaginable in *Themſelves:* and this a *Change* exceedingly to their preſent Diſadvantage. And till *any Perſon* can produce, amongſt all the Workings of the *Humane Mind*, an *Inſtance* of ſuch an *Effect* of *Mere Enthuſiaſm*, converſant about a *paſt Matter* of *Fact* only; and not only miſleading a *Few* at firſt, but going on to miſlead Multitudes of *Others*, into a *Belief* of the ſame *Matter* of *Fact*; contrary to all their former Prejudices, and preſent Intereſts;—Till this is done, I muſt believe the *Imputation* of *Enthuſiaſm* as *groundleſs*, in this Caſe, as *That* of *Wilful Invention* and *Cheat.*

The *Application* of this *whole Argument*, againſt the *Attempts* of *Unbelievers*, is ſo plain, as to need very few Words upon it. For, if This *ſingle Fact* be the *great* and *ſufficient* Support of *Belief* in Chriſt; the *Reſort* in all Caſes, will be eaſy and ſafe, to This One Point. For inſtance, When any *Chriſtian* finds Himſelf attacked by *Arguments*, drawn from *Obſcure Paſſages* in the antient ſacred Writings, which *Learned Men* themſelves cannot ſetle to their mutual Satisfaction; or from the *Weak* and *Inconſiſtent* Opinions of Many *Interpreters*; or from the real or pretended *Uncertainty* and *Interpolations* of *Copies*, and the *Errors* of *Copyiſts*; or from the ſuppoſed Differences and Difficulties relating to ſome *Antient Facts*, and the *Circumſtances* of them; or any thing of the like ſort: He can conſider within *his own* Breaſt, and anſwer to *Others*, That as He Himſelf is not a Judge of ſuch Difficulties; nor able to account for Many of the *Appearances* which are thus thrown in his Way; (which yet *Others* may be able to do;) ſo, It is not required of Him, to do it: That theſe Points do not affect the *One main Fact* of *Chriſt's Reſurrection*; about which Fact, that He was ſeen and converſed with, after his Death, there is no *Interpolation*, or *Obſcurity*, pretended; but the *Teſtimony* as to That *Fact* is, One, Conſtant, and Uniform; and not depending upon any *One*, or a few *Paſſages* in any *One* Book, but delivered down ſo, by the Unanimous Conſent of *All* in the *Firſt Ages* of the *Goſpel*, who turned *Chriſtians* upon that Evidence, examined into by Themſelves; and then recommended the *Same* to all Poſterity. And that this being ſo, ſuppoſing *Himſelf* not to be able to anſwer all Cavils upon *other* Heads, He reſts upon This, "That *He*, whom "*God* raiſed from the Dead, was the promiſed *Meſſiah*, as He profeſſed Himſelf "to be; was *ſent of God*, was the *Son* of *God*, according to other of his own Ex-"preſſions; and was in all reſpects worthy of Credit. Upon *This*, He is a "*Chriſtian:* and whatever does not deſtroy the *Credibility* of *This*, ought not in "the leaſt to affect, or alter, the Security of his *Faith*; and that *This* therefore, "is fully ſufficient to put Him above the *Attacks* of *Infidelity*, as well as the "*Trials* He meets with in this World."

I thought it of the greateſt Conſequence to point out to the *Common Body* of *Chriſtians*, a plain, ſhort, and eaſy Method of *Defenſe*, in a Point of the higheſt Importance. And I will only add now, to prevent any Miſinterpretation, That, as the putting ſo much upon this *One Point*, is doing no more than what the *Firſt Preachers* of this *Fact* did; ſo, it is ſo far from tending to diſcourage Any Enquiries into Many *Other Points*, that it muſt have the contrary Effect. Every private *Unlearned* Man, who believes in *Chriſt*, as *ſent by God*, muſt by *That* be induced to make the beſt Enquiries He poſſibly can, after *All* that *Chriſt* himſelf did, and ſaid, and taught; and after every thing that has any relation to Him. And as for the *Learned* Part of the *Chriſtian* World, I am ſure, I have ſaid nothing but what will ſtill leave it to Them, as their great *Glory*, to enter into *Every Subject* that belongs to their Religion; to endeavour to explain whatever is *obſcure*, and to vindicate whatever is miſtaken and miſrepreſented, in the *whole Compaſs*, and *all* the *Circumſtances* of it: Which will always be of excellent Uſe, both for the *Conviction* of *Unbelievers*, who will lay a Streſs upon what They *themſelves* think fit; and alſo for the farther Satisfaction and Pleaſure of *All* true *Believers*.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LXXXII. LONDON JOURNAL, April 18, 1724.

IN ſome former *Paper*, if I remember right, I have made a *Diſtinction*, (and it is founded upon a Real and Juſt Difference) between the *Right* of *Complaining* and *Finding Fault*, in relation to the Conduct of *Political Affairs*; and the *Art*, or *Vice* of it. The *Former* of Theſe is perfectly conſiſtent with, and often flows from, a True Genuine Regard to the Happineſs of the *Publick*. The *Latter* betrays itſelf evidently to be the Reſult of a Setled Determined Reſolution of Uneaſineſs; either by the *Points* upon which it builds its *Complaints*; or by the *Manner* in which They are vented; or (as the *Caſe* generally is) by *Both*. I know of no plainer, or more remarkable, Inſtance to produce of *This Latter*, than the *Treatment* given, in Converſations *without Doors*, to a *Clauſe* relating to the *Jews*, inſerted in a *late Act* of *Parliament*, made on purpoſe for the *Eaſe* and *Quiet* of *All* the *Subjects* of *Great Britain*, who were *really*, or who *imagined* Themſelves to be, concerned in a *Former Law*, obliging Them to take the *Oaths* to the *preſent Government*, or to ſuffer what that *Law* enacts. This *former Law* was drawn up with ſome *Terms* in it, which gave great and unneceſſary Diſturbance. And it is highly to the Honour of the *Legiſlature*, to obſerve That One of the Firſt *Reſolutions* in the preſent *Seſſion* was, to re-conſider that *Affair*, and to give All the *Relief* to the *Subject*, which was conſiſtent with the *End* and *Deſign* of this *Law*.

In the *Review* of that *Matter*, it was found that ſome *Jews*, being *really* comprehended, or *apprehending* Themſelves to be comprehended, in the *Deſcription* made in that *former* Act, of the *Perſons* concerned in it, were very willing to give the *Government* all Security for their *Allegiance*, and very deſirous to avoid the *Penalties* declared in it; and even all *Danger* of being made liable to them: but found, They could not poſſibly do it, as the *Act* ſtood at firſt, without the higheſt and moſt profane Abſurdity. For the *Words*, in which the *Oaths* and *Declarations* were to be made, being fixed, and not left at the Liberty of the *Perſons* concerned; it followed from hence, That They muſt either take the *Oaths* in that very *Form* of *Words*, particularly ſpecified, and made an *Eſſential Part* of the *Law*; or elſe, that They muſt refuſe It, and ſo ſuffer the *Penalties* annexed to ſuch *Refuſal*. Now, what was abſolutely required was, that Thoſe *Oaths* ſhould be taken, and thoſe *Declarations* made, "*upon the* FAITH *of a* "CHRISTIAN." A *Jew* therefore, who was poſſeſſed of Any ſuch *Property* as is deſcribed in that *Act*, whether *Houſe* or *Land*, found Himſelf, in Compliance with It, obliged to *ſwear* upon the *Faith* of a *Chriſtian*; or to ſuffer the *Conſequences* of *not* doing it: and This *equally*, whether *Jews* were *expreſsly* thought of, in the framing that *Law*, or *not*; for *This* never makes any Difference in the *Operation* of the plain Words of *Any Law*, or in the *Execution* of it.

This being the *Caſe*, I would beg to know, Whether it was not of more Concern to *Chriſtians*, not only to do an Act of *Common Juſtice*, where otherwiſe the Charge of unjuſtly requiring an *Impoſſibility* muſt lie; but alſo (which is of the greateſt Weight) to put a Stop to ſo great a *Scandal* upon the *Chriſtian Faith*, as This muſt have been, had it remained without a Remedy: *Whether*, I ſay, *Chriſtians* themſelves were not more really and deeply concerned, to apply a *Remedy* to ſuch a *Wound*, than the *Jews* themſelves were to ſeek after One. For what was the Concern of theſe *Latter?* All that could have befallen the *Few* of Them, who were comprehended, in Caſe of *Non-compliance*, (which was, in the Nature of the Thing, forced upon Them) was the *Neceſſity* of *regiſtring* their *Eſtates*, and partaking in the *Tax* to be laid upon thoſe *Eſtates:* and after *That*, They had nothing farther to fear. But the *Infamy* upon the *Chriſtian Name* muſt have been perpetual, whilſt the World ſhould ſee that, being apprized of this *ſcandalous Iniquity*, They refuſed to apply a *Cure* to it, and ſtill perſiſted in requiring even *Jews* to ſwear upon the *Faith* of a *Chriſtian*; which would have been a *Certain* and great *Indignity* upon their own *Religion*, never to have been wiped off: and the very *Contrary* to the *Other Religion*, if the *Profeſſors* of it ſhould be ſeen to *chuſe* the *Penalty* before ſo enormous a Piece of Impiety impoſed upon them. Accordingly, the *Parliament*, by a very ſmall Addition of *Words*, performed a *Common Act* of *Juſtice* to the *Subject*, and at the ſame time redeemed the *Chriſtian Faith* itſelf from an *Infamy* too groſs to need *One* more Word to ſhew it in its true Colours. This, I ſay, was due to the Honour of *their own Religion*, if They truly believed it; as well as to the Demands of *ſtrict Juſtice*. And this *They* did, by only allowing Thoſe of the *Jewiſh Perſuaſion*, *who ſhould offer Themſelves, in Conſequence of that former Act*, to take the *Oaths*, to ſwear in *this Caſe*, as They are always, and have been for many Years, allowed in *Courts* of *Judicature* to *ſwear*, in *all other Caſes:* that is, upon the *Pentateuch*, or the *Five Books* of *Moſes*, which They profeſs to believe; and which therefore, is a Circumſtance always ſuppoſed to engage Them to ſwear *Truth*, and to bind Them to the Performance of what They ſo ſwear. What could be more reaſonable in itſelf, or more becoming the Character of *Chriſtian Legiſlators*, than this Procedure? And yet, What could One judge, from the Diſcourſes of Many, *without Doors*; (unleſs One had been apprized of the Nature of the Thing;) but that the *Chriſtian Faith* was by this *Clauſe* delivered up to Its Enemies; and that a *Clauſe* really neceſſary, and directly affecting the Honour of the *Chriſtian Name*, was intended for ſome new great *Acquiſition* to its Adverſaries. And, though No One could tell *what* This was; yet *Every One* who pleaſed, was talking aloud, and with Confidence, againſt It, according as He was prompted by his own *Total Ignorance* of the *Affair*, and *Inveterate Diſreſpect* to the *Government* under which He lives.

I own, I thought *This*, in *One* reſpect, a very *good Sign*, that there were but *Few* Appearances, and *Few* Inſtances, of *Publick Conduct*, to be reproached, and complained of. For I could not give Myſelf *any Other* Account, why a *Clauſe*, which really put a Stop to an Indignity upon *Chriſtianity* itſelf; and which made no manner of *Alteration*, in any One Circumſtance of *Advantage*, or *Property*, in any Perſons concerned; ſhould be thus pitched upon, as an *Enflaming* Subject of Diſcourſe; and handed about ſo zealouſly in Company; and tranſmitted, with the ſame *Colouring* of Invention, into the *Diſtant Counties* of the Land; but *This* One, That, there being very *few*, or very *ſmall Subjects* for *Publick Complaint* and Cavilling, *This* muſt be taken up, and dreſſed out for the Purpoſes of *Diſcontent*, merely to keep the Spirits and the Tongues of Men in Employment; and for fear, Diſſatisfaction and Uneaſineſs ſhould totally ceaſe, and lie becalmed, for want of Conſtant *Uſe* and *Practice*. At leaſt, I hoped, This might be plauſibly and probably urged from ſuch an *Appearance*, in a Caſe, in which No *Argument*, nor *Shadow* of *Argument*, ſubſiſted for it to build upon. I ſay, *No Argument at all:* there being but *Two Ways* poſſible to be thought of; as was, indeed, acknowledged by *Many*, who yet in *Converſation* were ſtill pleaſed to run down the Method made choice of. [For as to the *Words* of the *Oath* remaining ſuch as They were, in *Caſes* where *Jews* were ſuppoſed to be concerned; No One could ſpeak of it with any *Patience*, who had any regard to an *Oath* of *God*, or the *Faith* of a *Chriſtian*.] There were, *I ſay*, only *Two poſſible Methods* of *Proceeding*; Either totally, and in expreſs Words, to abſolve the *Jews* from all *Obligation* to give ſuch *Security* to the *Government*, as was required of *All* other *Subjects*, in like Circumſtances; or elſe to allow Them to give this *Security*, upon what They profeſſed to believe, and not upon what They openly profeſſed *not* to believe.

Suppoſing therefore, that it had been *enacted*, (which muſt have been the *Caſe* upon the *firſt Suppoſition)* that *All Jews* ſhould be exempted from all Obligations ariſing from *that Act*, of giving any Security to the *Government*; or from ſuffering Any Penalty for *not* doing it: how much more eaſily, and naturally, and indeed, how much more *juſtly*, had the *Complaining Spirit* vented itſelf upon this Occaſion? "What? All Burthens and Difficulties, laid only upon *Chriſtians?* and *Jews*, in expreſs Words, declared to be free from *That*, which is ſuppoſed neceſſary from *All Bodies* of Men under *any Government*; and not ſo much as obliged to give any *Marks* of their *Fidelity* to it, whilſt, under the Protection of it, They traffick greatly, and get Riches in Abundance, and muſt be ſuppoſed *Poſſeſſors* of *Eſtates* in *Houſes*, if not in *Land*; and are indeed, more to be watched than Many Others, becauſe of their Extended *Commerce*, and Earlieſt *Intelligences* of All Tranſactions Abroad? And ſhall ſuch an Exemption be given to *Thoſe* who are *not Chriſtians*; whilſt Thoſe who *are*, muſt be laid under *Obligations* of the moſt ſacred ſort? Is this the *Impartiality* of *Good Governours*, or the *Zeal* of *Good Chriſtians?* When ſo eaſy a Way is pointed out already, for their taking *Oaths* in Courts of *Judicature*, in their own *Form*, allowed and eſtabliſhed by *Cuſtom?*" Who, I deſire to know, could anſwer *This* Argument? or ſay, that This was not a *Partial Indulgence*; a *Favour*, properly ſo called; a *Hardſhip* upon *Others*; and a Fond Care of *theſe Perſons*, not to be defended upon *Any Principles* of *Government*, or of *Equity?* Eſpecially when it might be juſtly added, That, had *this Method* been taken, it would not at all have prevented the *Common* and *Great Objection* againſt the *preſent Clauſe*, from being made with equal Force and Strength. For, had there been a *Clauſe* of *Total Exemption* enacted, This very *Clauſe* would have carried with it the *ſame Suppoſition*, that Theſe Perſons were by the *Laws* in Force *Purchaſers*, and *Rightful Poſſeſſors* of *Land*, as ſtrongly and as truly as the preſent *Clauſe* does: becauſe there could be no Occaſion for ſuch a *Clauſe* of *Exemption*, unleſs They were ſuppoſed to be included in the *perſonal Deſcription*, made in the *former Act?* I ſay, *as ſtrongly, and as truly:* for indeed, Neither of them neceſſarily imply *any Thing*, but that *Theſe Perſons* may *really be* concerned, or may *apprehend*

hend Themſelves to be concerned, in that *Act*; and therefore, that it was neceſſary, in Point of *ſtrict Juſtice*, that *Something* ſhould be enacted about Them.

This Method therefore, being liable to the *ſame* Cavil, and to *greater* and *juſter* Complaints; *Nothing* remained, but the One *Method* pitched upon; which makes *No One* ſingle Alteration in the *Rights*, or *Poſſeſſions*, of the *Jews*; which extends only to the *Time* of this One *ſhort-lived Act*, and operates only upon this *One Occaſion*; which leaves every Thing belonging to Them, in the Condition it found it; which juſtly lays the ſame *Burthen* upon *Them*, (if the ſame *Circumſtances* concur) which it lays upon their *Chriſtian Neighbours*; and only allows Them to *anſwer* the *Obligation*, in a Way eſtabliſhed already by Conſtant Cuſtom, as well as by Juſtice and Religion; and the Contrary to which, remaining as it ſtood before, had been *Barbarity*, *Iniquity*, and *Impiety*.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LXXXIII. London Journal, April 25, 1724.

IN the *laſt Paper*, I gave an *Inſtance* of the *Vice* of *Finding fault*; in which there was not the leaſt Shadow of *Argument* to ſupport the *Cavil*, and the *Cenſure*; but the Whole of the Foundation was laid upon a *Wrong Turn*, and an *unfair Repreſentation*, of the Matter in queſtion. I do not, You ſee, give *It* the Name of *Art* or *Vice*, becauſe the *Reaſons* on *One* Side, are ſtronger than Thoſe on the *Other*; or becauſe They are thought ſo to be: but becauſe there could be *no Reaſon* given, but the *Mere Inclination* and *Reſolution* of finding fault, for the *Diſcourſes* of the *World without Doors*, upon *that Head*. On the contrary, I am very free to acknowledge that there are *Many Points*, in which there is a plauſible Ground for a great Variety of Opinions, according to the Variety of *Maxims*, and Methods of *Education*, and Ways of Thinking, to which Men have been long inured. And in *all Theſe*, though *One Side* of the *Queſtion* alone can be *true*; and muſt be *more Reaſonable*, in itſelf, and all its Circumſtances, than the *Other*: yet this does not at all carry along with it, any ſuch Imputation upon *Thoſe*, who freely uſe their *Right* of *Complaining* or *Finding fault*, with regard to the *Conduct* of *Publick Affairs*. For nothing is more certain in humane Life, than That the *ſame Thing* may appear in different Views, to ſeveral Perſons of equal Integrity of Mind; and thoſe different Views, not merely the Effect of *Imagination*, *Fancy*, or *Whimſy*; but really ſupported by ſuch *Arguments*, and *Appearances*, on each Side, as may well juſtify a *Variety* of *Sentiments* and Judgements about *Them*, amongſt Perſons of the ſame *ſincere Inclination* to All that is *right*, and to nothing elſe; and of the ſame *good Diſpoſition* towards the *Liberty* and Happineſs of their Country. There is ſo great and apparent a *Difference* between the *Two Caſes*, that the *One* may juſtly, in *Thoſe* who cannot take Refuge in the *Pretence* of *Ignorance*, be handled as an *Inexcuſable Vice*, tending to lay waſte the Foundations of All *Adminiſtrations* equally; whilſt the *Other* may demand, in Thoſe who yet muſt be ſuppoſed by the *oppoſite* Part to be in an *Error*, to be handled even as a *Virtue*, and a *Praiſe-worthy Conduct*, proceeding from a generous Principle, and tending to a noble End; provided, in the *Manner* of expreſſing itſelf, it does not tranſgreſs the Bounds of Decency, and the *Laws* of the ſame *Love* of our *Country*, which firſt gave Birth to it.

I will now give an *Inſtance* of *This*, which may a little ſhew what I mean: and it ſhall be *That* of the *Number* of *Troops* kept up this Year; the ſame Number of *Eighteen Thouſand* Men in *England* and *Scotland*, which was compleated and thought neceſſary *the laſt Year*. And this, I ſay, is a *Point*, in which the *Beſt Men*, and the *Trueſt Lovers* of their *Country*, might be allowed to differ from the *Majority* of the *Legiſlature*; not only, *without Blame*, but *with* ſuch a *Perſonal Approbation*, as is always due to *Honeſt Men*, acting with a *ſincere View* to the *Good* of their *Country*. For, whether We conſider the *General Maxims* of *Liberty*, and the *Dread* of an *Armed Power* always felt in *Free Countries*; or the preſent *Quiet* Face of Affairs *abroad*, through the *Impotency* or *Mutual Jealouſy* of ſeveral *Other* Nations; or the *Tranquillity* enjoyed *at home*, after a *Detection* of a *Conſpiracy*, and a *Puniſhment* of ſome of the *Conſpirators*, too freſh in the *Memories* of *Men*, to leave any great Fears of *Another* Attempt *very ſoon*: I ſay, Whether We conſider *One*, or *All* of Theſe and the like *Principles*, and *Appearances*; Who could wonder to find a *Difference* of *Judgement*, upon ſuch a *Topick*, even where there was *no Difference* of *Zeal* for the greater Eſtabliſhment of the *preſent Government*, and the greater Security to the *whole Publick*? Much more may it be aſked, Who can *blame* a *Difference* perfectly conſiſtent with, and indeed, in all honeſt Men, wholly reſulting from, that ſame warm Love to their Country, which *Others* cannot pretend to be, in reality, poſſeſſed of, more juſtly than *They* can?

But now, upon the very mention of theſe *Good Topicks*, it may be retorted upon *Me*, How do *You*, who ſeem to be of the *Other* Opinion, *anſwer* to the *Arguments* drawn from ſo unexceptionable *Maxims* and *Facts*; or upon what Grounds, do You differ from Them? If the Account of *This* be now expected; Take it, in ſhort, as it follows. In the *firſt* Place, I join in the *Warmth* of *Zeal* expreſſed againſt *Standing Armies*; and I allow no Difference between an *Army* raiſed and maintained, from Year to Year, by *Conſent* of *Parliament*, and *One* without it, but This, That the *One* is *Legal*, and the *Other* Arbitrary and Illegal: and I contend for *No Difference* between them, as to the *Danger* to *Publick Liberty*, but *This*, That the *One* comes under a freſh Conſideration every Year; and is diſſolved or continued, by a New Expreſs *Law*, the Effect of which laſts but *One Year*; and the *Other* is a ſetled and eſtabliſhed Terror, as long as the *Will* of *One Perſon*, and that is as long as his *Power*, laſts. In the *next* Place, I do not at all deny the *Poſſibility* of the *Loſs* of *Liberty* from ſuch an *Army*; and therefore think it abſurd not to allow a *Conſtant Danger* from it. But as this can ariſe from Nothing but a *Conſent* in the *whole Body* of *Officers* and *Soldiers*, or in a great *Majority* of Them, for ſo deteſtable a Purpoſe; beſides the high *Improbability* of ſuch a *Concurrence* in *Many*, who are in *Themſelves* and their *Poſterity* greatly concerned in the *Rights* and *Properties* of the Nation—*Beſides this*, I ſay, I have ſeveral Conſiderations to ſet againſt the *Hazard* alledged.

One, is, That it was at all Times, and in all Ages, the *eſtabliſhed Politique* of this *Iſland*, That *ſome Armed Force* was neceſſary for its Preſervation. Upon this *Maxim*, after ſeveral *other* Methods, *That* of the *Militia*, in its preſent Condition, was ſetled. The Advantage of this muſt be acknowledged to be great in *One* reſpect, That theſe Arms are in the Hands of the *Free-holders* themſelves, or of *Perſons* appointed by Them; from whom You may be more ſecure againſt any Attempt upon your *Liberties*, than from *Others*. But the Great *Diſadvantage* of it is this, That without a vaſt Expence, This can be no manner of ſufficient *Defence* to the Nation: as is evident from the preſent *State* the *Militia* is in; and as is fully underſtood by *All*, who have allowed *Another Sort* of an *Army* to be neceſſary for *Publick Defence*, at the ſame time that They have contended againſt the preſent Number. *Another* Conſideration is, That, it being yielded that an *Army* is neceſſary, and expreſsly propoſed, by Many of *Thoſe* who oppoſed the preſent Number of *Eighteen Thouſand*, that *Fourteen Thouſand* ſhould be the Number; This ſhews that the *Mere Hazard* or *Poſſibility* of *Danger* to *Publick Liberty*, is not a good Argument againſt the *preſent Number*; becauſe the *ſame Objection* lies againſt the *leſſer Number* allowed, which is as *certainly* capable and ſufficient to enſlave a *Nation*, ſhould there be a *Concurrence* in ſo wicked a Deſign; as the *greater Number* can be: the only Difference being, that the *Latter* may indeed do it, if They are *All* reſolved, with a more quick and extended Terror, than the *Former*.

But the *Conſideration* which weighs moſt with Me, upon this Head, is what ariſes from ſtating the *Hazards* on each Side of the *Queſtion*. On *One* Side, It cannot be denied, that *Such an Army*, agreed and reſolute, can ruine or greatly endanger the *Liberties* of a *Nation*: but then ſuch an *Agreement* in ſuch a *Reſolution* is improbable, to a degree of *Moral Impoſſibility*. On the *Other* Side, It can no more be denied by *All Well-wiſhers* to the preſent *Setlement* of their *Native Country*, That our preſent Danger ariſes from any ſudden *Invaſion* from *abroad*, and *Inſurrection* at *home*; and that if Theſe ſhould at any time ſucceed, in favour of a *Popiſh Pretender*, the Rights, Properties and Liberties of this Nation are effectually loſt at once, by the natural Operation of *Incurable Bigotry*, animated by *Revenge*, as well as by the Strength of that *Armed Force*, which brings this *Bigotry* and *Revenge* to the *Power* of *Acting*. And as to This, Let any One look back upon the Years of K. *George's* Reign, already paſt; and ſee, what *Deſigns* have been entered into; what *Attempts* have been *actually* made, and what *Others* have been almoſt ready for *Execution*; and He will eaſily judge, Whether *Ruine* to the *Liberties* of this *Nation*, in its *preſent* Condition, be not *more probable*, from *ſudden Invaſions*, and *Inſurrections*, in favour of a *Popiſh Pretender*; than from the *Concurrence* of *Officers* and *Soldiers* in a *Proteſtant Army*, for the Deſtruction of their own *Country*. There muſt therefore, be a Proviſion ſufficient againſt ſuch ſudden Strokes, as We have already been Witneſſes to. And as to this, the Difference between an *Army* of 14000 Men, and One of 18000, is, That it is an *uncontroverted Point*, that in Caſe of any *ſudden Attempt* a *greater Number* than *Three Thouſand* cannot be detached out of *Fourteen*, to oppoſe ſuch an *Attempt*, without leaving unguarded the very *vital Parts* of the *Kingdom*, which can never be expoſed without the apparent Danger of loſing the *Whole*; but that out of 18000 Men, a Number of ſeven thouſand may be ſpared, without the ſame Hazard: and that the *Former* of theſe Numbers is not a Strength to be at all depended on, upon an *Emergency* of ſuch Moment to the *Nation*; but that the *Latter* is probably ſufficient; and at the ſame time of leſs Expence, and leſs *Hazard* to the *Publick*, than any Aſſiſtance ſent for from abroad; which, without This, muſt always be the Caſe.

As to the Argument drawn from the preſent *Publick Tranquillity*; I eſteem ſuch *Univerſal Quiet* as the greateſt of *National Temporal Bleſſings*; and upon this Account I cannot but wiſh to have it preſerved unviolated. And having obſerved, ſince his *Majeſty's* Acceſſion, that as ſoon as ever We have been left in a more defenceleſs Condition, Deſigns have been entered into, and Attempts made, for the Diſturbance of this *Tranquillity*; and that this *Happineſs* itſelf has been reſtored to Us, and continued, by the viſible Efforts We have made to guard and defend it: Upon theſe Grounds, I think the Conſideration of the *Publick Tranquillity* to be ſo far from an Argument *againſt* the *preſent* Army, that it is indeed a ſtrong One *for* it; as It is a Happineſs worth preſerving, and a

Happineſs which our Enemies will never ſuffer Us to preſerve, unleſs it appears to Them that We have an *Outward Force*, as well as an *Inward Reſolution*, to preſerve it. Our own dear-bought *Experience* entirely confirms *This*; and We want no Proof of it, but That fatal One, of a *Total Irretrievable Ruine*. But the Force of *this* Argument ſhall be allowed by Me *then* to ceaſe, when the *Reſtleſſneſs* of our *Enemies* ſhall ceaſe; and their *Hopes* from abroad lie dead, for any conſiderable Time; and the *preſent Eſtabliſhment* ſhall find itſelf out of the Fear of ſuch *Attacks*, and *Deſigns*, as We have hitherto been Witneſſes to.

As therefore, the ſame *Publick Tranquillity*, which was preſerved and revived by *this* Force, does ſtill appear to ſtand in need of it: As *Liberty* itſelf is to be ſecured from the ſudden Aſſaults of its *Certain Enemies*, by ſhewing your Power and Reſolution to defend it: As the *Leſſer Number* of *Troops*, allowed by Thoſe who oppoſe the *Greater*, has the *ſame Objection* lying againſt It, but not the *ſame Good* promiſed from It; being a ſufficient Force to endanger and deſtroy our *Liberties*, if *All* could agree in ſuch *Wickedneſs*; but not a ſufficient Force to guard and defend thoſe ſame *Liberties*, againſt the *ſudden Attempts*, from which alone We can fear *Deſtruction*: Theſe *Conſiderations* fully convince Me of the *Wiſdom* of the *Legiſlature*, in giving Us the preſent Security of ſuch a *Force*; the very *Contrary* to which, their *Inclination*, their *Self-intereſt*, their Love of *Popularity*, muſt have led Them to; had not the *ſole Argument* of the *Publick Security* (for I ſee not, how They could have had any *Other* to move Them) ſtood in the Way, and obliged Them to do what They have done. And when *Any* of a different Mind ſhall tax *Them*, upon this Account, with any ſecret Deſigns againſt the *Liberties* of their *Country*; *i. e.* againſt *Themſelves*, and *their own Poſterity*, and their own *Riches*, and *Eſtates*; I ſhall think it juſtifiable, what I now think utterly inexcuſable, That the *Accuſation* be retorted; and that *ſuch Perſons* may, with equal Juſtice, be charged with *Deſigns* of giving up All Rights, *Sacred* and *Civil*, by their *zealous Attempts* to leave Us defenceleſs, and open to the *Aſſaults* of a *Popiſh Bigoted Pretender*, and of *All* who will at any time think it their *Duty*, or their *Intereſt*, to force Him upon Us.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LXXXIV. LONDON JOURNAL, May 2, 1724.

THE *Two* laſt Papers were taken up with *Remarks* upon *Two Points*, which had created ſome *Difference* of *Judgement*, amongſt *Thoſe* whoſe Buſineſs it was to conſider them, and to fix them by their *Legiſlative* Authority. The *Seſſion* is now at an *End*. And as the *Subjects* of thoſe Papers were laſt in my Thoughts, and the Impreſſion They made ſtill *freſh* upon my Mind; the *Firſt Reflexion* which naturally offers itſelf, upon the *Prorogation*, is this, That they were the *Two only Points*, which created Any ſuch *Variety of Opinion within Doors*, or *Noiſe without Doors*, as is at all worth mentioning. And when I have obſerved this *Matter* of *Fact*, I have perhaps, in this ſingle *Remark*, undeſignedly fallen upon what is in truth One of the *Higheſt Panegyricks* upon the *Conduct* of the *late Seſſion*, which could well be wiſhed for, even by the moſt Partial Searcher after every *Topick* of *Praiſe* and *Applauſe*. But as there can be no *Ground* for *Praiſe*, but *Real Merit*, proved by *Real Facts*; and no *Uſe* of it, but to give Encouragement to *Every thing* truly *Praiſeworthy*, in time to come; It is far from my Deſign, to give a Looſe to *Invention* or *Expreſſion*, upon *This* or any other Occaſion. It is always a very ill-judged Attempt, to endeavour to put the *Colouring* of *Words*, where *Words* can have *no Effect*, unleſs *Facts* themſelves ſpeak; and *where*, if they do, the *Beſt Words*, by being plainly *Uſeleſs*, become ſuſpected and hurtful. But there can be no *Imputation* of *this* ſort, nor any Crime of *any* ſort, if, keeping ſtrictly to what is *Truth*, and well-known to be ſo, We take a *Review* of the *Seſſion* juſt happily concluded; and paſs a *Reflexion* or *Two*, upon *Appearances*, which may perhaps be of ſome Uſefulneſs to all who are concerned in the *Welfare* of this Country; as well *Thoſe*, who conduct the great Wheels of *Action*, as *Thoſe* below Them, who are ſenſibly affected by *Every Motion* They make, in the Guidance of them.

I remember, at the very firſt *Opening* of the *Seſſion*, what ſtrong Reports were ſcattered abroad, and very induſtriouſly and warmly propagated;—That the *Perſons* at the Helm had a good deal of *Particular Work* to propoſe to the *Parliament:* That, in the free Language of Converſation upon ſuch Occaſions, ſome *Jobbs* were to be effected; a *Word*, which ſignifies Every thing that can be called, *Perſonal*, or *Miniſterial*, rather than *National*; Every thing, either *Bad* in itſelf, or utterly *Unjuſtifiable* upon all the *Principles* even of Thoſe who were to do it; or of *private Advantage* only, with little regard either to the Honour of *Parliament*, or the *Good* of the *Whole*; in ſhort, a *Word* of *Infamy* and *Scandal*. Theſe *Reports* went ſtill on, increaſing, as the *Time* of the *Seſſion* waſted. Sometimes, *Days* were even named, upon which ſuch and ſuch *Points* were to be brought upon the Carpet. The profeſſed Deſire of haſtning all Buſineſs, and giving *Eaſe* to Gentlemen by an *Early Receſs*, was ſaid by Many to be only a *Pretence*, uſual in *Politicks*, to *thin* the *Houſes*, that the Way might be more open for *Propoſals*, which would, in a *fuller Aſſembly*, have met with a more zealous and remarkable Oppoſition. But at length, All is in ſuch a manner ended, as gives an *Honour* to Them who were *moſt* concerned; and a *Satisfaction* to Every Lover of his Country. The *Honour* to *Them* is, the Teſtimony which the *Event* has given to their Freedom from all ſuch *Deſigns* and *Projects*, as They would be aſhamed or afraid to propoſe in a *full Houſe*; as well as to the *Truth* of their frequent *Profeſſions* upon this Head, which in Converſation did not with *Many* obtain the leaſt Credit. And the *Satisfaction* from hence to *All Others*, who mean Good to their *Country*, is the Satisfaction which their own Senſes give Them, that no *ſuch Projects* were really in the Thoughts of *Thoſe*, upon whom they were fixed. If it be aſked, How does *This* appear? I ſay, From this very Argument, That they were not propoſed. For certainly, never was there a *Time*, when *Succeſs* could better have been promiſed to any ſuch *Propoſals*, as far as *Power*, and *Intereſt*, could be ſuppoſed to operate. Neither could there be wanting plauſible *Arguments*, and *Precedents*, for *ſome Matters* of this kind; which, though not entirely juſtifiable, are yet not of ſuch ſort as to threaten Deſtruction to the Commonwealth. Nay, I could even make this an *Argument* for my own private *Aſſurance*, That *They*, who offered no ſuch Points, in a *Seaſon* when They might as juſtly flatter Themſelves with *Succeſs*, as in any *Seaſon* poſſible to be imagined, not only have had Nothing of that ſort in their Thoughts; but in time to come, never *will* have. But *This* at leaſt I will ſay, from plain Appearances, That it muſt be a great and ſolid Satisfaction, that the *Seſſion* is happily concluded, without any *One* ſuch Offence; without any *One Propoſal* from *Thoſe* at the Helm, but what naturally and immediately concerned the *Publick*.

Neither can it be omitted, nor ſpoke of without a ſenſible Pleaſure, That *Thoſe Points* of a *Publick Nature*, which did raiſe ſome Difference of Judgement and Debate in *Parliament*, were handled with a *Temper* not always ſeen upon ſuch Occaſions; that the private *Paſſions* of *Contenders* were hardly ever known to be ſo well kept within the Bounds of Equity; that the inward *Diſſatisfactions*, or *Uneaſineſſes*, which will *at all Times* be in *Many Breaſts*, were not ſeen to boil up to any Pitch of Heat, inconſiſtent with that Love of their Country, with which the ſame Breaſts are warmed and animated. On the contrary, a *Ready Diſpoſition* to *Unanimity*, ſhewed itſelf to work effectually in what appeared truly for the neceſſary *Defence* and *Security* of the *Whole*; and, in what was differently apprehended, an Oppoſition carried on in a Manner becoming Thoſe who had the ſame *Good* of the *Whole*, and not any *private Intereſt*, for the Ground of ſuch a *Difference*. I ſpeak not of *ſuch* as oppoſe Every thing, for *Oppoſition ſake*; or think it a *Crime* to let Any Propoſal paſs unmoleſted, of which *They* and *Their Friends* have not the *Original Formation*. And *This* which I have now mentioned, cannot but be a *ſenſible Delight* to *All* who are *repreſented* in *Parliament*, in the Review of the *Good Diſpoſition*, and *Good Temper*, with which All has been tranſacted.

From this happy Conjunction of *Good Deſigns*, and *Good Temper*, proceeded that *Unanimity*, *Cheerfulneſs*, and *Diſpatch*, mentioned in his *Majeſty's* laſt *Speech*, *with which* His *Two Houſes* of *Parliament have finiſhed Every thing He recommended to Them, at the Opening of the Seſſion:* and from the ſame *happy Conjunction*, We reap the *never-enough to be valued* Bleſſing, of that *Tranquillity* We *now enjoy both at home and abroad:* a Bleſſing! which, whilſt We preſerve it unviolated, ſweetens even all the leſſer Common Calamities of humane Life; and heightens even the Leaſt of all its Pleaſures; but which, as ſoon as ever it is invaded, and broken into, or ſo much as nearly threatened, ſcatters *Terror* into every Heart; makes every the *Leaſt Evil*, Big and inſupportable; and *deſtroys* or *embitters* every the *Higheſt Pleaſure* Man's Life can boaſt of. The Ground that the *King's Throne* reſts upon, and the *Ground* that the *Meaneſt Peaſant's* Cottage takes up, are equally ſhaken by the ſame Evil; and equally partake of the Terrors of popular Tumults, and *hoſtile Commotions:* And the *Repoſe* and Security of Both *High* and *Low* equally depend upon the Preſence and Preſervation of the ſame *Tranquillity*. It is the *Clothing*, or *Circumſtance* of every other Happineſs; ſo abſolutely neceſſary to it, that *remove* it, and every Enjoyment is turned into Bitterneſs; and bring it again, and *Life* itſelf returns with it. To the ſame *Unanimity* and *Good Temper*, We owe the continued *Good Eſtate* of *Publick Credit*; which *High Diſſenſions*, and *Ungoverned Differences*, in *Parliament*, always make to *ſhrink*, if not to *fly*, before them; and which is now likewiſe guarded by a ſufficient Force, from thoſe *ſudden Shocks* of *Invaſions* and *Inſurrections*, which uſed to affright or cruſh it, as ſoon as ever it had ſhewn its Head to the Sight of the World. The *Attempt* made towards the *Augmenting* the *Sinking Fund*, or diminiſhing the *Publick Debt*; and towards the improving the *Publick Revenues*, in a *Method* which nothing but a hearty Zeal for the *Trade* and *Manufactures* of the *Nation* could ſuggeſt;—This is a *Happineſs*, which, if the Beſt Judges of ſuch *Affairs* may be heard and believed, is a *Preſage* to the *riſing Generation*, of *Great Good* accruing to the *Publick*, and *Great Honour* increaſing to the *Names* of *Thoſe* who have firſt brought it to the *Trial*.

I will not enter into any thing that may look like *Complement*, or have the *Face* of *Flattery*. I will not ſo much as enquire to what happy *Concurrence* of *Cauſes*, our preſent Good Eſtate is owing; or what Part in it the Wiſdom and good Conduct of *Any Perſons* in *Power* may have had. I would rather, if any Words of mine could reach Them, put Them in mind, that To preſerve and ſecure ſuch Bleſſings,

requires

requires ſtill more *Conſtancy* of Prudence and Labour, than the *firſt Appearance* of them; that their *Wiſdom* and *Integrity* will be juſtified, and made evident, chiefly by what is to follow; and, though no one can be anſwerable for *Events*, which depend upon a thouſand Contingencies not in his Power; Yet, it *muſt* be ſeen hereafter, that No *Care* nor *Honeſt Management*, nor *Humane Foreſight*, nor *Due Precaution*, ſhall be wanting to *fix* the preſent *Tranquillity*, and perfect our *Other* Bleſſings, before the *Many* will be convinced that there is Any thing more than *Accident* in theſe *Beginnings* of Good; or Any *Praiſes* due, upon the *preſent State* of the *Account*. I will only ſay, what neither the *Malice* of *Publick Enemies*, nor the *Jealouſies*, or *Fears*, of *Others*, can make otherwiſe than it is in Fact, That a *Seſſion* is at an End, in a much ſhorter Time than of late Years has been uſual; That a *Seſſion* has paſſed, without any remarkable *Flames*, or *Fury* of mutual *Diſſenſions*, but with much *Unanimity* and *Good Temper*; a *Seſſion*, in which *Miniſters* have aſked *Nothing*, but what had an immediate Regard to their *Country*, either in its *Trade* or *Security*, and (what is in itſelf one of the moſt pleaſing *Appearances*) a *Seſſion*, in which a *King* has recommended *Nothing* to his *Parliament*, but what his *Parliament* has readily and heartily conſented to. And it can be no *Ill grounded Superſtition*, to take ſome *Good Omens* to the *Publick*, from theſe *Obſervations*.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LXXXV. LONDON JOURNAL, May 9, 1724.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

I TAKE the Liberty of communicating to you a Dream which I had the other Night; and which, perhaps, may be more pertinent to the Deſign of ſome of your late *Papers*, than any *waking* Thoughts of mine poſſibly can be.

RETURNING pretty early one Evening to my Lodgings, and not perceiving in myſelf any immediate Inclination to Sleep, I ſat myſelf down in my eaſy Chair, and fell into a profound Meditation upon what had been the Subject of Converſation in the Company I had laſt left, the preſent proſperous Eſtate of *Great Britain*, and the frequent Viciſſitudes it had known in former Times. There happening to lie ſome new *Copper Half-pence* on the Table before me; Who knows, thought I, but *One* of *theſe*, (baſe as the *Metal* ſeems to be,) ſome Ages hence, may paſs for a valuable *Medal*; and the Features of his *Majeſty* impreſſed on this Piece, riſe as much higher in Opinion, than the Head of *Otho*, as his great Character in real Life excells that of the *Roman* Emperor: And this fair Image on the *Reverſe*? may it not come to be interpreted as a Repreſentation of *Britannia's* flouriſhing Fortunes under his Auſpicious Reign?

In theſe Contemplations, Drowſineſs overtook me, and I went to Bed; but Fancy was too well pleaſed with its own Workmanſhip, to be interrupted thus. As ſoon as I was aſleep, ſhe ſpread the ſame delightful Scene again before me, with ſuch *Romantick* Decorations, as will not endure a Repetition in broad Daylight, and waking Reaſon. Imagination tranſported me to the higheſt Part of a large and beautiful Plain, from whence I could ſurvey the Face of a fine and fruitful Country; which though I could not recollect that I had ever ſeen before, yet the varied Proſpect it afforded, the fertile Meadows, the plenteous Harveſts, the winding Rivers, and ſmoaking Cities, made me imagine it ſome Part of my own.

After I had been amuſed with this View for ſome Time, turning on a ſudden, I found myſelf very near a magnificent Canopy of State, under which was ſeated a Woman of a moſt majeſtick Appearance, habited in a decent Manner. She had a Wreath of Victory on her Head, and a Palm in her Right Hand: and in her Left ſhe held a Spear, in a bold noble Attitude. Her Shield lay near her on the Ground; the Device on it was no more than a ſimple Croſs; an old Lion lay at her Feet, in the Poſture of Sleep, but with his Eyes rolling in ſuch a vigilant Manner, as might give Terror to every Beholder. I approached her with the utmoſt Reverence; when ſhe called to me to diſmiſs my Fears, and invited me to her Pavilion. As I drew near, I found her Perſon to be perfectly beautiful; ſhe was a good deal taller, and in Proportion larger than the common Stature of Women; ſhe ſeemed paſt the Bloom of Youth, and yet far enough on this ſide of old Age; her Face was dreſſed in Smiles; and her Eyes, pointed upwards, well proclaimed the cheerful Habit of the Mind within. And yet it was eaſy too, to read in her Face the Characters of former Sorrows, the Footſteps of certain Diſtreſſes, paſt indeed, but not quite forgotten.

"Stranger, ſaid ſhe, I ſee the Surpriſe you are in at this extraordinary Appearance of mine: but you do not know what Right you have to my Confidence; that you, with the reſt of your Countrymen, have been *long* my Care; and have *now* a Title to ſhare in my Triumphs. Know then that I am the *Genius* of *Britain*; you behold in Me the Original Intellectual Parent of this great Nation. I was ordained by Fate many Years ſince, to animate and inform this happy Spot, to people, to improve it, and to make it what it now is, the reaſonable Envy and Wonder of the World. Receive now ſome Parts of *Britannia's* Story from her own Mouth.

I had many Children born to me. Some of the firſt were *Merit*, *Valour*, *Induſtry*, and *Frugality*; who afterwards married to *Fidelity*, *Meekneſs*, *Simplicity*, and *Ingenuity*. Theſe proved very happy and fruitful Matches: but their Offſpring were leſs promiſing; for they begat *Wealth*, *Power*, *Magnificence*, and a numerous Train; from whence ſprang *Luxury*, *Vanity*, *Falſhood*, *Paſſion*, with a thouſand more the degenerate Progeny of ſo great a Line. An Inteſtine War ſoon began. For *Merit* and *Vertue* openly exclaimed againſt theſe lawleſs Ravagers, who were now grown impatient of Reproof, and had put themſelves under the Command of *Licentiouſneſs*, famous for Ungoverned Self-will. And after ſeveral Battles, with various Succeſs, the Reformers were entirely defeated, and obliged to take Shelter in the ſame Solitude, whither I myſelf had been driven.

But the Conquerors did not long enjoy the Peace which their unnatural Victory had procured; but proved as perfidious to one another, as to Me, and their elder Brethren. For ſoon after, it happened that a great Favourite among them, by Name *Tyranny*, ſet himſelf up to govern all the reſt by his own Humour, though it was well known that nothing could poſſibly be more odious to Me, than ſuch a Pretenſion. But, as bad as they were now grown, there were Many among them that diſdained ſo baſe a Subjection: Theſe choſe for their Leader a young Captain, called *Liberty*; One of the faireſt of All my Deſcendants,

ſcendants, and high in my Favour. The new General found me a very willing *Auxiliary:* and I brought with me all thoſe exiled Worthies before-mentioned, by whoſe additional Strength, ſmall as it was, after many deſperate Engagements, we at length turned the Scale in our own Favour. *Tyranny* was baniſhed, and *Liberty* triumphed.

But, good Heaven! How melancholy was ſuch a Triumph! How ſad was it to ſee the Ravages which *Tyranny* had committed during his ſhort Uſurpation! Sciences and Arts, Commerce and Manufactures, had been utterly ſuppreſſed by his ſavage and unrelenting Power. *Induſtry* and *Ingenuity* were at a loſs to know their own Homes again; ſuch Alterations had been made in every Place to which they could turn their Eyes. It was very unanimouſly reſolved to ſet about a thorough *Reformation*; and it is eaſily to be believed that ſuch a *Reformation* did, in a very ſhort Time, (ſuch is the Force of *National Honeſty*,) retrieve all the Miſcarriages of paſt Times, and beget publick *Plenty* and *Proſperity*.

Plenty and *Proſperity* being Brother and Siſter, as ſoon as they attained the Age of Maturity, married with each other; for the Kindred of *Minds* is no Obſtacle to their Nuptials, but rather the beſt Argument for it. Theſe Two paſſed all their Days with the higheſt Satisfaction: But the only Fruit of their Marriage was a Son named *Faction*; a Perſon ſo vain of his Birth, ſo ſuperior to all Advice, and hardened againſt Reproof; ſo loud, petulant, and overbearing, that he gave great Occaſion of Grief to his Parents, as well as contributed in ſome Meaſure to the waſting of that ample Fortune which they had hoarded for him. *Faction* had no reaſonable Quarrel againſt *Liberty*, to whom he owed his very Being: nor had he any Obligations to the deſperate Friends and Retainers to *Tyranny*, who hated both him and his Anceſtors alike, and only courted them in hopes to ſerve the preſent Purpoſe. And yet ſo abſurd was *Faction*; ſo falſe to his true Intereſt, and ſo devoted to his own wilful and monſtrous Humour, that he was always found herding with their moſt ſcandalous Tools, and aſſiſting to all their Projects. At laſt he made an Alliance with one of their principal Families, and married a very deformed Perſon by Name *Deſpair*, the Daughter of a worn-out old Lady called *Impatience*; by whom he had only one Son, who very much reſembled his Parents, but was rather more monſtrous and deformed than either of them; more foul and ſhocking to Sight than his Mother; and more fierce, implacable, and bloody than his Father; and more fierce, implacable, and bloody than his Father. They therefore gave him the only Name that could expreſs his Qualities, *Rebellion*.

Rebellion purſued his Father's Views, and became popular among all his Friends: His Life was not long, but it was crowded with Cares and Dangers, Fatigues and Alarms, Suſpicions and Diſappointments. He found himſelf in a Condition to throw off the Maſk which his Father had worn; he took the Field at the Head of an ill-appointed diſorderly Rout, and declared moſt ſhameleſly againſt the ſo long legal and peaceable Poſſeſſion of *Liberty*; called him publickly an Uſurper, and proclaimed the Iſſue of *Tyranny* to be the lawful Heir. *Poverty*, *Infamy*, and *Deſolateneſs*, each brought in his ineffective Powers to his Standard; they traverſed very large Countries in their haſty Marches, and endeavoured to encourage one another, as well as to ſeduce the innocent Inhabitants, with certain big Words, which they frequently threw out, as though there had been a *Magic* Power in the Sound; but which were generally miſunderſtood or miſapplied both by themſelves and their Hearers, and ſo made them very contemptible in the Army of *Liberty*, who at laſt met with them, and obliged them to an Engagement, which ended in their entire Defeat.

Rebellion and his principal Commanders were made Priſoners, and led in triumph to the Capital, where ſome few of them received the juſt Demerits of their Treaſons; ſome others made their Eſcapes; and the reſt were moſt graciouſly pardoned, even without a Promiſe of Amendment on their Parts, and turned looſe to project new Conſpiracies at their Pleaſure. *Rebellion* itſelf pined with Vexation, and died in Impriſonment; leaving behind him a very ſickly Infant, called *Sedition*.

Sedition is the ſole ſurviving Heir of this Stock. A careful Eye may trace in his Face the Features and Aire of his unhappy Parent; his Phyſiognomy is indeed of a moſt dangerous Caſt and Complexion, and would threaten the utmoſt Miſchiefs, which a dark, ſullen and involved Spirit can poſſibly prompt him to; but then there is at preſent ſo great a Damp upon his Spirits, ſo univerſal a Weakneſs through his whole Conſtitution, that delivers Me from all Apprehenſions. His very Life and Being, ſuch as it is, is entirely owing, as was his Grandſire's before him, to the Mercy of that reigning *Liberty* which he curſes in his Heart, and deſires to dethrone. *Sedition* has brought into the World many Children, who all inheriting their Father's ruined Conſtitution, did but juſt ſee the Light and expired immediately. *Scandal* and *Falſhood* indeed lived the longeſt; they had juſt learned to talk, to tell Stories, and throw Dirt, when they died, to the great Mortification of their Father; but very few others do at this Day remember they ever had a Being at all. He has never been able to take the Field in Arms: but he has ventured at ſeveral petty Skirmiſhes in Argument; in all which he has been ſo conſtantly diſgraced, that I queſtion whether he will attempt any thing more for the Remainder of his Life, if he is not by this Time really dead.

And This is the Spring of that Satisfaction you now read in my Face: *Britain* is at laſt reconciled to its own Happineſs, and willing to be free, and proſperous, and ſafe, upon the only Terms which can poſſibly make it ſo: Now may I pronounce it happy; its King, its Senate, are at Leiſure from cruel inteſtine Tumults, to intend the Care of its true Glory, and cultivate the Arts of Humanity and Peace. Already do I perceive and rejoice in my growing Luſtre: I begin to feel a new Life; to confeſs a better Being, as glad Nature owns the returning Spring!"——

But here, Sir, I caught the honeſt Enthuſiaſm from the *Majeſtic* Speaker. The Paſſion grew too ſtrong to be held by the Bands of Sleep; and my firſt waking Reſolution was to ſend you my Viſion, referring it entirely to yourſelf, either to lay it aſide, or give it to the *Publick*.

I am, &c.

BRITANNUS.

❧

LETTER LXXXVI. London Journal, May 16, 1724.

I Remember, in *One* of theſe *Papers*, ſome time ago, I propoſed a *Queſtion*, amongſt *ſeveral* Others, "What it was that might be juſtly expected, or "reaſonably wiſhed for, from Thoſe in whoſe Hands the *Power* of *Legiſlation*, "or the *Adminiſtration* of *Government*, is at any Time lodged?" And I hardly did any thing at that Time, but *propoſe* it; contenting myſelf with a few ſhort and general Hints, or Sketches, of what may juſtly demand a more particular and explicit Deſcription. I wiſh, I were now able to anſwer my own *Queſtion*, in its full Extent; or that *My Defects* in attempting to do it, may provoke Thoſe who are more able, to throw in their better Thoughts, for the Improvement of ſo uſeful and ſo copious a *Subject*. Whatever be the Event, I am determined to make an *Eſſay* towards it, in a Manner, that, I hope, ſhall do no Hurt; though it may be ſo imperfect, as not to do much Good. And I will begin with the particular Inſtance of *Trade* or *Commerce*; as one of the Chief Concerns of *Civil Society*.

The *firſt* Thought of a *Man*, conſidered as diſtinct in Himſelf, and in his own Perſon, from *all other Men*, is the Preſervation of his *Life*, by ſuch *Food* and *Covering*, as is *abſolutely neceſſary* to that Purpoſe. And if nothing but what is of *abſolute Neceſſity* to *Life*, as long as it ſhould laſt, be ſought after, there ſeems no need of *Civil Government* upon *this* Account alone. But when from *Mere Neceſſaries*, Men proceeded to think of the *Conveniencies*, and *Comforts*, and *pleaſant Circumſtances* of Life, free from ſo much conſtant *perſonal Care*, and *Force*, as the other State required of Every *Individual* Man for *Himſelf*; it was *then*, that They firſt thought of *Society*: which implies in it, and neceſſarily carries along with it, the Notion of a *Regular Government*, of ſome ſort or other. And as in the *former* State, Every Man was in this reſpect a *Law* to Himſelf, that He was Judge in what Manner to *act* for *his own* Preſervation and Satisfaction; This Care, as ſoon as All *Conveniencies* of *Life* were taken into the Account, was by common *Conſent*, immediately, and by the very *Act* of entring into *Society*, transferred to *Thoſe*, to whom the *Care* of the *Society* was more peculiarly committed.

And as this very Entrance into Society, or conſenting to *Government*, was owing to the Deſire of adding the *Conveniencies* to the *Neceſſaries* of *Life*; One of the very firſt *Ideas* ariſing from the Formation of *Societies*, or rather, included in it, muſt be That of Mutual *Traffick*, or *Commerce*. For, as *One* Man could not poſſibly poſſeſs at once All Things convenient for *Himſelf*, and his own Dependents; but *They* who abounded in *ſome* Things muſt yet find themſelves in want of Many Things which *Others* had in plenty; from hence immediately aroſe the Neceſſity of *Mutual Traffick*. And becauſe this *Mutual Traffick* was now no longer to be left to Mere *Strength* and *Violence*, after once a *Regular Society*, of the loweſt Degree, was formed; from hence it appears, that it was, in the Nature of the Thing, left in great Meaſure to the *Care* and *Authority* of the *Governing Part* of ſuch Societies, upon what *Terms* ſuch an Intercourſe of *Exchanges* between Man and Man ſhould be maintained and carried on. For if it were ſtill entirely left to the *Choice* and *Humour* of *Every Individual Man*; This muſt preſently have made Things revert into their old Channel: becauſe, if there be no *Law* of *Traffick*, obliging the Members of any Society, there is no *Medium* between ſuch a State, and a State of *Anarchy*; but it muſt again come to *this*, that the *ſtrongeſt Arm* alone muſt determine amongſt particular Men, what *Every One* ſhall aſſume, and keep to Himſelf, of all the good Things which could come in his Way.

I ſay then, that *One* of the *primary* particular *Notions* belonging to the Suppoſition of *Society*, is That of a *Regulated Commerce* or *Traffick*. I might perhaps have ſaid, the *very firſt* Notion belonging to it; becauſe the *Convenience* of Life, after the *Preſervation* of it, is the *firſt* and *main* Point; and cannot be ſupported without *Commerce*. This *Commerce*, or *Traffick*, at firſt conſiſted only in the *Exchanges* of *One* good Thing, or One *Convenience* or *Neceſſary* of Life, for *Another*; and *this*, amongſt the *Members* of the ſame *One Society* only. And it cannot be denied, that not only the *Mere Neceſſaries* of Life, but many of its *Chief Conveniencies*, may be ſupplied, (in ſeveral Parts of the World,) *within* the *Bounds* of *One* Society, or *Country*, without ſeeking Help from *Any* Other. But the Wants of Mankind increaſing, as faſt as the Supplies of them came in; and *New Cravings* multiplying themſelves, as faſt as the *Old* Ones were ſatisfied; and *Many* of the *Countries* of the World ſtanding in need of what *Others* enjoyed in Plenty; hence aroſe very ſoon the Deſire of mutual Intercourſe between *Society* and *Society*; between One *Country* and *Another*: which produced thoſe ſucceſsful Attempts that have been made, for inventing and improving *Navigation*, and all the *Inſtruments* which could contribute towards the making this more extended *Commerce* eaſy and convenient.

I will juſt obſerve, as I paſs along, that *One* of the moſt uſeful *Inſtruments* of *this*, was *Money*; which was quickly found *neceſſary* for the better Management of this *Mutual Traffick*; becauſe *Experience* immediately would convince all Men, that, even within the *Bounds* of the *ſame Society*, it was impoſſible to carry on Buſineſs, in the way of Mere Exchange of *One* Thing for *Another*, without great Loſs of Time, and infinite *Pains*: And that with regard to diſtinct *Societies* or *Countries*, there could be only *Two* Ways, Either to ſupply Them with the *Commodities* They wanted, in Exchange for Thoſe They parted with; or elſe to ſupply Them with *Something* in their ſtead, which could procure Them, in other Places, thoſe very *Commodities* They wanted or deſired. And in appointing *Money*, or the *Metal* of which it is made, to be that *Something*, All the beſt regulated Societies have conſented, from the plain *Nature* of the *Thing* itſelf. To return;

When once *Diſtinct Societies*, and *Diſtinct Countries*, found Occaſion for this *Mutual Commerce*; it lay upon Every *Individual Society*, or *Country*, to preſcribe the *Laws* and *Rules* of this *Commerce* to Itſelf. For as *Diſtinct Societies* and *Countries* have no *Common* Governour *over* Them, to make *Laws* for All univerſally; They are to One Another juſt in the ſame Situation, in which *Every Man* was to *Every Man*, in the *State* of *Nature*, before any One *Regular Society* was formed. But as They are *Societies*, and not particular Men; it belongs to the Society, *that is*, to the *Governours* of it, to appoint thoſe *Regulations* which are to *govern* every particular Member of that *Society* in the Affair of *Commerce*, with the Members of any other *Societies*. The *Great* and *General* Rule to All Governours, is, That *Trade* and *Commerce* be ſo carried on, as that, if it be poſſible, the *Balance* of *Gain* may, in the Whole, lie on the Side of that particular Society, of which They are the *Governours*. But as it is impoſſible that *All* ſhould be *Gainers*; and as it muſt of Neceſſity ariſe from the *Situation*, the *Produce*, the *Navigation*, and the other natural and artificial Aſſiſtances of *ſome* Societies, that *They* muſt have the *Advantage*, and *Others* the *Diſadvantage*; and that the *ſame*

Country muſt have the *Advantage* in *One* reſpect, and *One* Seaſon, and the *Diſadvantage* in *Another*; the next *General* Rule is, to make ſuch *Regulations* as may have this Effect, That the neceſſary *Diſadvantages* may be as *ſmall*, and as *few*, and as little *felt*, as may be. Theſe are the *General Points*, in which *Every Society*, and *Every Country*, may lawfully vie with one Another, and ought in Duty to do it.

When We come to apply this to *particular* Societies, or Countries, We naturally think firſt of *Our own*; That, to which We are peculiarly related, and in which the Intereſt of Ourſelves, Our Families, and Our Poſterity, is peculiarly lodged. The Preſervation and Advancement of the *Trade* of *Great Britain* is preſently in our Thoughts; and if it were not, We ſhould not deſerve to belong to ſuch a *Country*. For, whether We conſider the natural Condition of *Britain*, as an *Iſland*; or its *Situation*, with regard to the reſt of the *Civilized* and beſt cultivated Parts of the World; or the manifold *Commodities* of its own *Produce*; or the Great and Uſeful *Manufactures* it is capable of; or Many other Particulars, I need not now enumerate:—Certainly, We muſt be *Diſintereſted*, to a degree of *Stupidity* and *Inexcuſable Neglect*, if We do not ſhew the Value we put upon the *Advantages* Improved Nature itſelf has thrown in our Way, by wiſhing and labouring to ſee them, every Day, more inſured to Us, if poſſible; and more advanced and improved, as far as the Circumſtances of Things will bear.

This ought to be the honeſt Care and Endeavour of Every private Man, who is a Member of this National Society, and is capable by his Advice or his Aſſiſtance to promote ſo extended and comprehenſive a Good. But in a peculiar Manner it is Part of the Indiſpenſable Duty of *Thoſe* who are at the Helm, to turn their Thoughts upon the Improvement of what appears to be the peculiar Bleſſing of this *Iſland*. And it is very well it is ſo; becauſe *They* muſt be ſuppoſed to be much more *diſintereſted* in *this* Affair, than *private Perſons* can often be. And therefore, whilſt Men, who are themſelves concerned in the *particular* Branches of our *Trade*, are every One of Them naturally biaſſed and drawn into one *particular* Set of *Maxims*, by that *particular* Intereſt which lies always before their Eyes, *Thoſe* who are to frame and amend the *Laws* relating to this *Great Good*, can compare all the private Opinions of Intereſted Men together; can have recourſe to the true and genuine Foundations of *Trade*; can conſider it, in its univerſal and large Comprehenſion, and its good or bad Conſequences as to the Whole; and can, without the Temptation Others lie under, who are *Traders* themſelves, adapt all their *Regulations* to the *Intereſt* and Advantage of the *Whole*, in its utmoſt National Extent and Latitude.

For *this is* properly the *Work* of *Government*,—to conſider the *Whole*, and not a *Part* only; and conſequently, whenever *It* does conſider any *Part* by itſelf, ſtill to do it, with a View to the *Whole*; and to frame all *Regulations* upon thoſe *Maxims*, which are of Univerſal Concern; and which may, with as much Reaſon and as much Succeſs, be applied to *All other* Parts, as Occaſion and Opportunity ſhall give leave. The Subject of this *Paper* neceſſarily leads Us, in our Thoughts, to What has been lately done in *Parliament*, with regard to a *Few* particular *Branches* of our *Commerce*; which I ſhall therefore, go on to examine upon *theſe*, and *other*, the *beſt* and moſt *unexceptionable* Principles of *Trade*, and of *National Advantage* to this *Kingdom*.

BRITANNICUS.

LET-

LETTER LXXXVII. LONDON JOURNAL, May 23, 1724.

IF the *Beginnings* of *All Commerce* were now firſt to be made for any particular *Nation*, or *Society*, it would be much more eaſy, and much leſs diſagreeable to the particular Intereſts of private Men, to bring into *Practice* a regular and happy *Scheme*, upon the plain evident *Principles* of it; than it can be, in the preſent Situation of Affairs: as much eaſier, as it is to *prevent*, than to *cure*, any *Evil* of a *Political* Nature. But We muſt take the World as it is, *Old* in *Time*, *Old* in *Cunning*; or, in plainer Words, *Old* in *Knavery*, and *Corruption*. Society having been long ago, beyond the *Memory* of Man, inſtituted and continued; and *Eſſays* made at firſt, in an imperfect Manner, towards the *Good* of particular Bodies of Men; and the Nature of Man having been always much the *ſame* as it is now: Hence it has proceeded, that *Thoſe* who have had a little perſonal Gain, Eaſe, and Advantage of their own much more at Heart, than the *Gain*, *Security*, and *Advantage* of the *Whole*, have always ſet their Skill and Cunning to work, to elude the *Laws* which have been at any time enacted, for the Encouragement, or *Regulation*, of *Trade*; and to evade the *Force* of Them, by finding out Ways of *private* Profit, without either obeying thoſe Laws, or incurring the *Penalties* of them. The *Evil* of This is always doubly great: as it deprives the *Publick* of the Support of ſuch *Duties*, as are at any time laid upon any *Branches* of *Trade*; and as it is a Total Diſcouragement to the *Fair Honeſt Dealer*, who is always ready to pay thoſe *Duties*; and at the ſame time cannot live but by the *Gains* of his *Trade*; which by the *Knavery* of Others are not only taken away from Him, but often exchanged for *Loſs*.

One great *End* of *Government* being the Setledneſs and Security of the *Governed Society*, without which *No Commerce* at all of any *Extent* can be carried on; hence ariſes the *Reaſonableneſs* and *Uſefulneſs* of ſuch *Impoſts* as are neceſſary for the *Support* of that *Government*, which cannot otherwiſe be the *Support* of *Trade* itſelf. So that *Trade* pays all its *Duties*, as a *Tribute* to *Power*, in order to its own ſecure and flouriſhing Eſtate under the Influences of that Power which protects it. When once theſe *Impoſts* are fixed, were All Men ſtrictly honeſt, there would be no need of Any farther *Regulation*, to put *All Traders* in the ſame Way upon an *Equal* Foot. I ſay, upon an *Equal Foot*: becauſe if *this* one Point be not effected, *Laws* about *Trade* become immediately only *Snares* to *Honeſt Men*, to draw Them into *great Inconveniencies*, or *Ruine* itſelf; and *Opportunities* to the *Diſhoneſt*, to flouriſh and thrive by their own *Cunning*. This is to be attempted therefore, by aſcertaining and fixing the exact Method of Payment of theſe *Impoſts*; and by adding ſuch *Penalties*, as may effect this *Equality* in *All* the ſame *Traders*; by making *Thoſe* act out of *Fear* and *Prudence*, exactly as all Others would do, out of Conſcience, and an Honeſt Principle of *Regard* to the *Publick*. But when *Laws* and *Penalties*, in one certain Way, have been tried for a Courſe of Years, ſufficient to form the *Judgement* of *Experience* upon; and it has been found that They are *Ineffectual*; or (which is much worſe than *Ineffectual*) that They are *deſtructive* even to the *Two* great Deſigns propoſed in them; *viz.* the *Support* of the *Publick*, by the *Duties* laid; and the *Encouragement* of the *Honeſt Trader*: When it is ſeen, I ſay, that *Cunning Men* have found a Way of utterly eluding them, ſo that the *Government* is defrauded on *One*

Hand, and the *Fair Dealer* greatly injured on the *Other*, by not being on a *Level* with his *Neighbour*; Then, is the proper Time for *Law-makers* to review the *Affair*; and either to fortify thoſe *Weak Places* which have let in the *Evil*, or to make *New Regulations* of quite a different ſort; and ſuch, if poſſible, as may fully anſwer the *Two great Ends* before-mentioned, which are the *ſole Intention* of *Any* ſuch *Laws*.

If We come now to apply theſe *General Maxims* to the *Act* lately paſſed, with relation to *Tea*, *Coffee*, and *Cocoa Nuts*; We ſhall ſee that the *Duties* formerly laid upon *Theſe*, are now *continued* in a different Form, for the ſame End for which They were at *firſt* laid; *viz.* for that End, which alone can juſtify the putting any Burthen upon the *Members* of the *Publick*; which is, the Defence and Support of that *Government*, upon which the *Well-being* of the *Society*, and of every *Member* of it, entirely depends. And this is perfectly agreeable to the Nature of the Thing. In the next Place, We ſhall ſee that the *Alteration* made by this *Act* is purpoſely made for nothing but to anſwer thoſe *Two* neceſſary *Purpoſes*, which alone can juſtify any ſuch *Laws*; that theſe *Duties*, which have not been truly paid, may now be better ſecured for the *Uſe* of the *Publick*; and that by this Means, *Traders* may be put upon a Level with One Another, and the *Honeſt Dealer* not left under the higheſt Diſcouragements. That *theſe Duties* were firſt laid for the Service of the *Government*, on which depends the Protection of *Trade* itſelf, needs not a *Word* to be ſaid upon it. That the *Government* ſtill ſtands in need of the *ſame* Supplies, is as plain; and equally acknowledged both by the Friends and the Enemies of it, with different Affections of Heart. But ſomething may be fit to be ſaid about the *Reaſons* of the *Alteration* made by this *Act*, in the *Manner* of *Collecting* and ſecuring theſe *Duties*.

And if it may appear, That this *Alteration* was made, not only for the more *certain Continuance* of the firſt deſigned *Supply* to the *Government* from them; but in very *probable Hopes* of ſuch an *Overplus*, as may be a conſiderable Advance yearly towards the Payment of the preſent *Publick Debt*; This certainly will be enough to recommend the *good Intention* of *Thoſe* who propoſed and effected it, to the *Approbation* of *Every Well-wiſher* to his *Country*. If We conſider it in *this View* only, it being a *Matter* of *Fact*, which *Time* and *Experience* alone can effectually ſhew to the Conviction of *All*, We muſt wait till a little *Time* and *Experience* have given Us their *Teſtimony*, before We can with Poſitiveneſs, and *Aſſurance*, affirm it *thus to be*. But in the mean while, *Theory* in theſe Caſes, built upon former and long Experiences, and formed upon juſt and reaſonable *Calculations*, is no very Uncertain or Hollow Ground to go upon. At leaſt, I may be juſtified in ſaying, what is now literally true, that *They* who are known to be the *Beſt Judges*, and moſt *Exact Calculators* of ſuch Affairs as concern both the *Merchant* and the *Government*, do upon the matureſt Conſideration believe and affirm that, beſides the immediate *Supply* to the *Crown*, there will be from hence at leaſt an *Addition* of *One Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year* to the *Sinking Fund*, which is to diminiſh by degrees the *Debt* of the *Nation*. And it being apparent, that juſt *ſo much Strength* is added to the *Government*, as a *Decreaſe* is made of this heavy *Debt*; (it being the ſame thing to take away from a *Burthen*, as it is to add *Strength* to *That* which is to bear it:) This *high Probability* of ſuch an *Advantage*, is ſufficient to vindicate the *Attempt* from *Objection*; and this alone is enough, with regard to the Intereſt of the *Government*. But this *probable View* is not all.

If we take it in another Light, with regard to what muſt *certainly* accrue to the *Government*; the *Reaſon* of the *Act*, given in It, is good and *juſtifiable*: as *juſti-*

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ſiable as it is, and ever muſt be, to prevent the groſſeſt *Frauds* and *Abuſes*; to recover a *Decayed Duty*; and to ſecure to the *Government*, what was deſigned as abſolutely neceſſary for the yearly Demands of it. The *Reaſon* for ſuch an *Alteration* in the *Method* of laying and collecting theſe *Duties*, is given in the following Words—"And whereas the *Duties* now ſubſiſting upon *Coffee*, *Tea*, *Cocoa* "*Nuts*, *Chocolate*, and *Cocoa Paſte*, are or may be very much leſſened, not only "by the Clandeſtine Importation thereof, from Parts beyond the Seas; but alſo "by the Fraudulent Relanding of the ſame, after the ſame have been exported "from this Kingdom, for foreign Parts, and the Duties thereupon drawn back, "without paying any Duties for the ſame, contrary to the true Intent and Mean- "ing of *former Acts*—and to the Ruine of the *fair Traders* in the ſaid *Commodi-* "*dities*, &c.—*This*, I ſay, is entirely correſpondent to that *General Rule* which regulates theſe *Laws* of *Trade*; as it founds this *Alteration* upon, what is too true, to an intolerable degree, (though gently touched upon here) the multiplied and infinite *Frauds* committed, in order to deprive the *Government* of That which was allotted for its Support by *former Acts* of *Parliament*. And *This* is itſelf a ſufficient Ground and Juſtification of ſuch an *Alteration*; and indeed, makes ſuch a *New Attempt*, the *Duty* of *Thoſe*, who are to model and regulate theſe Affairs.

Theſe *Abuſes* it endeavours to rectify, and to do Juſtice to the *Deſign* of thoſe paſt Laws, by altering entirely the *Method*, *Time* and *Place* of Payment of theſe *Duties*; and by making the Payment much more certain, as far as can at preſent be judged, than it ever could be, upon the former Foot; by taking away the *Opportunities* and *Occaſions* of *Cheating*, from Thoſe who will make uſe of them whenever They can meet with them; and by making *Knavery* much more difficult and hazardous than it was. For this is All that can be pretended to, in a *State* of Things, in which it is impoſſible totally to deſtroy that immoderate Love of private Gain, which is the *Root* of all this *Evil*. Without doing ſomething effectual this Way; whilſt the Conteſt lay ſolely between *Knavery* and the *former Laws*; Knavery, ſtill increaſing, was ſure enough of the entire Advantage, and this Part of the *Revenue* ſure enough of being totally ruined by degrees; and at the ſame time the *Honeſt Dealer* loſt and undone. But *with* it, the *Revenue* is called back to its proper *Channel*; and the *Government* put once more in Poſſeſſion of what is its *Legal Right*, and *Due*; as well as what is truly the *Honour* and *Defence* of the *Whole Society*, whoſe Intereſts are wrapped up in the *Intereſts* and *Strength* of it. With regard to the *Government*, and that great Publick Happineſs, the Diminution of the *National Debt*, I have chiefly at this Time conſidered this *Act*. In the *next Paper* I will take into the Account the Conſequences it muſt have with regard to the *particular Traders* moſt concerned in it; and to the *Intereſt* of the *Whole Nation*, in other Reſpects; not without an Eye to the *Objections*, which, in thinking upon it, may ariſe againſt it.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LXXXVIII. LONDON JOURNAL, May 30, 1724.

I HAVE already conſidered the *New Act* concerning *Tea*, *Coffee* and *Chocolate*, with regard to the *Support* of the *Government*, which was every Day more and more defrauded of the *Duties* laid upon Thoſe *Commodities*; and with regard to the *Diminution* of the *Publick Debt*, which ought in Times of *Quiet* and Leiſure to be the *Main View* of the *Legiſlature*, and is a Conſequence from this *Act*, juſtly expected by the *Beſt Judges* of ſuch *Affairs*. I will now conſider *It*, in its Other Good Conſequences to the *Nation*, the *Intereſt* of which is the *Intereſt* of Every *Honeſt Man* in it.

The *firſt* Particular I ſhall mention is, The Encouragement given to the *Exportation* of theſe Goods, after they are arrived in *England*, for the Uſe of our *Neighbouring Countries*: which is ſo great, by the *Draw-back* allowed (upon that *Exportation*) of all the *Duties*, except *Two and a Half per Cent.* as to put *England* upon an equal foot with the beſt Trading Nations around Us; and to make it indeed, a *Free Port*, with reſpect to theſe particular Goods. The Difference between the State of the Caſe, after this Bill comes to operate, and That before it, is, that for a long Time paſt, it has been *notorious* that *Four Parts* in *Five* of all the *Coffee* conſumed here, and *Nineteen* in *Twenty* of all the *Cocoa nuts*, (beſides large Quantities of *Tea*) have been *clandeſtinely* and *knaviſhly* brought in; and what is worſe, paid for by the *Subjects* of *Great Britain*, in *Specie*; by which means, a very great Summ of Money, perhaps above 100,000 Pounds, has gone out of the *Kingdom* yearly into the Hands of *Foreigners*: Whereas *Now*, the fair and open *Traders* will have Encouragement, and Power, to ſupply the *Neighbouring Countries* with theſe very *Commodities*, at a *Cheaper* Rate than they can be purchaſed of any *Others*; by which means, ſo much of our own *Money* will be kept from going out, and a great Summ of *Money* (or *Goods*,) brought in from *Other Parts* of *Europe*. And again, As *One* neceſſary *Conſequence* of *Smugling* theſe Goods is, that You muſt pay for them in *Specie*; ſo, the *Conſequence* of preventing that *Smugling*, by deſtroying all great Temptation to it, is, That the whole Quantity of theſe Commodities being imported in an open and known Way, will be purchaſed and paid for in the Method moſt beneficial to the Nation, and (as far as poſſible) by our own *Manufactures*, *Fiſh*, *Proviſions*, &c. So that the *Nation* will have a *manifold* Advantage: For, as theſe *Goods* will be *imported* without the Loſs of its own *Specie*, and by the *Exportation* of its own *Manufactures*; ſo, They will be *exported* upon ſuch eaſy Terms, as to command the *Markets* of our Neighbours, and paid for by the *Importation* of the *Price* of them *from abroad*. This *Encouragement* for *Exportation*, given to *Traders* and *Merchants* in *Holland*, has been one *Great Cauſe* of the Increaſe of the *People* and *Riches* of that *State*: And it cannot but have the ſame *good Effect* in *Britain*; where it has been long wanted, and long deſired, by All who have wiſhed well to the *Trade* of this *Nation*.

By this means, We ſee, The *Conſumption* of our own *Manufactures* will be increaſed; and in ſtead of *paying Money* for *Goods*, We ſhall *receive Money* for them. Our *Navigation*, in the mean while, muſt partake greatly of the Benefit, as the Conduct of this *Trade* well employ *our own Ships* and *our own Seamen*: And ſo muſt our *Plantations* in the *Weſt Indies*, which ſupply many of thoſe Things which purchaſe the *Commodities* ſpecified in this *Act*. I hardly need mention here, that as *this Act* lays no *Additional Duties* upon the *Goods* mentioned; ſo it brings *no Expenſe* upon the Publick, *worth mentioning*, by the *Alterations* it makes in the *Method* of Collecting them. It appoints no Additional *Commiſſioners* of *Exciſe*, and the *Few New Officers* It makes neceſſary, are of the *Lower* ſort, and ſuch as require *very ſmall Salaries*.

If from hence we come to the *Advantage* accruing from *this Law* to the *Fair* and *Honeſt Trader*, I have before hinted at it, and placed it in *This*, That all *Traders* in theſe *Commodities* are put upon a *Level*, (as it is hoped and deſigned,) by the *Regulations* made in it. For the great Evil to an honeſt and open *Dealer* in the Way of *Merchandize* is, that Thoſe who diſhoneſtly and clandeſtinely bring in the ſame Goods with Thoſe He deals in, not paying any *Duty* for them, can ſell them much cheaper than *He* can, who, beſides their original Price, has honeſtly paid the *Duties* laid upon them. If the *Quantity* therefore, of theſe *Run Goods* be great; This naturally will have ſuch an Effect upon the whole *Market*, that it will bring a *Force* upon the *Fair Merchant*, either to keep all his Goods by Him; (which perhaps would often be immediate Ruine to Him;) or to ſell them at *ſuch Price*, as the *Iniquity* of *Others* has brought the *Common Market* to; which is ſtill *Ruine*, though in a *ſlower degree*; as it is in this Caſe *always* Little or No Gain, and *ſometimes*, Loſs to Perſons, who can be ſupported by nothing but the *Gains* of their *Commerce*. But if it can be ſo brought about, that no ſuch Advantage ſhall be ſeized by the *Clandeſtine Trader*; This alone is all the *Advantage* which the *Open Dealer* deſires, or ought to deſire.

Now, for effecting this, there can be but *Two Ways*, either to have *No Duties* at all laid upon theſe Goods; or to regulate the *Collecting* the *Duties* laid, in ſuch a Manner as to make it *impoſſible* for the *Diſhoneſt* to eſcape the Payment of them; or if not *impoſſible*, (which cannot be,) to make it ſo difficult and hazardous, that it ſhall hardly be worth the while of Any who ſtudy nothing but *their own* Advantage, to attempt it; and ſo to take away all conſiderable Temptation to it. As to the *former* of theſe *Two Ways*, It cannot be followed. The Neceſſities of the *Government*, and the *Debt* of the *Nation*, ſufficiently juſtify the Continuing the *Duties* upon theſe *Commodities*. The *Method* therefore, choſen, for the Satiſfaction and Benefit of the *Open Dealer*, is the making ſuch *Alterations* and *New Regulations* in the *Manner*, *Time*, and *Place*, of *Payment* of them, as may reaſonably be expected to have the Effect here mentioned; to diſcourage future Attempts towards *All Clandeſtine Dealings* in theſe Commodities; and by this means, to remove that *fatal Evil*, under which the *Honeſt Traders* have hitherto laboured, merely through the *Eaſy Methods* which lay open to *Others*, to underſell Them, and by that Means to reduce Them to Diſtreſs.

After I have ſaid thus much upon the *Advantages* from this *Act*, both to the *Publick* in general, and to the Honeſt *Merchant* and *Trader* in particular; I am almoſt aſhamed to mention the *Objections* which I have heard made againſt the *New Regulations* propoſed in it; and the *Effect* They muſt have. I have indeed met with but *Two*; but then They are *Capital Ones*; and no leſs Good Things than *Liberty* and *Property* themſelves, (ever dear to *Britons*,) are brought into the Quarrel. *Some* complain of the ſtrict *Searches* and *Enquiries* this *Law* allows; and *Others*, of the advanced *Price* of theſe *Commodities* already cauſed by this *Act*. The *Former* Complaint is a *Complaint* rather againſt *All Government*, and *All Duties*, than againſt this *particular* Act. For, as All *Government* is, in its very Deſign, the *Reſtraint* of private *unbounded Liberty*; even this *Reſtraint* may be called the *Deſtruction* of *private Liberty*; as far as it *bounds* and circumſcribes it: And as *All Duties* are laid upon *Commodities*, with a Deſign of being ſecured and duly raiſed; ſo, Whoever complains againſt thoſe *Methods* which are neceſſary for the raiſing them, does in effect complain of thoſe *Duties* themſelves; and may as juſtly and as equitably do it.

And that this is the Caſe here, will appear by only making a *Suppoſition*, that this *Strictneſs* of *Search* of All *ſuſpected* Houſes, at *all* Times, were not enacted. For, *ſuppoſing* this, there could be no *Collection* of theſe Duties hoped for; nor any *Effect* at all from this, or any like *Act*. Give but once an *Exemption* to particular Places, and particular Hours; and the ſame *Clandeſtine*, *Diſhoneſt* and *Deſtructive Trade* may ſtill go on. If the *Duties* themſelves therefore, be neceſſary and fitting; the moſt *ſecure Method* of collecting them is as neceſſary; and from this Neceſſity is juſtified upon all thoſe Principles of *Trade* and *Society*, which *every Trader* ſees the Reaſonableneſs of, in every *other* Caſe but *That* in which He himſelf thinks He may ſometimes feel ſome perſonal Inconvenience. But who, I pray, is the Sufferer from *this Method*, which is a *Law* in *other* Caſes as well as *This?* The *Fair Dealer* has nothing to fear from it; and may well bear with a much greater *Inconvenience* than *This*, for the Sake of thoſe Advantages He can never enjoy without it. The *Diſhoneſt Dealer* only has any thing to fear from it; and *He* ought to *fear* enough to make Him (I do not ſay *more honeſt*, but) leſs *hurtful* to his Country, than any *better Principle* will make him. In a Word, *What* is neceſſary for the *Ends* of *Society* and *Government*, is as neceſſary as *Government* itſelf; the firſt Deſign of which is, to model and limit *private Liberty* to the Good of the *Whole:* and *whatever* is neceſſary for the levying any *Duties* laid, is as neceſſary, and therefore as juſtifiable, as thoſe *Duties* themſelves.

It gives one much more Pain to hear *Objections* raiſed from the *advanced Price* of theſe *Commodities*. For *firſt*, This *preſent Advance* is near upon the *Price*, which They ought to have been at, before this *Act*; and which they would have been at, had it not been for the *Diſhoneſty* of Thoſe, who, by the Help of their own *Knavery* in ſmugling them, could both afford to ſell them cheaper themſelves; and force others to do ſo too. For as the *Cheapneſs* before aroſe from this, that It was put upon them by Thoſe who did not pay the *Duties*; ſo when once the *Neceſſity* appears of paying the *Duties*, and of leaving off the *Clandeſtine Trade*, the *Price* to the *Conſumer* muſt of Conſequence be immediately advanced; becauſe It is now more certain that the *Duties* are to be truly, and univerſally paid. And then again, the *Great Law* of *Society* allows and recommends ſuch Duties to be laid, and to be ſtrictly raiſed, upon Any of thoſe *Commodities*, which are not the *Common Neceſſaries* or *Conveniencies* of *Life*, but the *Superfluities* and *Luxuries* of it, as may diſcourage the *Lower Part* of the *Society* from running into them: and One *Wiſe Maxim* of a *Regular Society* is, to form good *ſumptuary Laws*; and not to let the *Temptation* to *Unneceſſary* Inſtances of what is more than *Convenient* for human Life, lie too open, or too eaſy to be come at. And as *This Dearneſs* of ſuch Commodities, *is not*, or *ought not*, to be a *Grievance* upon *Any*, but ſuch as may truly be ſaid to be able to afford the *Price* of their own *Gratifications*; It is all agreeable to the *Principles* of *Government*, and to the *Good* of the *Governed Society*, which is the *Subject* for thoſe *Principles* to operate upon.

If We now ſumm up the Caſe, It will appear That, in the *Act* We have been conſidering, Our *Legiſlators* have conducted Themſelves by the *Maxims* of *publick* and *univerſal* Advantage to the *Trade* and *Manufactures* of their *Country*; that They have done nothing but their *Duty* as *ſuch*, in an Affair properly the *Care* of *Law-makers*; that They have made an *Attempt* to reſtore and augment a *de-*

caying Duty, neceſſary to the Support of the *State*, and promiſing Help to the *National Debt*; that They have choſen a Method of doing it effectual to the Purpoſe, and therefore neceſſary in order to put the *Honeſt Dealer* upon an equal foot with his *Neighbour*; that They have given ſuch Encouragement to the *Exporter*, as may enable Us to furniſh *Other* Nations, and gain and keep a great Summ of Money to *our own*; that the *Difficulties* of it are only ſuch as are unavoidable, and lie upon *Thoſe* who have the *Advantage* of it likewiſe; and that the *Price* upon the *Conſumer*, is the *Price* of *Luxury*, and is a *Trivial* Burthen, chiefly upon *Thoſe* who often voluntarily undergo much greater, for the Sake of any Fancy of their own.

I have heard indeed, but of *One Perſon*, who will be truly a *Loſer* by this Act, and a *Loſer* of a very conſiderable Summ of Money every Year. And whoever knows the *Collector* of the *Cuſtoms*, and in what Manner *This New Regulation* will affect *Him*, inſtead of complaining of a little Advance in the *Price* of what He *Himſelf* conſumes, will form an Argument from hence in favour of the *Act*; and at leaſt allow that it was a Regard to the *Publick* which gave riſe to it; and a *Regard* too great to be outweighed by a perſonal, private, or particular Advantage.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER LXXXIX. LONDON JOURNAL, June 20, 1724.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

I HAVE often heard it wondered at among Men of *Letters*, that the *Dialogue*-manner of Writing, of which the *Antients* have left us ſo many Examples, ſeems to be an Art almoſt wholly loſt to the *Moderns*. But I cannot think this Misfortune ſo much owing to the Decay of Natural *Reaſon* itſelf, as to thoſe Artificial *Shackles*, which in all Ages, and in moſt Countries, have been put upon this Faculty, to ſerve the Purpoſes of ſome Falſe Religion, or Bad Government. A free Conference is indeed the only fair Trial of Skill between *Reaſon* and *Sophiſtry*: It is a ſort of *Corniſh* Wreſtling; the Competitors grapple upon even Terms, and without Compliment; they exchange the Cloſe *Hug* as ſoon as poſſible, and the Victory is viſible to all the Spectators. Since then the *Embargo* upon fair Argument is taken off, and a free Commerce is allowed, this certainly is no ill Seaſon to attempt to reſtore the Habit of Reaſoning, and make the *Practice* of it eaſy and familiar to my Countrymen, who have ſo dearly purchaſed the *Privilege* of it. If in our firſt Eſſay, we may be found rude and inexpert in this Science which we pretend to teach to others, it ought to be remembered in our Excuſe, that we lay it down as a firſt Principle, that the *Art* of *Reaſoning* is only to be attained by *Habit*; and the beſt Way to teach ourſelves and our Readers to be able one Day to reaſon juſtly, is in the mean while to accuſtom ourſelves to hear Reaſon, and bear Contradiction as well as we are able.

I happened to be preſent at the following Diſpute between *Crites* and *Philemon*, concerning *Virtue* and *Publick Spirit*; and ſhall now give it you with very little Alteration.

BRITANNUS.

CRITES

CRITES *and* PHILEMON.

Crites. Whither are you going, my Friend?

Philemon. To my old Patron, the L——.

Cri. To be again promiſed, and again diſappointed.

Phi. Perhaps ſo, indeed.

Cri. Are you not weary and aſhamed of ſo ſervile an Attendance; and do you not yet hate and deſpiſe the *World*, which has offered you ſo many Injuries and Indignities, and does now only banter your Merits and your Sufferings?

Phi. I have been ill uſed by *particular* Perſons, but I have no Quarrel with the *World*. To hate *Mankind*, becauſe I meet Fools and Villains amongſt them, ſeems as unreaſonable, as to hate *Life*, becauſe it is liable to troubleſome Paſſions or Diſeaſes.

Cri. Were your *Life* then one continued *Diſeaſe*, or did *Mankind* appear to you as one great Collection of *Knaves* and *Ideots*, you believe you ſhould be ſick of them both.

Phi. It may be, I might: but at preſent I am of Opinion, that *Reaſon* and *Virtue*, as well as *Health*, are the proper genuine and natural Characteriſticks of *Man*; and that *Folly* and *Wickedneſs*, like *Sickneſs*, are but the Accidents of *Life*, the meer Frailties and Infirmities of Humanity, which do not at all denote the *Real Man*. To form a Judgement of any one from ſome *Foible*, ſome Tranſport of *Paſſion* which we may have ſurpriſed him in, is as injurious as to draw his Picture in a *Fever*. Upon this Principle, and with ſome ſmall Allowances from *Good-nature*, I believe the *Bulk* of Mankind will be found *Honeſt* and *Amiable*.

Cri. By the by, It will not be amiſs if that ſame *Good-nature* of yours, be deſired to withdraw out of the preſent Controverſy. It is certainly but very little accuſtomed to ſhare in *Diſputations* whether Ancient or Modern, and next to *Paſſion* is the moſt *Unphiloſophical* Reaſoner in the World. And I beg, for the ſake of mutual Peace, that you would not infer any Conſequences in favour of the *Bulk* of Mankind, from the kind Prejudices you may have to two or three of your Friends.

Phi. You will give me leave to believe, that I have read of *Virtuous* Characters of all Ages and all Nations; that I think I have perſonally known ſome; and that I do more than ſuſpect that You and I, *Crites*, are *Honeſt* Men.

Cri. I have ſuſpected one of us to be ſo a long while. Go on.

Phi. Without more Preface, I know myſelf to be *Virtuous*; nor do I think it any *Boaſt* to ſay I am not a *Villain*, or a *Raſcal*. I admire *Honeſty* for her naked Charms, and with all thoſe ſtarving Qualities which ſome Cunning Men have found in her. I *love* her for her own ſake, without the *Bribery* of my *Paſſions*, my *Hopes* or my *Fears*, *Vanity* or *Shame*: And I think I ſhould not deſert her, though but for a Moment, and in the darkeſt Privacy, to gain a Million of Gold. I *love* myſelf for thus *loving* her; and I love *Mankind*, becauſe they do All more or leſs partake of this *Honeſt* Nature of mine, and becauſe I ſee no Reaſon to believe myſelf the *Phœnix* of my Kind.

Cri. For once, then, we will take it upon your own Word, that you are not a *whit* better than all that we ſee paſs us in the *Mall* here; and that the Principle, which you call your *Honeſty*, is ſomewhat or other that is in common to all *humane Nature*. But give us leave to enquire, what is this ſame boaſted Thing which paſſes by the Name of a *Principle*: Let us look into its Birth, and ſee whether its *Origination* be of itſelf, or be not derived from ſomething elſe; whether it is not nouriſhed and ſupported by foreign Accidents and Circumſtances, and is oftentimes extinguiſhed and deſtroyed by more ſtrong and powerful *Principles:* In ſhort, whether *Virtue* was not at firſt propagated by *Power* and *Craft*, upon *Cowardice* and *Credulity*; whether it was not nurſed by *Cuſtom*, and does not now feed upon *Vanity* and *Affectation*, *Bigotry* and *Superſtition*; whether it is not hourly killed by *Luſt*, *Avarice*, *Ambition*, and a hundred bad Paſſions, though it may perhaps, long after its Deceaſe, ſtalk about in the Veil of *Hypocriſy:* Whether you, my Friend *Philemon*, have made this *Inquiſition* into your own Heart, and whether you are not indeed afraid to do it.

Phil. Not at all: For it were but reaſonable that you ſhould think me a *Rogue*, if I could not tell you how I came to be an *honeſt Man*. *Power* may perhaps have enjoined the Practice of *Virtue* and *Morals* upon the World: If it has done ſo effectually, it is well; it was perhaps the very End of *Power* itſelf, and of its firſt Inſtitution. *Craft* may have lent its wretched Aid to dreſs it up, and recommend it to the Publick, to ſerve perhaps ſome ſecret vicious Purpoſe behind the Curtain. *Cuſtom* may have acted the Part of a kind *Step-dame*, and fondly trained up the Infant *Virtue*, which, I ſay, its Parent *Nature* bore. But neither *Power*, *Craft*, nor *Cuſtom*, could poſſibly give a Being to That which had it not before, but was a mere *Non-entity*. This beautiful *Reality*, called *Virtue*, the Notions and Meaſures of Right and Wrong, the Love of ourſelves and our Fellow-beings, cannot poſſibly owe their Extraction to ſo baſe an Original as *Force* or *Cunning*. *Power* indeed might have commanded a Commerce between the Sexes, and a due Care of the *Offspring*; but what *Humane* Power could have created thoſe Sexes, or have given the Heart its Tenderneſs towards its Partner and her *Progeny*, and ſo extended it to *Fraternal* and Collateral Relations, and in a leſs paſſionate Degree to thoſe more remote Kindred our *Countrymen*, and to all *Mankind?* I fancy he muſt have been a very *cunning Man*, who could have taught me how to feel the Pains and Misfortunes of my *Father*, to love him when he frowns upon me, and to pour out my Tears over his Grave; to relieve my *Brother*, my *Kinſman*, and even a worthy *Stranger* in Diſtreſs, if *Nature* had not been before-hand with him in my Boſom, and left me no Choice to do otherwiſe. As to *Cowardice* and *Credulity*, whatever may have been the Caſe formerly, the *Magiſtrate* is now too well informed, to believe that my *Principles* are accountable to his *Juriſdiction*, however my *Manners* may; ſo that I have nothing to fear from him, or any one elſe, on the Account of my Opinion, even though it ſhould prove to be Erroneous; provided I do not embrace it lightly, and without making ſuch previous Examination into it as I am able. But need I be afraid of embracing Virtue too inconſiderately? I am only then to guard againſt *Credulity*, or the Weakneſs of taking up Principles upon the Credit of another: Let me ſtrip *Virtue* and *Love* of the *Publick* of this Advantage, and ſee if it will not appear amiable in itſelf, though it had not an *Advocate* in the World. If for many Years together, and placed in many different *Lights*, beheld in many different *Humours* and *Tempers* of my own, it ſtill appears unalterably *Eligible*, then ſurely I am not *Credulous*. As for the Aſſiſtance *Virtue* may borrow from *Vanity* and *Affectation*, I know not whether I ought to call theſe *Faults* when they are enliſted in ſo good a Service, and fight on the Side of *Honeſty* and *Merit*. Honour is but a reaſonable Tribute to Virtue, and conſcious Worth is ever *allowed ſome Pride*. But after all, there is but very little Room for it, when we conſider that the *Beſt* Man is no *better* than he ought to be; and how can any one be vain, that he has not deſerved the *Gallows*, or the *Whipping-poſt?* As to *Bigotry*, *Enthuſiaſm*, and *Superſtition*, I fancy I underſtand them too well, and have traced them too exactly to their *Original*, the Weakneſſes and Diſtempers of the Mind, to have my Paſſion for *Simple* and Original *Virtue* tainted with their unhappy *Tincture*. I am ſure I pity that *Species* of *Folly* too heartily; to ſhare in it myſelf. But if by any of theſe Words, you mean to charge me with my Submiſſion to certain *Forms* of Obedience which *Religion* has preſcribed, and an *Expectation* of the great *Reward* it has promiſed: I anſwer in general, why not? Is it not poſſible, think you, to find out a Difference between a *Gift* and a *Bribe?* Cannot I diſintereſtedly eſteem my *Patron*, becauſe I have diſcovered, that he intends one Day to *provide* better for me, than ever I can deſerve of him? Do not *Painters* and *Poets* ſincerely love their reſpective *Arts*, as I my *Honeſty*, for the Sake of the high Pleaſure they find in them; though at the ſame Time they well know they ſhall be *rewarded* with *Fame* and *Profit* into the Bargain? I ſhould have admired *Virtue*, though it had covered me in Rags; and muſt I needs be inſincere, becauſe I believe it will *exalt* me to the higheſt *Happineſs* my excellent Nature is capable of? As to your laſt Queſtion, whether it be not hourly deſtroyed by *Luſt*, *Avarice*, *Ambition*, and the other bad Paſſions; I own it is aſſaulted often, but not deſtroyed: It is, I think, at laſt well fortified by *Reaſon*, and is above even a *Treaty* with the *Enemy*; nay, it frequently ſallies out upon them with great *Gallantry* and *Succeſs*. I wiſh I could as well tell you there was ſome Proſpect of raiſing the Siege, and *nailing* their Artillery; but however I hope it is on the Enemies Part, a ſort of *Ceuta-buſineſs*, a hopeleſs Attempt. And thus I have given you the State of Virtue in myſelf. From what paſſes in my own Heart, I judge of Mankind. I am inclined to *love* the Creatures of the ſame *Make*, and to believe they *deſerve* it.

Cri. You have indeed pretty well accounted for your own *Principles*; and though I do not tell you I am perfectly ſatisfied with them, I own I wiſh I were ſo, and almoſt envy you who are. I am apt to think that the worſt and vileſt of our *Species*, they who are moſt *vain*, *inſolent*, and *cruel* in the high *Tide* and *Affluence* of Fortune, have yet, or at leaſt they once had, *Pangs* in the Commiſſion of *ſelfiſh* or *oppreſſive* Actions; and are ſtill conſcious of a *noble* and *generous* Satisfaction, when they diſcharge a worthy and *good-natured* Part. But how ſoon are theſe *Honeſt* Impreſſions obliterated! If they really have an original Part in Humanity, and are conſtituent to it; Whence is it, that they are capable of being ſo univerſally ſuppreſſed and diſcountenanced? How comes it that a Devotion to private Intereſt is underſtood as a *Characteriſtick* of a ſenſible Man, and a *Savage* Tyrannous Spirit is yet thought conſiſtent with an *honeſt* Mind? What ſort of *Honeſty*, *Worth*, and *Humanity*, do they poſſeſs, who are capable of being at eaſe in *Princely* Fortunes, and yet never are once aware that they are at all obliged to enquire out, and relieve the Diſtreſſes and Sorrows of thoſe, who, for aught they know, may be infinitely more *Meritorious*, though leſs *Fortunate*, than themſelves? Such Inconſiderateneſs is the higheſt Cruelty.

Phi. Oh *Crites!* Theſe are the Diſeaſes, the Maladies of Humanity, which we mentioned above. Alas, this is but the ſickly State of *depraved* Nature, the Effect of her *Debauches*, her *Town*-life; meer *Luxury* all, and *Intoxication*, unknown to her proper, her genuine *Simplicity*. It belongs to *You* and *Me*, good *Crites*, to pity and reform her *Corrupt* Manners; to love her for her firſt *Rectitude*, before ſhe became the *Mimick* of *Faſhion*, and the *Paraſite* to *Power* and *over-*

grown Greatneſs. Mean while, let us indulge and cheriſh the *Ideas* of her *Original* Beauties, and receive with *Duteous Gratitude* her friendly and unerring *Whiſpers:* Let us ſtudiouſly reconcile ourſelves to our better Paſſions; and be aſſured, that when the *Chace* of *Pleaſure* or *Ambition* is ended in Vanity, Wearineſs and Diſguſt, we ſhall then ſee the genuine Charms of Natural *Virtue*, and be convinced that the Offices of *Humanity* do alone yield a ſincere and manly Satisfaction; a Pleaſure, which knows no *Satiety* and *Fatigue*, incapable of *Anguiſh* or *Remorſe*.

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LETTER XC. LONDON JOURNAL, July 25, 1724.

THERE is in Humane Nature a certain charming Quality, innate and original to it, which is called *Simplicity*. In latter Ages, and in theſe Parts of the World, this has been almoſt univerſally exploded, and baniſhed from amongſt Men, as the Characteriſtic of Folly; whilſt *Cunning* and *Artifice* have prevailed in its ſtead, and with equal Injuſtice been dignified with the Titles of Wiſdom and Underſtanding. But I believe the juſter Account of the Matter is, that *Simplicity* is the home-ſpun Dreſs of Honeſty, and Chicanery and Craft are the Tinſel Habits and the falſe Elegance which are worn to cover the Deformity of Vice and Knavery.

In the firſt Ages of the World, when Men had no Wants but what were purely natural, before they had refined upon their Neceſſities, and Luxury and Ambition had introduced a Thouſand fantaſtic Forms of Happineſs; *Simplicity* was the *Dreſs* and the *Language* of the World, as Nature was its *Law*. The little Cunning which was then in uſe, only taught them to enſnare, or to make tame ſuch Animals as were neceſſary to their Support or their Convenience, and were otherwiſe too ſwift or too ſtrong for them; but ſince theſe Arts have attained their utmoſt Perfection, they have practiſed the ſame low Stratagems upon one another, and by an infinite Variety of Diſguiſes and well-covered Treacheries have long ſince inſtituted theſe little Baſeneſſes among the neceſſary Arts and Knowledges of Life, and practiſed without Scruple, what they have long owned without Shame.

But if we look into the Hiſtory of the World, and into the Characters of thoſe who have had the greateſt Names in it, we ſhall find, that this original *Simplicity* of Mind has gradually been worn off in every Age, down to the preſent Time, when there is hardly any Characters of it remaining undefaced. The old *Greeks* and *Romans*, whoſe unperiſhable Writings have preſerved to us the Actions and Manners of their Countrymen, and who were ſo well ſtudied in all the Forms and reaſonable Happineſſes of Life, are ſo full of that juſt and beautiful Simplicity of Stile and Sentiment, as ſeems to have been the only proper Method of tranſcribing the Frank and Open Characters of the Heroes they celebrate, and of making them and their Writers immortal. The Epiſtles of *Cicero* and *Pliny* abound in this ſort of exploded *Simplicity*; they talk of themſelves and their *Contemporaries*, in a manner that would be a Jeſt in *Engliſh*, and in a Country where a ſort of ſolemn Affectation and Banter makes up the larger Part of Writings and Converſation.

To prove the natural Charm and Beauty there is in this *Simplicity*, we need only, at this Day, as falſe as the World is grown, retire but far enough from great Cities, the Scenes of all wordly Buſineſs and Action; and, I believe, the moſt cunning Man will be obliged to own, the high and ſincere Pleaſure there is in converſing from the Heart and without Deſign. What Relief do we find in the ſimple and unaffected Dialogues of uncorrupted *Peaſants*, after the tireſome Grimace of the Town! The verieſt Double-dealer in the World is ever hankering after an Opportunity to open his own Heart, though perhaps he curſes himſelf after he has done it. We all are forward enough to proteſt and complain againſt the Falſhood and Treachery of Mankind, though the Remedy be always in our own Power, and each is at liberty to reform himſelf.

But perhaps we need not be forced always to go into the *Country* in ſearch of this amiable Complexion of Mind, *Simplicity*; for I believe it will be found ſometimes, that the Men of the trueſt Genius and higheſt Characters in the Conduct of the World, (as few of them as riſe in any Age) are obſerved to poſſeſs this Quality in the greateſt Degree. *They* are *Pretenders* only to Policy and Buſineſs, who have recourſe to Cunning, and the little Chicaneries of it: For *Cunning* is but the Ape of Wiſdom, as Sheepiſhneſs is of Modeſty, Impudence of Courage, and Pedantry of Learning. "*Cunning*, ſays my Lord *Bacon*, is a ſiniſter " or crooked Wiſdom, and Diſſimulation but a faint kind of Policy; for it aſks " a ſtrong Wit and a ſtrong Heart, to know when to tell Truth and to do it; " therefore they are the weaker ſort of Politicians, that are the greateſt Diſſem- " blers." And certainly there is a great Difference between a cunning Man and a wiſe one, not only in Point of Honeſty, but in Point of Ability; as there are thoſe that can pack the Cards, who cannot play the Game well.

That which has brought this Baſtard Species of Wiſdom into ſo much Credit and Practice in the World, is the Countenance it has ſometimes received in the Councils of Great Stateſmen, and the Writings of Politicians. *Machiavel* was himſelf a great Genius, and relied very much on the Subtilty of his own Nature; but his Book has founded a Sect of Fools and Coxcombs, which are ſpread over *Europe*, and are perhaps the moſt numerous now in the World. Theſe Perſons fancy they have found in his Works a *Receipt to make Politicians*, and intend to grow cunning by *Rule* and *Precedent*. But the Misfortune is, that no two Occurrences in publick Affairs, eſpecially in different Countries, are ſo exactly alike as to make the ſame Expedient applicable to both. *Craft* may be the Genius of *Italy*, but Plain-dealing is the beſt Policy of the *North*; the leſs Craft and the more Force in all *our* Affairs, the better they ſucceed.

A neighbouring Court on this ſide *Italy* has, for the laſt Age, pretended to monopolize the whole *Wilyneſs* of the World: They tell us, without Scruple, and with the higheſt Satisfaction, how often they have deceived every Nation of Chriſtendom, and never fail to explode the impenetrable Dulneſs and Simplicity of an *Engliſhman* upon theſe Occaſions. The Treaty of —— (ſay they) by which they ſlipt out of an ugly troubleſome War, and yet retained all that gave Riſe to it, as well as recovered almoſt all they loſt by it, was the *Coup du maitre*, and the greateſt Stroke of their Politicks. The Truth is, it is very eaſy to grow *Cunning* by the help of being *Rich*. There is a great deal of *Wit* in a ſubſtantial *Bill* of *Exchange*; and a *Louis d'Or* has often a more inſinuating *Phyſiognomy* than its Maſter. A Court may have corrupted its Neighbour Courts very often, and yet be void of all other ſuperior Wiſdom and Abilities, than what reſult from the *Strength* of *Money*.

To return: All that the Politicians of this Size can pretend to, is to be *Sharpers* of a higher Claſs; and the moſt able *Adept* in this half-bred Strain of Policy, would, in lower Life, have proved an expert Pick-pocket. One of theſe cunning Gentlemen once made a Propoſal to his late Majeſty King WILLIAM, which was thought very much for his Service, but very little for his Honour; it was, as I remember, to ſteal away K. *James* from *Ireland*, and to land him ſomewhere in *Spain*, and to keep him a Priſoner to wait the Event of the War, and to ſecure good Terms in a Peace. His Majeſty's Anſwer was worthy of a Man of Honour and a King of *England*: *Such a Deſign*, ſays he, *ſeems very practicable, and I believe it could hardly miſcarry*; *but it is at beſt but a* Trick, *and I hate all* Tricks, *and will never be concerned in them.* Indeed it is impoſſible to conceive of a truly Great Man and a low Mind. Such a one, by an innumerable Variety of Tricks, may ſometimes build up a *Fortune*, but very rarely a *Character*; he may paſs for a lucky Man, rather than a happy one: By the Prejudice of Fools, he may be reckoned as a ſhrewd Head; but he will, with great Difficulty, perſwade any one of the Goodneſs of his Heart.

I can with the better Mien pretend to turn this *Cunning*, this falſe Wiſdom, out of Politicks; becauſe, to the Honour of our own Country, it has been long expelled the Councils of *Great Britain*. Let other States ſhow Tricks of this ſort, who have nothing elſe to rely on: An *Engliſhman* is wiſe enough to be honeſt. He ſpeaks plain, and deſires not to be miſtaken; but every Hypocrite is a Coward. And this makes the *Engliſh* Admirals the ableſt *Embaſſadors* in *Europe*. They ſpeak in a Language which is very well underſtood in all Nations. A great Gun needs no Interpreter. *Fineſſe* and Prevarication are loſt upon it. It is a ſort of Eloquence, which is of all others the apteſt to perſwade; the Expreſſion is lofty and ſublime, full of Fire, and preſerves at the ſame time the nobleſt *Simplicity*. All the Species of State-ſophiſtry cannot ſtop the Force of ſuch Language. And thus it is that we become, not only the plaineſt and ſin cereſt People of the World, but by the Goodneſs of Providence and of our own Conſtitution, and the Wiſdom, not the *Cunning*, of our honeſt *Anceſtors* as well as *our own*, are we often to impoſe Sincerity upon all our Neighbours; to make them in earneſt with us and one another; to ſpeak out what they intend, and to abide by it afterwards.

In the many Improvements made in our Conſtitution, it is eaſy to point out many made by Valour, others by Wiſdom, ſome by Time, and not a few by Chance; but I know of none that were ever procured by Fraud or Theft, or, to keep to our Word, *Cunning*. What I am aiming to infer from this, is, that this is a Species of Knavery not of *Britiſh* Growth. The antient Inhabitants of this Iſland were certainly honeſt and plain People, and if it were allowed to make Encomiums or Cenſures in general on whole Countries, it ſeems, that when they retired to the Mountains they took their firſt Virtue and Simplicity along with them, and have preſerved it ever ſince; at leaſt, we *Engliſhmen* are apt to preſume ſo in favour of the *Welch*, of whom we ſeem fonder, and I ſuppoſe for that reaſon, than of ſome others who ſpeak our own Language, and are bound to us by many other Conſiderations.

Farther, *Cunning* is a Vice purely Perſonal, and is with the greateſt Difficulty practiſed in free *Aſſemblies* and *mixed Governments*. A cunning Man is obliged to hunt his Game alone, and to live in the Dark; he is incapable of Counſel and Advice, for his diſhoneſt Purpoſe dies upon Diſcovery. A virtuous and an honourable Action only, will bear a Conference and Freedom of Debate. And this is the Part of true Wiſdom, to be buſy and aſſiſtant in fair and worthy Deſigns. None but Fools are Knaves, for wiſe Men cannot help being honeſt. Cunning therefore is the Wiſdom of a Fool; one who has Deſigns that he dare not own. A Tyrant may be very cunning, but a juſt King adviſes with his People, and is neceſſarily a great and wiſe one: *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*, was not the Saying of an *Engliſhman.* Craft is the Engine of Slavery, but Wiſdom and Simplicity are the Foundations of Liberty. An Aſſembly cannot act by Stratagem; clear Honeſty is the beſt Politicks of a Free Government; and Liberty was the Doctrine of Primitive *Simplicity*, which is the natural Wiſdom of Mankind.

To draw theſe looſe Thoughts towards an End. If *Cunning* were any real Excellence in Humane Nature, how comes it that the greateſt and ableſt, the moſt amiable and worthy of Mankind, are often intirely without it, and vaſtly above it; while Numbers of the weaker Part of it are obſerved to be very expert in it; and ſordid and ignorant Servants, and diſhoneſt and idle Vagabonds, often attain to the higheſt Perfection in it? *Simplicity* we are ſure is natural, and the higheſt Beauty of Nature; and all that is excellent in Arts which Men have invented, is either to demonſtrate this native *Simplicity* and Truth in Nature, or to teach us to tranſcribe and copy in every Thing from it. *Simplicity* of Speech and Manners is the higheſt Happineſs as well as the greateſt Ornament of Life; whereas nothing is ſo tireſome to one's ſelf, as well as ſo odious to others, as Diſguiſe and Affectation. Who was ever cunning enough to conceal his being ſo? No Maſk ever hid itſelf. In a Word, Theſe cunning Men, though they are not declared Enemies to the World, yet they are really Spies upon it, and ought in the Juſtice of Things to be conſidered and treated as ſuch whenever they are caught. And to what Purpoſe is all this Craft? To make themſelves ſuſpected and avoided by the World in return, and to have never a Friend in it. A Knave cannot *have* a Friend, any more than he can *be* one. An honeſt Man muſt diſcover him; a Raſcal will betray him. And by this time I hope my Reader and I are agreed, that Wiſdom and Virtue are the ſame thing, as Knavery and Cunning are generally ſo too; and that for the future, we ſhall reſolve to be what we ſeem, which is the only ſure Way not to be afraid to ſeem what we really are.

Perhaps it is not neceſſary to add here, that by *Simplicity* is not at all meant the *Pretences* to it, which are made now-a-days, by many good People, who I believe very honeſtly miſtake the Thing, and while they aim at *Simplicity*, are guilty of very groſs Affectation. The Plainneſs and Integrity of Mind, which is here recommended, is very little concerned in any Quaintneſs of Habit, or Oddneſs of Behaviour: Nor is it at all of Importance to Virtue and Simplicity, that great Care is taken to appear unfaſhionable. Again, on the other ſide, I know very well that the Word *Cunning* did, in the antient Senſe of it, imply Knowledge. The Word *Ken* may perhaps be akin to it; it is of *Saxon* original, and we are told the Word *King* is derived from it. I have no Quarrel to this Conſtruction of it; but only againſt (what it is now come to ſignify) the little Subtilty of baſe minds, who are incapable of great and honeſt Actions, in which Senſe the Word is now commonly uſed.

After all, I am ſenſible this crooked Wiſdom has eſtabliſhed itſelf by the Force of an unhappy Faſhion, too firmly to be immediately exploded; and though I could wiſh my Reader would be aſhamed to live in the World by ſuch a wretched Method, yet I would warn him to be well aware of thoſe that do; and to be ſure to arm againſt them, not with the ſame Weapons, but thoſe which are of much better Proof, the Integrity of a wiſe Man, and the Wiſdom of an honeſt one.

SIMPLICIUS.

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LETTER XCI. London Journal, Auguſt 1, 1724[d].

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

THE preſent happy *Serenity* which over-ſpreads the Face of *Publick* Affairs, and which *lulls* ſome into Confidence and Security; does, I hope, *excite* in others a Concern to *tranſmit* the Bleſſings of the preſent Age, as far as humane Prudence is capable of doing it, with juſt Improvements to *Poſterity*. It is a Truth, I think, incapable of Refutation, that the *Grandeur* and *Importance* of the *Britiſh* Crown, as well as the *Wealth* and *Liberty* of the *Subject*, cannot poſſibly be *Eclipſed* by any Inſtance to be drawn from the *Hiſtory* of this Kingdom in *former* Times. The Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, which cloſed the Sixteenth Century, is, without doubt, a moſt noble Period in the *Engliſh* Annals: The *Spirit* of that *Princeſs*, the *Capacity*, *Fidelity* and *Addreſs* of her *Miniſters*, were but too long the *Boaſt*, the *Envy*, and the *Regret* of their *Deſcendants:* Still do we review the *Scene* with *Pride* and *Pleaſure*; but with *Shame* and *Self-reproach*, I hope, no more. For he who conſiders the *Acquiſitions* the Subject has made, to the Cauſe of Liberty and Property, ſince that Time, (and a very little *Political Arithmetick* will ſerve him to *make up* the *Account)* will find, if I miſtake not, no Reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the *Balance*. And whoever conſiders the true Glory of the *Crown* and *Nation*, inſeparably one and the ſame, will be led to acknowledge the pleaſing and delightful Proſpect of *Publick Happineſs*, more likely than ever now to be fixed upon a ſolid Baſis. And ſince this is ſo, fain would I, methinks, good *Britannicus*, elude, or at leaſt *defer* as long as poſſible, that *terrible* Thing, which is called by Writers, *The Declenſion of a People*; that miſerable, but too natural, *Propenſity* towards Ruin, which has been always found in every *State*, to have ſoon ſucceeded the *Criſis* of its higheſt *Political* Felicity. It will be a Work worthy of a True Lover of his Country, to point out thoſe Dangers, with which our *Proſperity* may threaten us; thoſe unſuſpected *Smooth-faced* Miſchiefs, which (like the *Adder)* are warmed into Life by the

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[d] This is the only Letter, between May 30 and November 28, which is ſuppoſed to be written by Biſhop Hoadly. There was in this Interval, among other Letters, an entire *New Adventure of Telemachus*, well deſigned to counteract the Poiſon of that *Scheme of Slavery* adopted by the Archbiſhop of Cambray. The Author was known to be the Reverend Mr. G. Stubbs; when it was afterwards publiſhed ſeparately, and well received. In the London Journal of June 6, the following Introduction was prefixed to this ſeries of Letters:

"There is nothing more remarkable, in the late *Archbiſhop* of *Cambray's Telemachus*, than that, in the midſt of "the Praiſes and Maxims of *Liberty*, He hath introduced and laid down a moſt certain Method of Religious Slavery, "in the Advices of *Mentor* to *Idomeneus*. The *Ingenious Author* of the following Piece hath in ſo beautiful as well as "effectual a Manner, ſhewn the *Fatal Conſequences* of a *Prince's* following that *Advice*; and hath ſo truly painted out, "under feigned heathen Characters, the fiery Spirit of *Popery*, and the different Temper of its Contrary; that it "muſt entertain All who can taſte the Pleaſures of Invention and Colouring; and at the ſame time convey to the "Minds of Men, Leſſons of the utmoſt Importance to the whole Race of Mankind in general, and to the Nation "of *Great Britain* in particular. BRITANNICUS."

The Editor thinks proper to apologiſe here for the Liberty he hath taken to inſert a *few* Letters, which are not ſigned *Britannicus*. Some are certainly of the Biſhop's Pen; and the others confeſſedly ſo excellent, eſpecially three on the intereſting Subject of *Suicide*, (Letters XCIII. XCIV. XCV.) that the inſerting them may not be thought to need even this Apology.

Sunſhine Seaſons, and ſhew their Strength moſt in the plenteous Harveſts of *Peace* and *Proſperity.* I dare not attempt ſo great and comprehenſive a *Subject.* My View, at preſent, is much lower, and of a more confined Nature; and what *follows*, may perhaps be hardly thought agreeable to the Dignity of ſuch a *Preface.*

Theſe publick *Calms*, I know, are generally not thought *propitious* to the *Intereſt* of *Writers*; who, like *Soldiers*, are of moſt Significancy in Times of *Difficulty* and *Danger*; and therefore, they who conſult *only* their *Intereſt*, act no doubt very rightly for themſelves, when, with all their Power and *Skill*, they firſt *trouble* thoſe *Waters* into which they intend to caſt their *Hooks* and *Baits*; and having no *Share* in the Publick *Proſperity*, expect their own *private* Advantage in its *Convulſions* and *Diſorders*. *Artful deſigning Men*, and *corrupt Mercenary* Writers, find no Occaſions ſo proper to draw into Practice their dangerous *Talents*, as the Storms of *Faction*, and the Confuſion of diſturbed Affairs. But, I hope, there are not wanting *Others*, who have a *Stake* in the Common *Peace* and Felicity, which they know how to value, and are deſirous to preſerve. We are now, I think, in the happy Situation of Security from all ſudden Danger to our *Liberty* from *Abroad*: Our *nearer* Danger may rather be from our own *Abuſe* of it *at Home.*

Of all the *Species* of *Freedom*, that which has been aſſerted with the higheſt Spirit, and the greateſt Juſtice, by *Engliſhmen*, is the Liberty of the *Preſs*; as well as that which has been practiſed with the leaſt *Modeſty* or *Decorum.* To *write well*, is the higheſt Act of the *Humane Underſtanding*; and to *judge* of Writing, requires an *Apprehenſion* and *Ability*, which muſt tally in ſome ſort with the *Knowledge* and *Art* of the *Author*: How few Perſons in the ſame Age are *equal* to the one or the other of theſe *Offices*, is eaſily apparent. From hence it is, that *Words* and *Sounds* have paſſed with ſo great Credit in the World, and the *Things* themſelves have been very much left out of the Queſtions in which they have been concerned. *Bad* Men and *Bad* Writers have, by this Means, had the ſame Credit and Intereſt as the *Good*, and, perhaps, as much as the *Beſt.* This then is one of thoſe *Evils* againſt which we ought to be *armed*; and it would be very happy if we were as able to *judge* of *Writing* as we are fond of *Reading*, that we might be aware of the *Snares* which *Liberty* has thus ſpread for herſelf, and in which ſhe will otherwiſe be one Day *entangled* and *caught.* The *Science* of juſt Writing, is indeed of too *ſubtle* and fine a Nature, to be determined by *Mechanick* Laws; it will be ſufficient for us, in this Place, to lay down ſome Rules for the better criticizing an *Author's* Morals, and forming ſome reaſonable *Gueſſes* at the *Goodneſs* of his *Heart* and the *Soundneſs* of his *Head.*

And if ever we ſhould again ſee the Day, when the *Declamatory* Manner ſhall be practiſed with its former Embelliſhments, we may very reaſonably, from what has already paſſed within our own Experience, take the Liberty to ſuſpect, either the Writer's Abilities or Integrity, or both. He that is ſo induſtrious to ſpread a *Miſt* before his Reader's Eyes, intends certainly that he ſhall ſee ſomewhat elſe than the plain *Day-light.* Appealing to the *Paſſions*, is talking to *Children*; for among *Men* they either are, or ought to be, under the Conduct and Guidance of *Reaſon.* He who thinks to gain me to his Side, without convincing my *Underſtanding*, believes me to be a *Fool* or a *Madman*, or elſe is ſo himſelf. The *Pathetick* Stile is always a faſt Friend to *Impoſture.* No wonder indeed, that ſo few *Readers* are able to withſtand it, when the Force of it is ſo great, as to captivate the *Author* himſelf; to carry him out of his own Power;

and to make him end in *Earneſt*, what he began in *Jeſt*. Might not a Reader very reaſonably cry out, when he finds his *Author* thus raiſing of *Spirits*, and conjuring with *Sounds*: "Truce a little, good *Author* of mine, with your *Eloquence*. I am very well convinced of the Amiableneſs of *Magnanimity* and *Zeal* for my *Country*, and that you cannot *warm* me too much upon thoſe *Subjects*; but, firſt, let me examine whether they are at all concerned in the preſent Queſtion; or whether you do not indeed borrow their *ſpecious* Names, meerly to aſſiſt a ſmall *Job* for Yourſelf or your *Faction*, to which they are in no ways related.—If ſo, you are to begin again with me, for my *Paſſions* and my *Underſtanding* are not ſo abſolutely the ſame Thing as you ſeem to imagine." This, I think, would be but conſiſtent with *Common Senſe*; and yet if the *Publick* could be brought to aſk the ſame ſhort Queſtion, how many elaborate Harangues would be moſt happily intercepted by it? What avails *Vehemence* and *Paſſion* in Argument? Both Sides are capable of affecting them, and nothing can be proved from them on either. *Reaſon* and *Truth* are no ways to be ſerved by ſuch *Helps*; *Temper* and *Moderation* are the beſt Friends to *them*: But *Falſhood* is ever *impetuous*, and in haſte; it is born in *Darkneſs* and *Riddles*, and dies upon being diſcovered.

Next to the *Pathetick* Manner of Writing, the *Dictatorial* and *Dogmatick* ſeem to afford the moſt reaſonable Grounds of *Suſpicion*. He who gives himſelf the Aire of inſtructing others in *this* Stile, does at the ſame time make it appear probable that he himſelf received what Knowledge he has in the ſame *arbitrary* Method; otherwiſe he could ſcarce have thought, that, in this inquiſitive and diſcerning Age, *any* Man's Reputation can be high enough to impoſe his own Opinions as a *Law* to others. If a Thing be true, it needs not a high Tone to recommend it; if not, the moſt *ſevere* and *magiſterial Brow* ought not to inforce the leaſt *Credit* to it. It is a juſt Proverb indeed, that *We are never too old to learn*; but certainly there is an Age when we ought to be paſt the Degree of School-boys, and are above being *tutored* by mere *Authority*. The *Sovereign* Manner of the *School-maſter* is very unfit for the Eaſe of a *free Conference*; and the *ſame Reſignation* of a *Lad* at School, to the *Ipſe Dico* of his *Preceptor*, ought to be no *Model* to his After-*ſearches* into *Men* and *Things*, *Manners* and *Opinions*. When one conſiders the *Profeſſion* of an *Author* as ſuch, and what it is that he *pretends* to, (nothing leſs than to *inſtruct*, or at leaſt to *entertain*, others,) one would be apt to wonder at the amazing Stock of *Self-ſufficiency* in *humane* Nature, which has been able to furniſh out ſo many of them in all Ages; at leaſt every one may reaſonably be preſumed to have a fair Occaſion of being in ſome Pain and out of Countenance for himſelf. How well ſatisfied muſt he be with himſelf, who takes upon him to be ſo much *ſuperior* to another, as to *teach* him in any manner at all; but eſpecially when we ſee him thruſt himſelf into the Diſcuſſion of *all* Subjects *alike*, without *Fear*, without Heſitation or Diſtruſt? On the other hand, it promiſes well, when we ſee a Writer enter with a Conſciouſneſs, *at leaſt*, of Humane Imperfection. *Excuſes* and Prefaces *ſound* well, if they *mean* nothing. An Author who is not too much delighted with himſelf, will vouchſafe to clear the Way as he goes, to leave not the leaſt Doubt unſatisfied; he is not to *ſlide* over *Difficulties* upon any account, of their being not worth his Notice, nor to *ſolve* them *roundly* by the meer *Stamp* of his own perſonal *Authority*. He is of all *Crimes* to be ſure to avoid that great one, of boldly and dogmatically *begging the Queſtion*; by moſt ſtedfaſtly believing, that the Humour of the Age, at leaſt the moſt diſcerning Part of it, is obſtinately reſolute never to *grant* it to mere aſſuming Authority.

The next Objection againſt the Credit of any Writings, ariſes from the *Indecency* of them. When an *Author* has once loſt the *Reſpect* which he owes the *Publick*, he has, at the ſame time, loſt all *Right* to be *heard* by It. The *Publick*, as one ſays, is not to be *abuſed to its Face*; it *may* and it *ought* to be *reprimanded*; but it muſt, upon no account, be *reviled* or *reproached.* The ſame *Decorum* and Tenderneſs, with which we preface our Advice to *private* Perſons whom we have a Value for, ought, *at leaſt*, to be maintained when we ſpeak to our *whole* Country at large: A *Satyr* giving Advice, is an *odd* Figure. There are ſome Truths of too coarſe a Nature to be told; and others, which may be juſt glanced at and alluded to: Others again may be ſpoke out, and will be kindly received. The *Seaſons* too of giving this Advice, are to be *choſen* with the utmoſt Judgement. The World is not to be *quarrelled* with, and *kickt about*, at the Diſcretion of every Writer, whether it be in *Wantoneſs* or *Anger*. My ingenious Friend, one may ſay to ſuch an *Author*, you have diverted yourſelf here very notably at my Expence; I ſee you have a good deal of *Wit*, I only want now to be as well ſatisfied of your *Honeſty*; all this may indeed have been done, as you ſay, out of *Friendſhip* to me, but the greateſt *Enemy* I have is, no doubt, ready to do me as much; pray therefore, for my particular Eaſe, (notwithſtanding any Satisfaction you may take in the Exerciſe) leave your *Whip* behind you when you make the next Viſit. In good earneſt, this *Petulancy* of Writers is inſufferable; It is the infallible Mark either of a very *weak* Mind or a *vicious* one; but being favoured too much by the *Taſte* of the *Age*, which it had firſt *depraved* and corrupted, is grown to an exceſſive Inſolence. But certainly the *Right* of *abuſing* and *reviling*, either private or publick Perſons, is no Man's Property: And we ought carefully to mark the juſt Boundaries between *Raillery* and *Invectives*. The *firſt* is always *innocent*, and at ſome times *neceſſary*; it gives but *gentle* Strokes, and proceeds upon the *honeſt* Privilege of a *Friend*: The *latter* is the Office of a *bad* Mind; it aſſumes the Aire of an *Executioner*, and adminiſters ſuch *keen Laſhes*, as can never be meant, or taken, well. The *golden* Rule in *Morals* holds exactly here. I ought ſtudiouſly to avoid every thing, which unneceſſarily gives another *Pain*; and what would be juſtly thought *ill Treatment* by myſelf, ought not to be given to others; nor am I at liberty to *expoſe* any one, becauſe I myſelf am *hardened* againſt Shame, and care not if he returns the Injury in the ſame manner.

The laſt general *Rule* which I ſhall now lay down for the *Tryal* of *popular* Writings, is carefully to examine, as far as it appears, the Author's *perſonal* Intereſt in them, and to obſerve the *Manner* in which he chuſes to ſpeak of *himſelf*. If we find him very frequently *leaving* his Subject, and *digreſſing* to the Contemplation of his *own* Character; if in the moſt ſolemn Diſcuſſions he cannot forbear leading his Reader's Thoughts *aſquint* to his own *perſonal* Abilities; if he delights to talk in the *firſt Perſon*, and ſeems fonder of *himſelf* than his *Subject*, and only of his *Subject* for the ſake of *himſelf*; we may depend upon it, that they were other Views, beſides a *Paſſion* for *Truth*, and the *Inſtruction* of his Reader, that have thus drawn him into the *Author-character*, and engaged him in a *Commerce* with the *Publick*. *Popularity*, it is true, is no *Crime*: But as we well know that the beſt *Patriots* and *honeſteſt* Men in all Ages have been contented to ſerve their Country upon much *worſe* Terms, and have oftner found it their Duty to *oppoſe* the blind Violence of the People, than to *humour* or encourage it; ſo, when we ſee a Writer groſly and avowedly *angling* for *Popularity*, and for that *only*, we may very reaſonably be allowed to enquire what *Truth* he has *ſuppreſſed*, what *Arguments ſacrificed*, to ſerve that *poor* and *unworthy* Purpoſe? To conclude, *Virtue* and *Wiſdom* ought to be the *End* of all *Writings* as well as of *Life* itſelf: They are indeed the *Perfection* of *Humane Policy*; and were they, more than they are, the *Arguments* of our *Politick* Writings, the preſent *proſperous* Eſtate of *Great-Britain* would then be *delivered* from one of thoſe *Dangers*, which ariſes from its very *Liberty* itſelf. And ſo we are returned to the Point from whence we ſet out. A Writer, who ſhall thus *proceed* to *reform* the Publick *Taſte*, and thereby endeavour to *inſure* its *future* Felicity, will be ſure to be rewarded (whatever elſe he may miſs) with that conſcious Triumph and Boſom Satisfaction which ever waits on honeſt Actions, and is only the generous Senſation of great and worthy Minds. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

BRITANNUS.

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LETTER XCII. LONDON JOURNAL, Auguſt 15, 1724.

SIR,

I DO not flatter myſelf, that the following Reflections are of that Weight in themſelves, or ſo put together, as to command a Place in your Paper: I ſhall be well ſatisfied, if you think fit to give them one for the Sake of the good Deſign that will appear to be in them.

It is not, I am ſenſible, every one, who judges rightly in the common Tranſactions of Life, or who pleaſes in Converſation, or underſtands the World and the Affairs of it tolerably, that is yet qualified to ſpeak to the Publick, or can think with that Cloſeneſs that is requiſite, on Subjects curious enough for general Entertainment: However, there are certain Cataſtrophes belonging to humane Nature, that rouſe us, whether we will or no; that, as it were, ſurprize one into Attention, and may poſſibly puſh the Soul beyond its ordinary Strength: Of this ſort, it may be, among others, is *Suicide* or Voluntary Death; at leaſt, ſome late Inſtances of it affected me in ſuch a Manner, and appeared to me under ſuch Circumſtances, as threw me into a Seriouſneſs of Mind, which I could not get over, without examining into the Matter as far as my Abilities would permit.

As to thoſe unfortunate Perſons, whom a diſtempered Habit of Body, thick melancholy Blood, or Lunacy of whatever kind, drives to lay violent Hands on themſelves, nothing that may be ſaid by me on this Subject is to be underſtood to take in, or in the leaſt to relate to them; they are as much out of the Queſtion in this Enquiry, as Men who die by a natural or an accidental Death. Thoſe only are in my View, who reſolve on their own Death, and perpetrate it with calm and undiſturbed Spirits; whether they take this Method to fly from Adverſity, or through a Wearineſs of Life bid adieu to proſperous Fortune; whether, tired with the ſame tedious Rotation of Things, they court Death, as it were, for the Sake of its own Charms, unprovoked either by preſent Ills, or the Apprehenſion of future; or whether they ſeek it as a Refuge from Pain, Sorrow, and Diſtreſs: I have thoſe only, I ſay, in my View, who rid themſelves of their Being, as a perfectly reaſonable Action, in the intire Poſſeſſion of their beſt Reaſon, and as ſimply preferring, in their Circumſtances, Death to Life; thoſe, who do it under the Senſe or Imagination of great Evils; and thoſe who do it in ſerene Days, in Hours of Sunſhine, and when the Eaſt Winds do not blow; thoſe, I mean, in whom their fatal Purpoſe is not aided (as far as appears) by any unhappy Temperament in their own Conſtitutions, or by any Gloomineſſes in the Face of Nature.

With Reſpect to ſuch Men, what ſhall we ſay of them, or in what Manner entertain their Misfortune? Events of this tragical Kind, I well know, are commonly received by the Vulgar, either with Levity, or I know not what Barbarity: But it is otherwiſe with better Natures, and Hearts of Senſibility. Was it poſſible, for Inſtance, to remain unconcerned, when I heard, the other Day, that *Philander* had diſmiſſed himſelf by a Piſtol? Is it enough to tell me, that Death is a Benefit, not an Evil; and that he, who ran to it of his own Accord, did himſelf a ſolid Good? But do I know this certainly? Many, many Points of the higheſt Importance muſt be proved, before I can embrace ſuch a Comfort as This. Is it enough to ſay, *Perhaps*, he has judged rightly?—*Poſſibly*, he has acted well and wiſely, and for his Intereſt? It is as eaſy, and much more reaſonable to ſay, You can have no tolerable Proof of this. And the loweſt Reply to ſuch *Poſſibilities* is enough. How can you be ſure, after a Man has thrown away his Breath, and diſimpriſoned his Spirit, that he would not, as *Virgil* ſays, be glad, on any Terms, to return to Fleſh again, and be content to bear even Poverty, and the bittereſt Trials of Life?

—— Quam vellent æthere in alto
Pauperiem & vitæ duros perferre labores!

To come more cloſely to the Point: The Right of exerciſing the Power which Men are ſeen to have over their own Lives, has, I know very well, been denied by almoſt the univerſal Voice of Mankind for many Ages; but not by all, upon the beſt and moſt rational Grounds. It is, I agree, highly laudable, and in political Societies, abſolutely neceſſary, to oppoſe and diſcourage all we can the *Exerciſe* of this *Power*; but then, when we are diſputing this Point with Men of Senſe and and Reaſon, this ought to be done with Truth and Candor, not by fooliſh and ſophiſtical Arguments: In a Word, not by ſuch Reaſonings as are either taken from popular Clamours, or are ſo ſenſibly abſurd, that they can only in the End ſerve to harden (never to convince) thoſe Perſons, who pretend to appeal to *Principles* on the other Side of this Queſtion. Of this latter ſort I ſhall give one Inſtance at preſent, which I believe has rather made Diverſion upon this Subject, than ever given Satisfaction; and that is, the Imputation of *Cowardiſe*, laid upon this Action, by ſome ſubtle Diſputants; who contend that whoever commits it, his Motive to it is *Fear*; he is afraid of Pain and Poverty, he dare not encounter the Ills of Life, and the like. Now, if this be right, with the ſame Truth and Ingenuity, may I affirm, that he who fights in Defence of his Country, and meets his Fate with an intrepid Heart, does ſo through *Cowardiſe*; he dare not ſtand the Diſgrace of a contrary Behaviour, he is afraid of Shame and Contempt. Theſe two Caſes, as to the Argument of them, are exactly alike, and of the ſame Tenour. But, is it *Puſillanimity* or *Fearfulneſs*, to be able to grapple with and ſubdue the ſtrongeſt Paſſion radicated in our Nature, the Love of Life? Does it argue *Timorouſneſs*, to ſet at nought the natural Flatteries and Pleaſures of Exiſtence; Ideas which ſubſiſt and have their Force even in Pain and Anguiſh; and to defy (as ſuch unhappy Perſons do) whatever can poſſibly happen after? Is it *Fear*, to do a Deed, which almoſt all Mankind have always dreaded to do? Is *Fear* only concerned in parting with *Life*, and *Courage* not ſeen but in preſerving it? Certainly the Nature of Words and Things is not at once to be utterly ſubverted, to keep in Countenance a Piece of Chicanery. Shall it be accounted *Courage*, only to hazard Life, where there are many Chances of eſcaping, and where Fame, Glory and Preferment attend the doing it; and is it *Cowardiſe*, to put an abſolute End to it, without any of thoſe Inducements? Is it a *valiant* Thing, but to approach towards the Confines of Danger, buoyed up with many ſecret Hopes of Safety, and kept in Heart with the View of Reſcue and Deliverance; and will you call it *Timidity*, to ruſh into certain, inſtant, irremediable Death? I remember indeed a Saying of a great Man, (famous for *Wit* in the laſt Age, rather than for perſonal Courage) That *every Man would be a* Coward *if He* durſt; which he applied to *Duels* and *Battles*, and every *hazardous Adventure*. But though this be very prettily ſaid, and may by a certain Manner of Interpretation be applied, in an improper Senſe of the Words, to ſome Inſtances of the Kind; yet it is but a *witty* Way of *playing with Words*; and when applied to the Caſe now before us, has, I fear, rather done Miſchief, than made any Impreſſion of Good. For indeed, to talk in this Style to Perſons engaged in this Argument, is to affront them, by attempting to impoſe on them in their plaineſt and moſt natural Apprehenſions of Things, and inmoſt Sentiments of their own State and Condition.

Let Mens Actions therefore, (that I may reſume the Propoſition I began with) be fairly ſcanned and examined into; let them be cenſured in whatever they truly deſerve Cenſure; but we muſt not confound the Nature of Things: And as we muſt not call an open bare-faced Injuſtice a Deed of Treachery, nor an ill-judged Kindneſs the Effect of Malice; in like Manner, he who deliberately puts an End to his own Life, may juſtly, I am perſwaded, be cenſured, as led by a corrupted Judgement, and guilty of a criminal Act; but it is as abſurd to ſay he is a *Coward*, as it would be to ſay, that he who laviſhes away his Eſtate in one particular Way, is a *Miſer*: or to go on to all other Inſtances of *Virtue* and *Vice*, *Excellencies* and *Imperfections*, and change our whole Language, and new model all our Words.

Fortitude, it is granted, and Firmneſs of Soul, are very much ſeen in the well ſuſtaining an afflicted Condition of Life; but ſurely they have ever been thought to be more ſeen in the Scorn of Life itſelf. Men are very much alarmed at the Approach of Poverty, but not ſo much as at the Approach of Death: The near Proſpect of Calamity, it is true, diſmays us, but not with that Terror we are ſtruck with from the imminent Danger of periſhing; and this I believe, no one will go about to controvert, who has the leaſt Knowledge of humane Nature. Beſides, there is a great deal of Difference between paſſive and active Courage; it is one Thing to ſuffer patiently, it is another to be bold and daring. Conſtancy in enduring Trouble, may indeed have ſomewhat in it of the Nature of Courage, but it is not what is truly ſignified by that Word. In an accurate and philoſophical Way of Thinking, the ordinary Caſes and Diſtreſſes of Life are not properly Subjects for *Courage*; and we cannot be truly ſaid to be *afraid* of them, however deſirous we may be to avoid them. What we commonly call the Fear of Want, or of Diſgrace, is not *Fear*, in the Senſe of the Word now before us; it is a different Affection, or a Mixture of different Affections: If it be called *Fear*, it is Fear qualified, compounded with Grief, Inquietude, and other Paſſions. To moderate and keep in Bounds theſe Paſſions, has its Merit, and may, in a good Senſe, be called Fortitude; but to be unſhaken in Danger, to hazard Life by Choice, for our Country's Service, or through Thirſt of Honour, this is properly ſpeaking, poſitive *Courage*: and ſo is any *daring Action*, as Courage is oppoſed to *Fear* or *Cowardiſe*. We are apt to ſay, and rightly enough in common Language, that we are *afraid* of loſing a Friend we tenderly love, or afraid of being diſappointed in our Affairs; but the Feeling we experience in ſuch a Situation, is not in Reality *Fear*, as that ſignifies the *Want* of *Courage*, any more than it is Envy or Anger, or any other ſuch Working of the Mind.

To ſtate this Point as candidly as may be: The Courage or Fortitude which is ſeen in the Contempt of Danger and Death, is for the moſt Part conſtitutional; it is Force of Nature, the Spring and Tone of Heart, if I may ſo call it, generally given a Man at his Birth: That which is ſeen in the manly bearing up againſt Adverſity, reſults more from Thought; it is Reflection, it is Reaſon, it is Wiſdom. When a Man then deliberately deſtroys his own Life, Courage certainly is the Quality leaſt wanting to him; and whatever other Defects or *Guilt* he may have, he cannot be argued of Cowardiſe. He who preſerves his Life patient of all the Severities of Living, has, it is, true, a much righter Way of thinking, a better Judgement, a better Heart, and more regulated Will; but is not more ſtout or bold: The *One* may be ſaid (if he contends for it) to act with Intrepidity; the *Other* thinks more juſtly, more vertuouſly, and more becoming his Nature and Condition. Thus widely different, thus diſtinct in their proper Nature, are theſe two Qualities, or Species of Fortitude. *Philander*, in the midſt of an affluent Income, with a chearful Heart, and without one particular Diſcontent, as far as appears, quits his Poſt, and ruſhes out of Life voluntarily and deliberately: *Philander*, no doubt, was a Man of an undaunted daring Spirit. *Ariſtides*, on the contrary, manfully endures Life under want of Health, want of Fortune, crowded Diſappointments, Oppreſſions, Hardſhips: *Ariſtides*, therefore looks deeper into Things, and reaſons better; and, I may add, he has likewiſe equal Courage with *Philander*, but his Piety and good Senſe do not permit him to exert it in the ſame Way; nor will he purchaſe either that ſpecious Character, or a *Quietus* from Miſery, by what he believes to be a *Crime*. I approve, I applaud *Ariſtides*, and admire his Behaviour; but at the ſame Time, I think myſelf at Liberty to pity *Philander*, and to wiſh it had been in my Power to have diſabuſed him before it had been too late.

By this Time, Sir, I apprehend I have proceeded on my Subject, as far as the uſual Compaſs of a Letter of this ſort admits of. But as I am tender, in ſo delicate an Argument, of leaving the leaſt Room for Miſconſtruction, I muſt beg Leave, before I conclude, to declare plainly, that when I come to aſſert in full my Senſe, concerning *Suicide*, and to lay down my Reaſons of diſapproving and condemning it, as an Action in its own Nature criminal, as well as oftentimes terrible for ſuch Conſequences, as ought to weigh, in the Apprehenſion of them, with all Men of good and generous Tempers; I ſhall do it with the Regard that is due to Truth and Virtue, and the great Origin of them; and in ſuch a manner, as I hope, will leave no Ground at all, even for the leaſt Apology for ſuch a Conduct. In my next I ſhall advance onward towards this Mark; and in the mean Time, I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

THEOPHILUS.

LET-

LETTER XCIII. LONDON JOURNAL, Auguſt 22, 1724.

Continuation of the former Subject.

SIR,

AS to the Argument which imputes Cowardiſe to the Action of a Man's putting an End to his own Life, enough at leaſt has been ſaid for the Refutation of what is abſurd in itſelf, and what I fear, has done more Miſchief than Good upon the preſent Subject; and therefore, I will have done with it, after I have barely remarked that the *Antients*, who were to be ſure very good Judges of Magnanimity, and great Friends to *Valour*, never governed their Judgements of This, by any ſuch Maxim; nor ever thought of ſuch an Imputation upon it.

And now I have mentioned the *Antients*, before I proceed farther in my *Deſign*, which has regard to the preſent State of this Affair, and to our own World; I will look back a little upon their Examples, and ſhew how weakly they are urged to juſtify Modern Practices; and how the preſent Patrons of the Practice ought to bluſh at the Memory of them.

The firſt Inſtance I ſhall mention, ſhall be that of *Otho*. He had been always reckoned a Man of a feeble Spirit, full of Softneſs and Effeminacy: There appeared in his whole Behaviour nothing like Courage or manly Virtue, his Life being luxurious, abandoned to Riot and Vices of the moſt abject Nature. He was juſtly, therefore, in general Diſeſteem for *Valour*, or any great Undertaking, among the *Romans*. In a critical Moment, he deliberately killed himſelf. But for what? Not becauſe he was diſappointed in Love, or in *Ambition*;—not becauſe it was a cloudy Day, or becauſe the *Wind* was in the *Eaſt*: but becauſe he thought his Death would put an end to a bloody Conteſt, and give his Country Peace and Security. It is upon *this* Account, and for the Sake of this Principle of Love to his Country, that the *Romans* extolled this Action, and thought nothing in their Annals equalled the Gallantry and Greatneſs of that Conduct: That One brave Action, as *they* judged it, (who conſidered all Actions chiefly with a View to their Country, and had not the Light which we enjoy;) at once obliterated in their Minds the Memory of all his paſt mean Ones; they conceived and ſpoke of him as of a Prince of the higheſt Courage and Magnanimity; and, far from conſtruing his falling by his own Hand to be from a Principle of Fear, they could not believe that he had ever been capable even of an unworthy Thought or Deſign; ſo that it grew to a common Opinion, that when he depoſed *Galba*, he did not do it out of Ambition, but that his true Intention was to reſtore the Commonwealth to Liberty. Thus *he*, who before, for his abandoned Life, had been the Deteſtation and Scorn of *Rome*, was now, merely, on Account of a ſurprizing and daring Fact, cauſed by the Love of his Country, become the Boaſt and Wonder of it. *Tacitus*, making mention of this Action, reckons it worthy of immortal Renown. Other Authors, charmed, as it were with this generous Death, choſen, as they all thought, for his Country's Good, ſeem to think it more the Effect of ſome ſudden Inſpiration, or Impulſe from Heaven, than proceeding from pure human Reſolution, or a Heart in Appearance ſo unſtrung and enervate as that of *Otho*; accounting it as ſomething rather ſuperior to Courage, than below it. All Men, in a Word, among the *Antients*, conſpired in beſtowing the higheſt Eulogies on this Emperor, on this Occaſion. Nor was he himſelf, as appears by his Speech, unconſcious of the honourable Judgement Mankind would make of his Exit, and the Glory that would follow it; he was throughly convinced, his Death would be underſtood as an undoubted Proof of the Reſoluteneſs and Intrepidity of his Spirit, upon ſo great and uncommon an Occaſion. The Death of *Otho*, we ſee, voluntarily brought upon himſelf, had in it many Circumſtances, agreeable to the heroick Notions of *Romans*, and *Patriots* in thoſe Days: It was an Act of Courage, beautified, as it were, and painted over with diverſe of the Virtues moſt lovely then in their Eyes: The Benevolence towards his Soldiers, and the Love of his Country, that were ſeen in it, made it to them, ſtrangely amiable; and in this View of it it could not but highly conciliate their Hearts and Affections to his Memory. The Courage of the Thing was admired as what was wholly unexpected from ſuch a Man; the Goodneſs of the Deed, as it was deſigned to prevent many publick Evils, though it added nothing to the Intrepidity of it, yet gave it its great Merit in their Eyes; the Generoſity of it, though it did encreaſe its Fortitude, yet it adorned it. The ſame Valour might have been put in practice upon low, mean, and vicious Views; but could not have been celebrated as a *virtuous* Act, even by thoſe *Heathens*, without the Greatneſs and Goodneſs of the End propoſed by it. This Conſideration, though far from ſufficient to juſtify the *Fact*, in the exact Balance of Reaſon, which alone would have taught him, that he was not a proper Judge, whether his Life or his Death were more for the Advantage and Happineſs of his Country; yet is fully ſufficient to put to Shame all the modern Pleas and *Pretences* for the ſame *Action*, undertaken and performed upon baſe, low, unmanly, or wicked Motives: as may be more fully ſeen hereafter.

If from the *Death* of *Otho*, we proceed to the Deaths of thoſe illuſtrious *Romans*, *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Caius Caſſius*, or others; whatever Judgement we paſs upon them, yet it muſt be acknowledged, that there was ſomething in their Cauſe ſo greatly uncommon, and ſo exceedingly out of the preſent Road of Life, that it can hardly be brought into our Debate, but with a View of more clearly concluding againſt what properly belongs to it, in the preſent State of this Affair in our World.—To be of that Diſtinction and Importance in one's ſelf, that it would miſbecome one to outlive the Liberties of one's Country, and ill conſiſt with Honour to behold a Superior, or lie at the Mercy of another; — To ſink in one Ruin with a State one has long ſtruggled to prop up and defend;—To be of a Character in Life, that to live would be tacitly countenancing Oppreſſion and Tyranny;—To ſtand ſo in the Eye of the World, that the ſtaying in it would give Sanction to Injuſtice; — Or to be able by our Death, to benefit Thouſands;—Or ſave a Nation from Civil War;—Theſe are the *Pretences*, and expreſs Allegations, which alone covered thoſe Names from Infamy in ſuch an *Action*; and made it ſpoken of with Honour.

And ſuppoſing ſuch Excuſes to be admitted for Thoſe of that Age, yet theſe are Circumſtances that have rarely happened, and perhaps may not again; and therefore, in their Nature are wholly out of the Queſtion in a Diſcourſe, which reſpects Men only in the ordinary Situation of humane Life, and in the Way and Turn of the *Age* we live in: Eſpecially conſidering that, in the Days of theſe

Great Men, *Suicide* had not been made a ſtanding Sin; neither Religion nor Opinion had eſtabliſhed it for a Crime; nor was it received in the Catalogue of Things abſolutely unlawful: And whatever it may be in its own Nature, they perhaps were not at Leiſure, or did not ſee the Neceſſity of examining into it, as carefully as their acknowledged Talents would have enabled them to do; or perhaps, if they had done ſo, they might not have reaſoned themſelves out of an Opinion of its Lawfulneſs, as not having thoſe more pure and perfect Ideas of the Author of Being, that we have ſince gained from later Diſcoveries of Philoſophy or Revelation. I need not ſay then, that theſe *Renowned Names* give no Sanction to thoſe ridiculous or mean Deaths, which we are ſometimes Witneſſes to, and for which thoſe, who would patronize them, ſometimes appeal to the moſt celebrated Names, as they think them, in Antiquity. For, not now to mention, that the *Romans* themſelves made a Jeſt of thoſe who pretended to imitate theſe Great Men, without being in the ſame, or the like Circumſtances and Stations; or that the very beſt *Philoſophers* amongſt the Heathens, did utterly condemn this Practice, (as a raſh forſaking the Station the Providence of their Gods had placed Men in;)—ſhould any Man now have it in his Power to acquaint the Ghoſt of *Cato* or *Brutus*, that there was a Country, in which Men often deliberately and coolly diſpatch themſelves, and voluntarily fly out of Life; *One*, becauſe his *Miſtreſs* is not propitious to his Paſſion; *Another*, becauſe his ſordid Love of Money has been diſappointed; *Another*, becauſe he has diſſipated his whole Fortune in the moſt diſſolute and abandoned Luxury and Debauchery; *Another*, becauſe his *Scheme* for Advancement to Honour has been daſhed to Pieces; *Another*, becauſe in the midſt of Hoards of Money, he is terrified with the Dread of future Want; and *Others*, perhaps, becauſe the Weather lies heavy upon them, and the Wind blows from an unfavourable Corner; and ſhould they be acquainted, that in all theſe Caſes, *their Names* and *their Examples* are appealed to;—what would they ſay? They would declare it a Country of *Madmen* and *Fools*; and lament their own Fate, to be cited for the Juſtification or Excuſe of odious, baſe and unſeemly Actions, which have no Pretence worthy of a *Man*, to cover them.

Not that I am at all juſtifying thoſe Great Men themſelves. On the contrary, many Things might be urged againſt thoſe Ancients, even upon their own *Scheme*, and the Principles of Reaſon. If I ſhould ſay, that the Death of *Cato* was a Mixture of *Impatience* and *Pride*; that he ought in Love to his Country to have reſerved himſelf for a better Opportunity of ſerving it; that it is probable, from the Events which followed, that he might afterwards have been an Inſtrument of Good to it; that he raſhly, and in a Paſſion, judged of what he could not well judge of; that it was a ſullen Pride of Heart not to deign to live, becauſe, in one Trial, his Cauſe had not been ſucceſsful; and that a true Greatneſs of Soul had been more ſeen, even in accepting his Life (if that had been neceſſary) at the Hands of the Man, in whoſe Power omnipotent Providence, or *Fate*, (which he believed irreſiſtible) had put it:—All this would be hard to be refuted upon the Principles of *any* Philoſophy. But this is not what I at preſent have in my Intention; but only to *ſhame* Men from making Uſe of ſuch Names where they have no Concern; and from pretending a Reſemblance where every Circumſtance is unlike.

And having done this, my chief Buſineſs is to argue with Thoſe of the preſent Age, who pretend to argue upon this Subject; and to do it with a View entirely to the preſent State of the Caſe, and the preſent Situation of the World about us, without entring into any imaginary or merely poſſible Caſes, which perhaps never did exiſt, and probably never will. The Bounds of a *Letter* will not ſuffer me to finiſh *this* now: but I hope to do it in my next.

I am, &c.

THEOPHILUS.

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LETTER XCIV. LONDON JOURNAL, Auguſt 29, 1724.

A Concluſion of the foregoing Subject.

SIR,

WHENEVER Actions are of ſuch a Nature, that all Men cannot impmediately ſatisfy themſelves as to the Virtue, Vice, or Indifferency of them, and that the Moral Good or Evil that is in them appears in ſome Views to be diſputable; or whenever Pains have been taken, and ſpecious and artful Reaſonings employed, to take off from the Clearneſs of the Notions we ſhould otherwiſe naturally have had about them: In reſpect of ſuch Actions, the beſt we can do to come at the Truth, is to bring them, if we can, to the Standard of Truth, *viz.* the known Will of God; or if that cannot be done, to examine them comparatively with other Actions, concerning which God's Will is known; and, laſtly, if we can neither find out his Will as to theſe Matters, or any Traces of it in the open authentick Records of it, nor indirectly, and by relation, we muſt then ſearch for it elſewhere; we muſt endeavour to find it in the general Diſpenſations of his Providence, in the Syſtem of Things about us, or in the Heart and Soul of Man.

Thus might I very well diſcover, though Authority, Impoſture or Craft had eſtabliſhed the contrary, that I ought not to hurt or deſtroy my own Offſpring. I feel within myſelf a Tenderneſs toward them ſo exquiſite, ſo potent, that I cannot poſſibly diveſt myſelf of it; a Tenderneſs, which none but a Parent can feel, and which a childleſs Man can hardly have an adequate Idea of. To what Intent was this Inſtinct given me? No doubt, that I ſhould take Care of and provide for my Children. Infinite Wiſdom always attains its Ends by ſimple and natural Methods; and it is utterly inconceivable of God, and contradictory to any rational Notions we can poſſibly entertain of him, that he ſhould order Things ſo as to thwart and fruſtrate his own Deſigns, and that when he ordains one End, he ſhould uſe Means which lead to another. I conclude, therefore, from the very Frame of my Being, that it is my Duty to love and cheriſh my Progeny. I want no other Demonſtration for it but my own Heart; nor will I ſtruggle to act againſt this Bent, and to do Violence to my Nature, unleſs I have a poſitive undoubted Divine Commiſſion for it, a new immediate Law to ſuperſede the original one fixed in my Soul. Now, let this Rule, or Way of Thinking, be applied to the Caſe before us, *Suicide*; and we ſhall perceive, without much Difficulty, that it was manifeſtly the original Deſign of God, that Man ſhould not be the Arbitrary Diſpoſer of his own Life. If this had not been his Deſign, he would have left Men entirely free and uninfluenced, as to their Choice of Life or Death, equally capable to prefer either, as ſhould beſt ſuit in their Judgement their Conveniency, and not have planted a Biaſs in their Nature ſo ſtrongly to determine them one Way; he would have left them at Liberty to take leave of Life freely when they pleaſed, without

Pain, Reluctance and Irreſolution, and have made it an Action of the ſame Indifferency as any other; at leaſt what they might do, without going in a manner out of the Conditions of their Nature, without breaking through the very Texture of it, and exerting, as it were, more than humane Energy: In a Word, the Creator would not have armed Life with a Dread of Death that can very rarely be overcome, nor involved the Contemplation of it in ſo many appalling Doubts and Apprehenſions, if the quitting it of our own Accord had been agreeable to the Views and Schemes of his Providence. This Way, then, may we collect our Maker's Will in this Queſtion; he has way-laid the Roads to Death with Ambuſcades of Terror, on Purpoſe to prevent our voluntary Approaches to it; he has planted in Man's Heart the Artillery and the Guards that are to conduct him ſafely to his natural Period and Determination in this World. The Cherubim and the flaming Sword may ſtill be ſaid, in one Senſe, to have their Station at the Entrance to the Tree of Life.

To ſum up this Account: If it were the Deſign and Will of God, that Man ſhould put an End to his Life at Diſcretion, then God did not act ſuitably to that Deſign, in making it ſo difficult, and generally next to impoſſible, for him to do it: But God, as a Being of infinite Perfection and Wiſdom, muſt neceſſarily be uniform in all his Doings, and cannot be ſuppoſed to act inconſiſtently, nor in contradiction to his own Purpoſes, for that were a Mark of Weakneſs and Imperfection; and therefore, it cannot be agreeable to his Will, that Men ſhould diſpoſe of their Lives when they pleaſe.

And that God does not act contradictorily to his own Schemes, is evident, not only from his Perfections and Attributes, but alſo from our Experience. For, if we conſult the whole Tenor of our Duty, either as it is dictated to us by Reaſon or Revelation, we ſhall find, that nothing is required of Men, as ſuch, but what is agreeable to their Nature; nothing which they have not in their beſt Eſtate, a Promptitude towards, and are not directed to by the Bent of their own Minds, when not corrupted, nor warped from their firſt Simplicity. As therefore the moſt certain and infallible Teſt of an Action is its Agreeableneſs or Repugnancy to God's Will; ſo that Agreeableneſs or not to his Will, cannot be ſeen more manifeſtly, than from its Agreeableneſs or otherwiſe to unbiaſſed, uncorrupted Nature, which is the Creator's internal Revelation of himſelf, prior and ſuperior to all others; which are obligatory only as they agree with that Original one; and which, in Fact, have never been delivered and interpoſed, but to regulate and guide the Operations of our Wills under it. But *Suicide* is plainly repugnant to Nature, and conſequently, muſt be repugnant to the Deſign of God.

But farther: Whenever an Action is good and virtuous, it is not only natural, but carries with it a Felicity flowing from and eſſential to the very Nature of it. Paternal, Conjugal, Filial Affection, are they not full of Delight? Juſtice, Friendſhip, Beneficence, all the Offices of Humanity, and the whole Train of Virtues; does not the Exerciſe of them adminiſter the moſt ſincere and laſting Joy? The Propenſity there is in us towards them, and the Satisfaction there is in the doing them, does, in Diſpoſitions not debauched, lead almoſt irreſiſtibly to the Practice of them: We have, when we are about them, no boding miſgiving Thoughts, no forbidding Whiſpers, no ſecret Reluctancy; Comfort, Complacency of Mind, and a gratulating Conſcience, always accompany ſuch Actions: But it is otherwiſe with the Act of deſtroying our Being; Nature is moſt paſſionately abhorrent from it; it throws our whole Frame into a Tumult; and let a Man's Spirit be ever ſo reſolved for this Purpoſe, let his Courage be ever ſo high, he ſtill finds within him a Draw-back, that ſilently with-holds him from it; there is in his Soul, a certain Averſion and Terror; and his Heart, in ſpite of himſelf, ſhrinks away from it, as naturally as the *Paſſion-flower* folds up its Leaves, and retires at the Approach of Rain. Upon the whole, therefore, we may ſafely conclude *Suicide* to be ſuch an Action, as cannot be approved of by God: For, had it ſuited with the Reaſons of his Creation of Man, it had not been ſo powerfully guarded and provided againſt; and if it was not contrary to his Will, it would not be contrary to Nature: If it was ſimply and in itſelf a virtuous Action, it would be a pleaſurable one; and if of an indifferent Nature, neither Pleaſure nor Pain would attend the Commiſſion of it.

In the unenlightened Days of Mankind, in Ages and Countries that had not received the Chriſtian Faith, the Argument within us againſt *Suicide*, though not ſupported by a general Opinion of its Unlawfulneſs, was yet equally ſtrong, as now; and perhaps more ſo, from the Diſtruſt and Uncertainty Men were in, as to Futurity. General Opinion only influences the Vulgar; but that Diſtruſt and Uncertainty had equal Force on All, and heightened in all alike their natural Dread of Dying. Ignorant as Men then were, what was to become of them after this Life; whether they were to ſink into Nothing, or to continue in Exiſtence; whether they were to go to a State of Bliſs or Wretchedneſs; whether as *Pythagoras* taught the Soul of Man tranſmigrated into other Bodies, and animated new Machines on this Earth; or whether, as others held, when let looſe from theſe Organs of ours, it drank deep Draughts of Oblivion, to be called up, after a Thouſand Years, into Life again, under ſome different Dreſs and Character; or whether this ſame Soul was to paſs through nobler and better Changes of Being, aſcending from one Orb or World to another, ſtill advancing in Strength and Beauty, and riſing from a leſs Degree of Excellence to a greater, till at length it had gained the utmoſt Bliſs and Perfection its Nature was originally capable of; whether our Earth was only a Nurſery, out of which conſtant Colonies ſhould be ſent to people fairer Climates; or whether Man was to come to an utter End in the ſame Place where he had his Beginning: *Ignorant*, I ſay, as Men were of theſe Things, and encompaſſed with an Infinity of Doubts, they were, in Effect, neceſſarily determined to ſuffer Life under every Extremity; they could not venture raſhly upon a Journey into a Country, from whence none ever returned to bring them Tidings, but rather choſe to ſit down contented with their preſent Ills, than *fly*, as *Shakeſpear* has it, *to others that They know not of.* Such Care, ſuch Precaution, has God at all Times employed to guard Men's Lives againſt themſelves; nor could he, indeed, have well done more, unleſs he had made their Bodies inviolable Proof againſt Poiſon, and impaſſible to Steel. And as he could not well have done more, neither would leſs have been ſufficient for anſwering his Deſign. He foreſaw, when he created Man, all the poſſible Cauſes, numberleſs as they are, of Miſery and Unhappineſs in humane Nature; he well knew that Pain, Poverty, Diſcontent, Pride of Heart, even the Shew of Virtue itſelf, and a Thouſand Things beſides, would often put the Unfortunate upon the deſperate *Project* of Ending themſelves; and therefore he wiſely planted in their own Natures the Remedy againſt it, and would not wholly truſt it to any other Channel.

It is not of Importance to us to know or enquire, what the Grounds may be of God's ſo peculiar Care in this Matter, or how the Schemes of his Creation are to be fulfilled by it hereafter: It is enough, that we know what now, I hope, is evidently made out, that this Action, *Suicide*, is directly repugnant to his

Will, and to his fixed Purpoſe in the Creating of Man; conſequently, it cannot but be diſpleaſing to him, and muſt carry in it no common Character of Guilt; for it is certain, if any thing be certain, that nothing is more poſitively our Duty, than to conform ourſelves in all Things to the Deſigns and Will of *God*, whenever we can come to a clear Knowledge of them. Obedience to him, is the firſt and fundamental Condition of our Being; nor are we to preſume to aboliſh or ſet at nought his Laws, on any Pretences whatſoever, whether we read thoſe Laws in his revealed Will, or in our own Souls and Natures. It is this Obedience, this Regard, and Piety towards him, which alone can entitle us to his Favour: And what ought we to be ſo deſirous of as the Favour of God? What is there that can be of ſuch Avail to us, and that we ought to labour after with ſo much Earneſtneſs? This Favour it is, which is able to reſcue us from all the Ills humane Nature can ſuſtain or dread, and which can bring about Revolutions in our Affairs that we ourſelves could not even have hoped for: So that no Conſideration can be wanting to induce us to bear Life manfully, however calamitous our Condition may be in it: In doing ſo, we are ſure to pleaſe God; by the contrary, we are ſure to offend him; and what good Man would not rather bear the Evils of a momentary State, than knowingly diſpleaſe the Author of his Being? What wiſe Man would not rather ſubmit to the worſt could befall him here in a *ſhort* Life, than run the leaſt Riſque of offending him on whom his Welfare and Happineſs muſt depend hereafter, as well as at preſent; not only in this Life, but through all Eternity? It is whatever Men, of volatile and unſtable Judgements may think to the contrary, it is the laſt and utmoſt Wiſdom of Man to direct and govern his Conduct by the Will of his Creator; and not to let any, even the minuteſt, of his Actions paſs, without aſking himſelf this Queſtion, How will this Deed of mine be approved of by God, and what Figure will it make in his Eye?

Thus, Sir, I have gone through the main Conſiderations in this Argument, that I propoſed at my firſt ſetting out: And though I have not done it with all the Regularity I could have wiſhed; yet the Subſtance of them being laid down, any one may improve them in his own Thoughts with more Force. You ſee the Reſult of my Thoughts upon this Matter. To kill one's ſelf, I do not make an Act of Cowardiſe; nor the Mark of an abject Spirit; nor the certain Characteriſtick of a fooliſh weak Mind: But I attack it upon a much higher and a more moving Principle. My Argument is, that it is plainly repugnant to the Will of God, and the Schemes of his Providence; it is to contravene, to thwart, and overthrow, what in us lies, his manifeſt Purpoſes; and as ſuch, it cannot but be highly affronting to him: In a Word, it is in ſo peculiar a Senſe an Offence againſt God, conſidered as the Creator and Governour of the World, that perhaps, in this View, it can hardly be paralleled by any other *Action* in the Power of Man to commit; or be ſufficiently condemned by all, who ever think juſtly of the Nature of GOD and of *Man*; or of the Dictates of *Reaſon* and *Religion*. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

THEOPHILUS.

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LETTER XCV. LONDON JOURNAL, September 12, 1724.

SIR,

THE following *Letter*, I believe, may be communicated to your Readers, without any manner of Impropriety, after what has already been ſaid on the ſame Argument. The Application before was general, to All; it is now *particular*, to one Perſon: but the Conſiderations inſiſted on, though adapted to the Temper and Genius of *One* Man, may perhaps affect many Others.

I am, &c.

THEOPHILUS to ABELARD.

I DOUBT not, *Abelard*, but you have read the little Treatiſe on *Suicide*, juſt publiſhed by me, in Three Letters in the *London Journal.* Your inquiſitive Turn of Mind, joined with my own Requeſt to you in our laſt Converſation, could not but induce you to caſt your Eye upon them. Thoſe Letters, *Abelard*, were compoſed with a View to you; but I am not ſo fond to think I have placed the Subject in ſuch Lights, as to throw you on a ſudden into a new Syſtem of Thinking, contrary to that which you have long habited yourſelf to; and to make you immediately lay aſide the raſh, and, in my Judgement, impious Deſign, you have not had the Skill to conceal from me, of retiring of your own Accord, and at your own Time, out of Life. Habitude in one's Way of Thinking, as well as in moſt other Things, obtains the Force of Nature; and I cannot expect to wean you from the Gloomineſs and pernicious Error of your Reflections, except by Degrees, and with your own Aſſiſtance. What I hope, is, that ſome Hint or other of mine, capable of being improved by you, poſſibly has, or may lead you into ſuch a Track of Reaſoning, as in Time to effect the Change in your Thoughts I ſo much deſire; or at leaſt diſpoſe you to hear me ſpeak on this Subject, without Pain or Averſion. Fain would I, dear *Abelard*, if poſſible, for my own Sake as well as yours, prevail with you, to diſcard, at leaſt for ſome Time, all Thoughts of a Purpoſe ſo unnatural; or, if I could, to jog on with me, ſhould Heaven ſo ordain it, to old Age itſelf; that ſo we might be able one Day to take a full View of human Life together; and to ſurvey it entirely, and in all its Parts. I am not now going again to inſiſt on the Arguments, irrefragable as they are, drawn from our Relation to God: Nor will I mention the Regard to be had to the Requeſt and Welfare of a Friend, that tenderly loves you; the unconceivable Grief and Affliction with which the whole Family of your Kindred would be affected for your Death, and their direful Fears for your future Condition after ſuch a Crime: though theſe are Conſiderations that will work much on a Mind ſo humane and good-natured as that of *Abelard*. Curioſity itſelf, the *Curioſity* I mean of a *Philoſopher*, I ſhould think, would tempt a Man of your right Senſe in other Things, not under abſolute Want, or without Expectations in Life, to continue in it; were it only to get an ample Knowledge of your own Being, and to be perſonally acquainted with human Nature, through all the Variations it undergoes in the Courſe of Threeſcore or Fourſcore Years. Truſt me, Man in his Fortieth Year of Life, is quite another Creature from what he was in his Thirtieth: Our Palate or Taſte of Food does not alter more through Time, than does our Judgement of Things; and if I can conceive any Thing rightly of human Nature, every ſingle Year after *your* Age, *Abelard*, brings a Man greater Acquiſitions of Knowledge and Wiſdom, than he gained in almoſt All the Years before. Many Things that now torment your Thoughts will be but an Amuſement to them, perhaps a Pleaſure, two *Luſtrums* hence: and poſſibly ſome of the very ſame Circumſtances that at preſent make Being irkſome, may then be its Recommendation. Beſides, this Benefit always flows from the Advance of Years, that in right Underſtandings, our beſt Paſſions and our worthieſt Affections encreaſe and gather Strength, while our worſt wear away: The older a good and thinking Man grows, ſo much the happier he is as well as wiſer. Is it not worth while then, to have a little Patience, and rather ſuffer a few trifling Diſquiets, than cut yourſelf off from the various Scenes of Knowledge, the new Senſations of Happineſs, the new Openings of Reaſon, and the infinite different Experiences that the Progreſs of Age will afford one of your fine Genius? Would not one wiſh to know how *Being* will ſit on us, and what Feel we ſhall have as it were under it, after our Ideas are greatly enlarged and ſtrengthened, and when the Underſtanding is brought to full Maturity? To go out of Life at this Time of Day, is like going out of the Theatre after one has ſeen the dulleſt Part of the Entertainment, and before the good Scenes have been exhibited. Upon my Word, my Friend, what you have ſeen of Life is the moſt inſignificant and incurious Portion of it; a Portion, in which a Torrent of ungoverned Appetites run away with Reaſon, pained with the Rage of Luſt and Envy, ſubject to falſe Joys and falſe Griefs, full of Raſhneſs and Indiſcretion, the wanton *Mother* of *Repentance*, fruitful of Weakneſs, Vanity and Anger, unreaſonable Hopes and unreaſonable Deſires, the Judgement unſtable, and the Heart and Will irreſolute and undetermined. The Bloom of Life, to weak and effeminate Spirits, unfurniſhed with any worthy Sentiments, may appear the moſt delicate Diviſion of it: It may ſuit well enough with the mean and low Ideas of Happineſs which dwell in ſuch Breaſts; but it is far otherwiſe with ſuch as you are; *that is*, with *All* who know how to value and cultivate Reaſon and Underſtanding. Live, O my *Abelard*, live then for the Plenitude of Knowledge; and to taſte the Hours in which Men's Condition is ſo much exalted. You have a fine natural Underſtanding, that well deſerves the Cultivation of Years, and on which Experience will be laid out with great Profit; and however uneaſy you may be under ſome preſent Circumſtances, yet the Seeds of Happineſs are plentifully ſown in your Nature, and will ſpring up into fair Crops of Contentment, if you will but wait the due Time. Happineſs is the neceſſary Reſult of well-governed Affections and right Deſires, gained through Thought and the Improvement of our Reaſon: It flows from a juſt Knowledge of Things and of the World; a Knowledge, not to be acquired without Years. The latter Seaſons of Life may be ſaid to be the Harveſt-time of Wiſdom: In that Stage of our Being it is, that the Soul is got forward towards Perfection; and there is ſomething in it, I am apt to think, charming beyond what we conceive of it in our Youth. *I have this Obligation,* ſays Tully, *to old Age, that it has encreaſed in me the Love of Converſation and Philoſophy, in Proportion as it has abated my Appetites for the Satisfactions of Senſe*: It is *then* that the Violence of our Inclinations is moderated;

it is *then*, that the *Paſſion*, which moſt of all tyrannizes in Youth, is charmed into a profound Sleep, and ſeldom wakes to diſquiet us any more: We pine no longer for Trifles; Beauty fades in the Eye and Imagination; our Affections are finely changed, and Truth and Virtue and Friendſhip eaſily become the Objects of them; and we are more enamoured with Good Senſe and Wit and Reaſon, than we were before with all the vaineſt Pleaſures of our firſt Years. It is in *this* Part of Life, that our Enjoyments are calm, our Wiſhes temperate, and what we ought moſt to deſire in our own Power, and within our Reach: It is *then*, that the idle Anxiety for Fame or public Praiſe is tamed, or reigns in us more quietly, or is not ſought after but by laudable and wiſe Means; and that the Conſciouſneſs of good Deeds, and the Praiſe of wiſe and good Men, affect us far more pleaſingly than popular Noiſe and Clamour. It is *then*, in a word, that we can more readily model our Felicity by the Nature of Things themſelves, and the real Diſtinctions of Good and Evil; and that we can ordinarily find it more eaſily at Home, in our own Thoughts and Boſoms, and do not look out for it in Tracks and Places where it does not abide.—Theſe are my Apprehenſions concerning human Life; and I own, ſhould it pleaſe God to extend my Days to old Age, under ſome of the Advantages that often accompany it, *viz.* to grant me grey Hairs with the Wiſdom of Experience and a chearful Spirit, I ſhould think myſelf well-compenſated for any paſt Unhappineſſes. I wiſh, *Abelard*, you would get into this Caſt of Thinking; there is ſomething in it amuſing at leaſt, and you might perhaps improve it a great deal further than I am able to do. Upon the whole, You yourſelf, in every Turn of Temper, muſt allow this to be unqueſtionably certain, that it cannot be prudent or expedient; *that is*, it cannot become a *wiſe* Man, or one who pretends to act upon *Argument*, to do a thing He needs not do, that cannot be undone; and concerning which He is not at all ſure, but that He ſhall in a little Time, perhaps in a few Hours, think very differently, if He now lets it alone. It is a Maxim of ſome Naturaliſts, that in every Seven Years the human Body is ſo utterly changed, as not to retain one Particle of what it had before: This Axiom, with proper Reſtrictions, is in good meaſure true of the human Mind; our Thoughts are not only wholly altered as to many Things; but there is, in different Parts of Life, a vaſt Difference even in the Manner of our Conception of the ſame Things, and the ſame Truths; and what we know at one time in one way, we come to know at another with a new Energy of Knowledge, and with another Feeling and Clearneſs. I knew very well, when I was a Boy, that nothing was more neceſſary or uſeful than *Money*; but I perceive that ſame Truth now, with a very different Caſt of Diſcernment: Thus we do not only entirely ſhift many of our Opinions, but get a very different Evidence even of thoſe that continue the ſame. To ſee, then, quite through our Being in this World; to view it in its beſt and happieſt Situations; to experience every Alteration of the Mind, and its various Temper of Working in various Seaſons of Life; and to be able to form a Judgement of human Life and Nature, from its Beginning to its longeſt Period; is what, I ſhould think, were to be extremely deſired, particularly by a Man of your penetrating Genius, ſo curious in Knowledge, and ſo capable of making the moſt of it, as well as admirably turned in yourſelf in many reſpects for being happy.

And now, good *Abelard*, farewell. If you do not feel in yourſelf that overflowing Chearfulneſs of Complexion, ſo much to be envied and wiſhed for, endeavour to acquire it. Habit and Reaſoning will do much; through Thought and Care, we may poſſeſs ourſelves of many Virtues and Felicities, which Nature, a little too reſerved, did not plant uppermoſt in our Conſtitutions; we may meliorate our Tempers; we may engraft into the Soul Diſpoſitions and Pliancies, not born with us. This is the Buſineſs of Philoſophy and Religion. The Mind of Man, like a harſh Soil, is to be ſoftened by *Art*; and, by due Cultivation, one may render it more kindly, and familiar, and tractable. Endeavour, then, to new-model your Thoughts; look upon Mankind, and their Fortunes, and Actions, in different Lights from what you have done hitherto: A thouſand Things that ſhock us, a thouſand Things that diſpleaſe, would not do ſo, but for our particular and perhaps wrong way of Thinking about them. Nay, wait with *Patience* only: and *Life* itſelf, as it runs on, will bring along with it *other* Notions and *other* Maxims; and theſe will at the end teach you to bleſs the happy *Alteration*. Farewel, and believe I am,

Yours,

THEOPHILUS.

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LETTER XCVI. LONDON JOURNAL, October 31, 1724.

SIR,

THE following *Letter* was the *Reſult* of my Thoughts after a Converſation upon a very *important Subject*; writ haſtily to a *Friend* for whom I have the higheſt Value, without entring any farther into the Cauſe, than his own Way of Diſcourſe had led me. And as it was well intended, if you think fit to publiſh it, I hope, it will at leaſt meet with a favourable Pardon from every *Reader*: and may do a little Service to ſome one or other, who may meet with it. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

THEOPHILUS *to* ABELARD.

I CANNOT diſſemble, Dear *Abelard*, the Concern I have felt, ſince our laſt Evening's Converſation, upon the *Subject* of *Providence* intereſting itſelf in the particular Affairs relating to All Men in this Life. You, and ſome of your Friends, ſeemed to think you had a great Advantage, and even a little to triumph, in your *Concluſion* againſt It, drawn from the Impoſſibilitiy of God's foreſeeing all poſſible *Contingencies* depending upon Man's Liberty; and all poſſible Combinations, and Conſequencies, of *Actions* in themſelves free either to come to paſs, or not to come to paſs: and this not through any Imperfection in the Divine *Being*, but through the neceſſary Nature of *Man*, and humane Affairs. From theſe Topicks it was, that you and your Friends inferred, that it appeared probable to you, That the *Creator* did originally form no Scheme for the Government of the World and humane Affairs; no Syſtem for the Conduct of his Creation: that is, not otherwiſe, than by creating Man with thoſe Powers and Faculties with which his Nature is endued; that he left Men wholly to their own Care and Direction, and to ſhift for themſelves as well as they could, and the Affairs of Life to fall into any Poſture and Situation which pure Chance or Fortune might throw them into; and that this was all God's Scheme, with reſpect at leaſt to this Life. This may indeed be aſſerted by any who are reſolved to aſſert it: but it is moſt hard to conceive; and I will add, is not at all agreeable to the Notions which you allowed, through our whole Diſpute, we muſt naturally entertain of the Goodneſs of God, if we believe his Exiſtence, *viz.* That he has totally and abſolutely abandoned Men at all Hazards and Events, and under all poſſible Circumſtances, to care for themſelves: That he has, by an abſolute Decree of his own, from the Beginning, entirely deprived himſelf of the Glory, if I may preſume to ſay ſo, of a perpetual and continued Exerciſe of his Goodneſs and Mercies towards Mankind; from the Pleaſure, if I may ſo ſpeak, of relieving the Diſtreſſed; that is, thoſe whom the Infirmity and Impotency of their Nature irreſiſtibly lead to depend upon him; and of relieving them, where there is no other Source of Relief: That He has in this Manner diveſted himſelf of the Power of puniſhing the Wicked and rewarding the Virtuous here below, in any one of thoſe numerous Inſtances, of which there are Thouſands to which no human Laws or Proviſions can poſſibly extend; and debarred himſelf from the Means, the Godlike Means, of eſtabliſhing more and more the Ideas of his Juſtice and Goodneſs in the Hearts of Men, and ſecuring to himſelf their moſt reaſonable Love and Adoration. It is, I ſay, moſt hard to conceive of a *Creator* of infinite Perfection, and unbounded Goodneſs, that he has originally ordained ſo precarious, ſo fortuitous, and hard a Fate for his Creatures, as that Opinion ſuppoſes, which entirely leaves them to their own vain and unprofitable Conduct; for his Creatures, whom, if we think of him rightly at all, he could not have created but out of Love, and whom he cannot but regard with Eyes of Grace and Benevolency through the whole Extent and Series of their Exiſtence, from the firſt Origin of it:—This is what I think utterly unaccountable. Neither is it to be conceived, if we conſider the wild Affections of Men, and their ungoverned Appetites, and the whole Debility of their Nature, that the Affairs of the World ſhould have rolled into any tolerable Order or Method for the Welfare and Happineſs of the human Species, if God had provided no better for them, than by ſuffering Things to take their own Courſe, and arbitrarily go, whither the Rage, the Madneſs, the Folly, the Credulity, the Superſtition, the Unreaſonableneſs of Men, muſt, as it ſeems, unavoidably have driven them; or, that the Evils Mankind are liable to, would not be far greater and worſe, and more univerſal, however great they really are, if not reſtrained and prevented by the inviſible Hand of God:—All this, I muſt repeat it, is moſt hard to be conceived; and indeed, not to be entertained by any rational Mind, if we can conceive any Thing rightly of *our own* Nature, or of that of our *Maker*.

Give me leave then, my Friend, to conclude far otherwiſe. That God originally formed ſome Scheme or Deſign in his Creation of Man, and that there is ſome great good End to which all his Works lead, *This* I think will neceſſarily follow from his Wiſdom: for infinite Wiſdom cannot act without Deſign. And that it could not be any Part in this Deſign abſolutely to devote Men to their own blind Direction, *This* I conclude from the Idea I have of his *Goodneſs*, which is inſeparable from the Idea I have of his *Exiſtence*, and from the Nature of Man, and the Form and Condition in which human Affairs have been in all Ages and Countries. Thus I think, upon the matureſt Conſideration, it muſt plainly be admitted, that God did at firſt lay down ſome *Scheme* and *Rules* of his Providence, with reſpect to his Creatures. Now, What is ſo abſurd, as not to be admitted in that *Scheme*, or in any Part of it, we may in ſome Meaſure, I hope, ſafely enough perceive and declare; though what it poſitively is, in every Link of its whole Chain and Order, we cannot know; nor have any Rule to direct our Judgement in it, any further, than that it muſt in general and ultimately regard Man's Well-being and Happineſs; and in order to that, give me leave to add, it muſt not only concern us in this World, but neceſſarily extend beyond this Life. My Argument, or Way of Reaſoning from the Whole therefore is, that if God formed ſome Scheme in regard to his Creation of Man; (and that he did ſo is demonſtrably certain;) and if it was not a Part in this Scheme to leave Men utterly bewildred in their own Mazes, which is highly abſurd to imagine; and ſuppoſing the *Preſcience* or Fore-knowledge of God to be underſtood in the Manner in which you yourſelf explained it, and not reaſonably to be underſtood in any other; and, laſtly, ſuppoſing Men's Actions to be really free, as we all with great Reaſon and Self-conſciouſneſs preſume they are: All this put together, it will ſtrongly follow, that the *particular* Interpoſition of God's Providence in the World, and the Affairs of Men, is in the higheſt Degree not only *becoming* his *Nature*, but in itſelf a *neceſſary* Conſequence upon his Creation of this World. For it is not to be ſuppoſed without the utmoſt Abſurdity, that God does or can ſuffer his *Schemes* to be defeated; and that they frequently muſt be ſo, without his particular Interpoſition, as you yourſelf have pretended, is evident from the Nature of his Preſcience or Fore-knowledge, in the only manner in which you contend it to be underſtood; and from the Nature of Mens Actions, which, being free, are ſo far in effect, as far as human Judgment can diſtinguiſh, *Contingencies*. Now then, to go on in your own way of talking, Every *Punctum* or Moment of Time, as you ſay, produces, as it were, an Infinity of Contingencies not to be taken into any Scheme of *Providence*, which could not beforehand concern itſelf with ſuch *Contingencies*. Millions of Millions of Actions, and the numberleſs Combinations of thoſe Actions, as they eternally claſh with and are oppoſite to one another; ſo muſt they, ſay you, neceſſarily be oppoſite to every poſſible Scheme, be the Scheme what it will. Millions of Accidents muſt run counter to it every Hour, ſince, as Accidents, They could not be at firſt regulated and governed by it. In a word, Be it ſo, That no Syſtem of Wiſdom, to be linked with, and that muſt take in, Affairs, and Events, which are not the poſſible Objects of certain Knowledge, could be ſo formed from Eternity, as certainly to accord with all thoſe Affairs and Events: All this, I ſay, is ſo far from concluding againſt Providence, that it helps to confirm and eſtabliſh it. For it all proves demonſtrably, not only that God's Providence in the World is neceſſary; but that he cannot but *particularly* exert it in all particular human Concerns, to keep Things in the Order in which he has ordained they ſhould go, and to make every thing conſpire to the producing ſuch *Cataſtrophes* and *Revolutions*, as the Counſels of his Wiſdom require ſhould come to paſs; and as his *unbounded Goodneſs* dictates to Him for the Happineſs of his poor Creatures.

Whatever Weight my way of Reaſoning may appear to be of, whether directly concluſive or not; yet it may, I hope, be allowed to have force ſo far, as to be a fair and reaſonable Preſumption, (at leaſt) againſt your particular Objections to *God's particular Providence*, to which I have confined myſelf; and ſuch as might ſway you, who are a conſiderate Man, to a firm Belief of it. It does not import us to know or enquire, what indeed is not to be known, (that is, not at all Times or with any Certainty,) when and in what manner God diſplays his providential Power; or what particular Events are brought about through the Interpoſition of it, and what are produced from the ordinary Tenour of Things, and their natural relation to one another, and fall out of themſelves and from their own proper immediate Cauſes: It does not import us to know this, nor ought we to be over-free in paſſing our Judgements about it; it is enough to be ſatisfied in general, that God does truly intereſt himſelf in our Affairs, and for our Welfare.

Permit me to add, before I conclude, that as to the Doctrine itſelf, which I have endeavoured to reconcile you to, there is, doubtleſs, ſomething in it more pleaſingly comfortable, and that touches Man's Heart more ſweetly than any other Thought beſide. To be conſcious that we continually walk under the Guardianſhip and Eye of infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs, backed with Omnipotency or infinite Power; and that no Evil can be ſo near, but it may be driven far off, without our Care; nor any Good ſo remote, but it may be brought within our Reach and Power! What could one wiſh for more or better? It is a Notion that has an unſpeakable Flattery in it, and which any one, who has thought rightly of God, and of human Nature, cannot help believing almoſt whether he will or no. It is, in ſhort, a Notion, which, as *Tully* finely ſays on another Occaſion, I would ſtruggle hard for; and contend to the utmoſt, before I ſuffered it to be wreſted from me: *That is*, I would not part with it, but upon the laſt and cleareſt Evidence; which, I well know, can never be offered me. Every different Opinion is gloomy, heartleſs, and unfriendly to ourſelves. And whoever ſhould depart from this Sentiment, to take up a contrary, on ſlight grounds, I own, I could not but think of him, as in a much lower Forme of common Senſe, than the fooliſh *Hero* in *Homer*, that exchanged a *Golden* Suit of Armour for one of *Braſs*; a Shield covered with an *Hundred Hides*, for one wrought up but with *Nine*:

Χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἑκατομβοῖ' ἐννεαβοίων.

Pardon the *Pedantry* of a little *Greek*; and believe, dear *Abelard*, that my Aim is, to ſerve you in your trueſt Intereſt; and to ſhew myſelf, in an uncommon manner,

Your faithful, &c.

THEOPHILUS.

LETTER XCVII. LONDON JOURNAL, November 28, 1724.

THE good Situation of the Affairs of any Country, and the *natural* happy *Conſequences* of it, ſpreading themſelves even where the Cauſes are not underſtood, or ſo much as perceived, *muſt* ever and *will* ever be ſeen together. There is ſo inſeparable a *Connexion* between them, that, in the common Courſe of Things, and without the intervening of the moſt odd and unlucky Accidents, it is hardly ever in the Power of the greateſt Enemies to deſtroy that *Connexion*, or ſo much as to diſturb it in any remarkable Degree. And for myſelf, I am ſo poſſeſſed, and have ſuch a Feeling, of the Force of this Obſervation in our own Country, that I want methinks no better *Argument* to make it appear highly probable to my Mind, that Affairs are univerſally well, than what I at this Time draw from the Quiet, Peace, Tranquillity, Temper, and (if I may uſe that Word,) *Good-humour*, the Nation ſeems to be in. As I can argue, that a Happy Conduct and Situation of Affairs, will produce theſe good Diſpoſitions in Thoſe who live within the Reach of its Influences; ſo, I can, if I am not much miſtaken, argue back from the *Effect*, to the only Cauſe which could probably produce it, That the whole *Nation*,—not the loweſt and moſt ignorant of the *People* only, but the *Beſt*, and moſt Knowing Part of it;—not a Confined ſmall *Company* or *Party* of Men, as ſuch, but the *Generality* of Thoſe moſt concerned in *Trade* and *Property*;—That the *Nation*, I ſay, is in *Good-humour*; and therefore, the *Poſture* and *Conduct* of the *Whole* is in a good Way.

I own, that it is with the appearing *Quiet* and *Good-humour* of a *Nation*, as it is with the ſame Diſpoſitions in a *private Perſon*: and before You can think of *theſe*, as of Great Happineſſes, You muſt carefully examine into them. A Man will be very *Tranquil* and *Quiet*, with a good Doſe of *Opium*. He will view all Things even in a pleaſing delightful Light, as long as the *Power* of That operates upon his Imagination. And again, There is in *ſome* a natural *Stupidity* and *Inſenſibility*, which renders Them *Callous*, and unapproachable to thoſe Diſturbances of Mind, which are ſo *reaſonably* and juſtly founded, that they cannot but be *Diſturbances* to All, who can think and weigh the Proportions of Things as They ought. Nay, Many will proceed as high as to *Mirth*, where there is no Ground at all for it. But any conſidering By-ſtander can eaſily diſtinguiſh ſuch a *Quiet*, or ſuch a falſe *Joy*, from a *Compoſedneſs*, or a *Good-humour*, which reſults from a Due Temperament of Body, Good Health, and a Happy Condition of Life, all working upon a *ſound Mind*, in their natural Courſe, without the Applications of *Art* or Deceit. And ſo it is in the Caſe of the ſame Diſpoſitions and Affections in a whole Nation. There may be, without doubt, at ſome times, ſo much political *Leger-demain* and *Trick*; ſo much *Art* and *Invention*, ſcattered about, as may, without any good Grounds, not only create a Stupidity and Inſenſibility to all Common and Publick Danger, but may even make a *Whole People* tranſported with what is truly their own Deſtruction. There may certainly be ſuch a *Tune* in *Politicks* played in their Ears, as That was in *Muſick* which once made a whole Country in *Greece* run all into the ſame Meaſures of leaping about like Madmen. And as This was truly as *Contagious* as the *Plague* of *Athens* itſelf, and was caught and carried from *One* to *Another*, till All were infected; ſo, in the *Political Charm* of the Ear, it has been ſometimes ſeen amongſt Us, and may be again, That the *Contagion* of Falſe *Joy* may creep from *One* to *Another*, till a great Part of the *People* may be ſeen even to *dance* round the *Precipice* itſelf, from which They are falling into Ruin. But then, You can eaſily point out the very *Arts* and *Tricks* uſed to create ſuch an Appearance: and You can conſtantly diſtinguiſh the *wild Effects* of thoſe *Arts*, from the *ſober Satisfaction* which reſults from better Proof, and unartful Experiences; and this as certainly, as You can diſtinguiſh the Madneſs and Noiſe of Boiſterous Mirth created by *Wine* and the Extravagances of *Company*, from the ſober Tranquillity and *Good-humour* of a Reaſonable Man in good Health, and good Condition, which you know will laſt long after the *Other* is interrupted, or quite vaniſhed. And again, As there is no private Perſon in this World ſo poſſeſſed with the Spirit of *Tranquillity* and *Joy*, but that a *Cloud* will ſometimes hover over his Soul, and a *Gloomy Day* caſt a Damp upon his Joyous Spirits; or an *Unlucky Accident* break in upon the Frame of his *Peace*, and unavoidably give an *Interruption* to that Condition of *Health*, or *Good Eſtate*, which was the Cauſe of his *Good-humour*; and this without wholly deſtroying it, or endangering the Total Loſs of it: ſo, it is in the Publick Tranquillity and *Good-humour* of a *Nation*. Every Little ill Accident, and every humane Frailty or Miſtake, gives a Diſturbance: but a *Diſturbance* which does not laſt; and which does not long take any thing from that *Univerſal Tranquillity* and *Satiſfaction*, which attends, and which (if *Nature* is ſuffered to work, and the *Arts* of Miſrepreſentation do not work more) will ever *naturally* attend, upon a *Situation* and *Conduct* of Affairs, which in their general Influence upon the *Whole*, are found *Good* and *Beneficial*.

You will now perceive what it is I mean by this *National Good-humour*; and what are the Reaſons of my thinking and ſpeaking ſo well, and in ſo promiſing a Manner, about it. You ſee, I am not painting out a Scene of mere unmixt Gaiety and Happineſs. I do not go about to impoſe upon You a Belief, that there are no Breaks or Interruptions to this Satisfaction, becauſe I call it *Univerſal*. I know there are, and there muſt be, whilſt We are Men, and carry the Paſſions of Men about Us. I do not mean by what I ſay, that there are no Diſcontents, or Differences, even amongſt thoſe who truly and conſtantly intend the ſame *good End*; the thorough Eſtabliſhment of the *ſame Throne*, and of the ſame Publick Benefits, in theſe Nations. I am ſenſible there are; and I am too certain, there muſt always be ſuch, whilſt different Honeſt Men have different Capacities, and, by conſtantly looking with moſt of their Attention upon one Side of a Queſtion, will of neceſſity ſee the ſame Things in very different Lights. Much leſs do I mean to inſinuate, that there are not ſtill amongſt us *Determined Enemies* to our Happineſs, both *Religious* and *Civil*; who never can be more *Uneaſy*, than when the *Nation* is moſt *Eaſy*, and moſt likely to be eſtabliſhed in *Good-humour*. I know too well (I wiſh I did not) that the *Old Inveterate* and Incurable Enemies ſtill ſubſiſt. And I will therefore acknowledge, that the preſent Appearance of *Eaſe* and *Quiet*, is in *Some*, all Deceit; founded upon no better Bottom, than the preſent Impoſſibility of being *Unquiet* to any Purpoſe; and directed by no better *End*, than the *Hope* of being *Uneaſy* ſome time or other, with greater Succeſs. But what I mean, is, That with all theſe, and the like Qualifications, *Good-temper* and *Good-humour* have now a greater Extent amongſt All who have the biggeſt Concern, either in the *Trade* or *Propriety* of the *Nation*; and this with a better Appearance, and a more promiſing Look of Continuance, than They have had for a long Series of Years backwards; and indeed as *great*, as the Nature of our *Affairs* would have permitted the moſt ſanguine Perſon to hope for, at this Time.

The *Reaſons* which appear to Me, for thinking and ſpeaking thus, ſhould now follow, were there Room for them in *this* Paper. But whilſt I am forced to defer them, I will add one Thing, That *They* who *ſpeak* otherwiſe; (for I cannot believe They can *think* otherwiſe;) and particularly, That They who have taken the Liberty to make Themſelves pleaſant upon this *Subject*, though recommended to Them from the *Throne* itſelf, muſt not think that a *Bold Word*, or a *Witticiſm*, can *put out the Eyes*, or extinguiſh the *Common Senſe*, of the World; much leſs take away the Senſation of *Feeling*, (the moſt powerful of all others) from the *Beſt Part* of a *whole Nation*: but that, if They will go on, They are obliged, in Juſtice and Honour, to prove either that the *Matter* itſelf is *falſe* in fact; or that, being as it is repreſented, it has ariſen from *Ignominious Cauſes*; or that it is not an Affair of Value enough to be worth the mentioning: or elſe, to own That They are ſtill unable to bear the Good of their Country, and ſtill engaged to break in upon every thing that promiſes well to it. As for all *Others*, who know what Publick Happineſs means; This *Spirit* of *Tranquillity*, be it only a *Tendency* to a National Setlement in the *Temper* of *Peace* and *Quiet*; when They view it on all Sides, and ſee it to be natural and well-grounded, cannot but give Them a ſenſible Joy, and determine Them (every Man in his proper Sphere)

Sphere) to uſe all their Endeavours to cultivate it, by every honeſt Method within their Reach: knowing aſſuredly, that They eſtabliſh their own Happineſs, and that of their own *Poſterity*, by eſtabliſhing a *Diſpoſition* in the Breaſts of All around Them, not only happy to every Member of the Society conſidered in Himſelf, but vaſtly beneficial to the whole Society in all its true Intereſts.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XCVIII. LONDON JOURNAL, December 5, 1724.

IT would be but a ſmall Satisfaction to any True Lover of his Country, to view, or partake of, the preſent *Quiet* and *Good-humour* of It; if there were at the ſame time any ſenſible *Marks* and *Tokens* of the approaching *Ruin* of that *Quiet*; or if there were not ſome very good Signs appearing of the *Solidity* and *Duration* of our Publick *Good-humour*. The *merrieſt* People under the Sun, could not dance and ſing with any Spirit *To-day*; if it were probable that *To-morrow's* Dawn would ſink them into the Depth of Miſery and Unhappineſs. And there is no *Joy* or *Peace* within, which has ſufficient Force to ſuſtain itſelf againſt the Proſpect of a ſudden *Diſſolution*. It is not enough for Us to congratulate Ourſelves upon, That We are in a State of ſeeming *Eaſe* and *Good-temper*. If We have not at the ſame time ſome good Grounds to *flatter* Ourſelves, that This State has a *Baſis* able to ſupport it; a *Foundation*, to enſure it to Us: the Joy of the Thought is but an idle *Amuſement*; or a pleaſing *Dream*, that vaniſhes with the Morning-light. I will ſee therefore, for my own Part, whether I can diſcover any of thoſe Circumſtances in our preſent *Good-humour*, which alone can engage Me to hope for a Continuance of It. I know not whether I ſee with the ſame Eyes with Others; or take my Notions from the ſame Appearances; or frame my Judgement upon the ſame Maxims: nor can I, any more than other Men, be ſure that I am not *partial* in the *Caſe*; and more *bent* towards the *beautiful* and *agreeable* View of Affairs, than towards the *Gloomineſs* of the contrary Face of things. But, as I have heard a Multitude of Thoſe acknowledge, whoſe *Experience* reaches back to *Many Years*, that They have a better *View* and *Expectation* from the preſent *Temper* of the *Nation*, than They have been for a long Time heretofore uſed to; and as I have entertained the ſame Sentiments, I will now give ſome of My Reaſons for it.

The *Temper* of the Nation appears much the better, in my Eyes; and I acknowledge, I promiſe Myſelf a longer Duration to it, becauſe It is not *Ecſtacy* and *Tranſport*; but a *ſedate* and *compoſed* Tranquillity. It is with the *Paſſions* of a Nation, as it is with *Thoſe* of particular Perſons. When they are *noiſy* and *violent*, they weary out Thoſe whom they poſſeſs, and at the end loſe themſelves in the very contrary Temper of Mind. The *Epheſian Matron* might be very ſincere in her firſt Grief; but the Exceſs in the Indulgence of it ſoon wearied out the *Paſſion*, and ended in a Total Forgetfulneſs of the *Object* of it; and a Delivery of the Mind up to a *Joy* as extravagant as the *Sorrow* had been. It is exactly ſo with a *People*. When their Paſſions are ſeen chiefly to work; and to break looſe into any thing *Ecſtatical* or *Extraordinary*; the Opportunity of *Wearineſs* follows, when the *Object* is eaſily changed, and the ſame *Extravagance* raiſed by the contrary View of Things. How often has this *Nation* ſeen this verified in former Times! How often may we Ourſelves have obſerved it, in the Courſe of the laſt *Thirty* or *Forty* Years! It muſt be with the more Pleaſure therefore, that every *True Briton* obſerves now *ſomething* in the *Temper* of his *Country*, that looks more promiſing for the Time to come: eſpecially as it appears in my Eyes, that it can no more be called *Stupidity*, or *Lethargy*, or *Inſenſibility*, than it can be ſtiled the contrary Madneſs. This *Deadneſs* of Spirit is the other Extreme, which is equally dangerous to a *People*. But this is the Caſe only, when a *Nation* is lulled aſleep upon a Precipice; when a *People* expreſs no Senſe of Uneaſineſs under *Illegal*, *Arbitrary* Attempts upon their Rights and Properties; or under every Thing that tends to their Deſtruction. But when a *Nation* ſees and feels the *Liberties* and *Privileges* of the *Subject* (of what Denomination ſoever) openly and carefully preſerved from the Invaſions of *Fraud* or *Violence*; all living in their own Poſſeſſions, under the Security of a conſtant publick Juſtice; and free from all Burthens, except ſuch as are abſolutely neceſſary for the Continuance of that *Security*—When a *Nation*, in ſuch Circumſtances, ſhews the Senſe it has of them, in an Univerſal Diſpoſition to a Quiet and Eaſy *Good-humour*; This is a Condition of Mind as far removed from an *Inſenſibility* to *publick Injuries*, as it is from that contrary Madneſs and Extravagance, which ſeldom portends any thing *Good* to laſt, and ſeldom carries along with it any thing better than what a ſudden Violence of Paſſion produces.

But I own, if it could be proved that the preſent *Good-humour* We are in, were owing to the *Tricks* and *Arts* of the ſuperior Part; or that *Clamour*, *Invention*, or *Falſe Colouring*, diſplayed cunningly before the *People*, had effected it: This would make it appear to Me, not only very *vile*; but very *uncertain*, and ſoon likely to diſappear. I ſhould indeed, loſe all Value for it; and the rather, becauſe my chief Regard to it has ariſen from obſerving, as I thought, that *It is not at all owing*, as moſt of our Popular Noiſy Joys have been, to any *Deceits* of *Policy*; but to the ſilent Operation of the Nature of Things. I have aſked Myſelf, and Others, in thinking and ſpeaking upon it, What is it owing to? Can you point out any One of thoſe *Engines* of Deceit, which have now and then, on all Sides, been uſed, to create a Confidence, and diffuſe a *Good-humour*, in the Country? Has *Refuge* been taken in *Lies*, perſonal *Abuſes*; or in *political Oratory*, ſcattered into all Corners, to blind Mens Eyes, or to raiſe their Spirits? Have Pains, and Skill, and Dexterity, been applied to the *Paſſions* of Men, inſtead of the Buſineſs of the Nation?—I think nothing is evident in *Political Affairs*; if it be not evident, that This has not been the Caſe here. But what has appeared has been, A Reſolute Care to preſerve the preſent *Government*, in the preſent *Royal Family*; a Determined *Vigilance* to detect all Deſigns againſt It, with a Determined *Courage* to puniſh them; and a Conſtant Regard to the *Rights* of *All Subjects* equally, free from every Arbitrary Attempt, and from every partial Adminiſtration in the Affairs of Juſtice and Equity. Theſe are ſenſible Facts; and will always operate ſenſibly, as long as the Nature of Things is what it is. The Methods of *Trick* and *Deceit* work only by ſudden Starts of ſhort-continued Violence. What is entirely *Artificial* in *political Practice*, ſerves a preſent Turn, it may be; but when that is done, it vaniſhes away, and leaves nothing behind it but the Remembrance of the Deceit. But *Nature* works *ſurely* and *ſoundly*. And whatever in *Politicks* is the *natural* Event from proper and juſt and open Proceedings, is rightfully expected to be laſting, ſtrong and durable.

But what encreaſes ſtill my good Opinion of the preſent publick *Good-humour*, and my Hopes of its Continuance, is, The great Difficulty of breaking into it; and this, ariſing from the *Struggles* and *Attempts* which have of late Years diſturbed the *Nation*; and the *Happineſs* experienced by *All*, from the preſent

Quiet and *Temper*. When a *People* has gone through many Convulſions and Trials, in the Courſe of which there have been full Opportunities of examining into the Pretenſions of all Sides; and after many Sufferings and Burthens, has ſubſided into a State of Sedate and Eaſy *Good-humour*;—Can any one think, Such a *People* will eaſily part again with their Eaſe and Quiet, and hazard it and all their Happineſs, at the *Alarm* of any *Man's* private Ambition or Treachery? Suppoſing Any Perſons to be *wicked*, or infatuated enough, to attempt the Diſturbance of ſo happy a State, What Pretence, what Reaſon, what Motives, will they alledge? Suppoſing the Propoſal made to *Men* at quiet, who have nothing injurious to complain of; Can the *Propoſers* think that no *Queſtions* will be aſked? May it not be juſtly expected, that Many of the *Perſons* They would apply to, will demand an Anſwer to ſuch Queſtions as theſe——What Advantages or Gains do you propoſe, by engaging Us in the hazardous Breach of our own Peace and Quiet? Is it that a *Popiſh Bigoted Pretender* is ſo great a Good, as to deſerve ſuch an Attempt againſt a *King*, who, We cannot ſay, has ever wilfully violated one ſingle Law? Or, is it only a *Struggle* for *Power* for Yourſelves, that You make Us Parties to? If ſo, What do you propoſe, to allure Us? Will You give Us, All, Every Man of Us, Places and Poſts, as well as Yourſelves? You know, It is impoſſible. Will You protect Us better from private Injuries, and perſonal Injuſtice, than We are now protected? Can You ſhew a greater Regard to our *Rights* and *Properties*, than is at preſent ſhewn? Will You undertake to adminiſter the Government with fewer Taxes, and leſſer Burthens upon Us? Will You find any better Way of leſſening the *Publick Debt*, unleſs it be by the inſupportable Wickedneſs of a *Deſtroying Spunge*? Will You do more for the Encouragement and Extent of our *Commerce*, than *They* who now have it under their Conſideration? Or, in Conſequence of That, will You make our *Lands* more valuable than They are? Or, What is it You will promiſe, (and give Security to perform) which We do not enjoy already, and which we can in Reaſon wiſh to enjoy?—Let any of the moſt turbulent and ambitious Enemies of our publick Repoſe try, whether theſe *Queſtions* muſt not be firſt well anſwered, before They can hope to engage a *People*, wearied with former Trials, and, after much Trouble, Terror, and Blood, now reſting Themſelves where They may find Reſt, to turn againſt Themſelves; and to change *Quiet* for *Tumult*; a preſent Something, for a future Uncertainty; a State of Freedom, and Security in their Rights, for the mere Curioſity of trying *New Maſters* and *New Diſpenſations*. They who attempt it, will find Themſelves miſerably diſappointed. And This it is, I ſay, that promiſes a Continuance of our *Tranquillity* and *Good-humour*, that the Men of *Property* and *Trade* in this Nation, can never be ſo mad, as to part with *Peace* and *Quiet*, reſulting from *Profit* and *Legal Protection*, without ſome certain Equivalent, or very probable Advantage: and That no Argument can be urged either to their *Reaſon* or to their *Paſſions*, to make Them change a *Good* Condition for a *Worſe*, againſt the Teſtimony of their *Senſes*, as well as the Light of their *Underſtandings*.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER XCIX. London Journal, December 12, 1724.

I MUST not forget, whilſt I am counting up the agreeable Signs of the *Setled* and *Durable* Condition of the preſent *Good-humour* of the *Nation*, to mention, with a particular Pleaſure, *One* of the greateſt and perhaps the moſt ſignificative of them All: I mean, the Diſpoſition and Temper of our *Univerſities*: which I did not omit, out of any Forgetfulneſs or Neglect; but in order to give it a Place by itſelf, amongſt this ſort of Conſiderations, as it well deſerves.

The *Enemies* of every *Government* are always wiſe enough in the Conduct of their own Deſigns. And They in *England*, who have endeavoured to hurt a Setlement They do not like, have always thought, and *rightly* thought, that their *Conſtant Attempts* could not be better applied, than to the debauching the Affections and good Diſpoſitions of our *Univerſities*. For, as *Theſe* are the Seats of Learning; the Nurſeries of Arts and Sciences; the Monuments of the Piety of our Forefathers; They are known not only to give Impreſſions to the Minds of Thoſe, who, having been formed under the Care of ſuch *Mothers*, come out into the World to appear and act a more publick Part; but alſo to beget a ſort of Religious Awe and Veneration to every Thing that belongs to them, in the Breaſts of Many of *Thoſe*, who remain behind within their Walls, for any conſiderable Portion of their Lives. No wonder therefore, that Thoſe who wiſh *Diſturbance* or *Ruine* to any *Court*, or *Prince*, in *England*, think Theſe the moſt proper Places to plant and work ſome of their *Engines* of *Artifice* and *Diſaffection* in; where They are ſure, from the Nature of Things, to find Opportunity and Matter to operate upon. An uninterrupted Uſage of the ſame Cuſtoms;—the never-ceaſing Circulation of the ſame *Hours* devoted to the ſame Employments;—the conſtant Returns of *Times* and *Seaſons*;—the very habitual View of the ſame Places and Walls, built and dedicated to the beſt Purpoſes of Life; carry along with them I know not what *Inward Feeling*, which grows by degrees into a *Mechanical Attachment* to the ſame Objects; no more to be ſhaken off, than ſome of the moſt laſting Impreſſions of our *Infant Education*: and which I have ſometimes ſeen to take the ſame Poſſeſſion of Thoſe who have not been pleaſed with other Appearances in theſe Places, as it does of Thoſe who have been *Admirers* of *Every Thing* there. This very *Temper*, which I know not how better to deſcribe than by a *Religious Veneration*, is the moſt proper *Fuel* for a Dextrous and Cunning Adverſary to ſet his *Fire* to.

But beſides this, the Place and Manner of Life exceedingly add to the Execution of the Deſign. There is ſomething in Retirement and Study, joined to a Situation removed from the great Scene of Buſineſs and Converſation of the World, which falls in naturally with the *Operation*: and this at the ſame Time helped by that Courſe of Life, which is followed in the ſame Places by the more Eaſy, Gay, and leſs Retired Part of the Society. They who live there will pardon Me for the Freedom of ſaying it. It is certainly ſo, not from any Want of Natural Good Senſe, or Probity, or virtuous Diſpoſition; but from the *Mechaniſm* of Things: That a Man who has confined all his Motions within the ſame Walls; who has contracted a ſort of Veneration (little inferior to Religion)

Religion) for ſuch a Place; who pleaſes Himſelf with a Recluſe Life within ſuch Rules; and has converſed *much* with the *Dead*, and *little* with the *Living*; —That ſuch a *Perſon*, let Him be the *Beſt* and moſt *Learned* of Men, muſt, by the Workings of Time, naturally become *tender* of what he loves; *jealous* of what He fears; eaſily ſuſceptible of the Paſſions which are pretty peculiar to ſuch a Round of Life; apt to be moved by what may threaten to diſcompoſe his darling Circle of *Action*; and ready to *liſten* to every Hint, and every Inſinuation; to ſwallow every *Story*; nay, to attend to every *Shrug*, of the other *Part* of the *Society*, who neither live the ſame Life, nor taſte the ſame Pleaſures, nor think the ſame Thoughts, with the *Recluſe* and *Studious*.

To come to what I aim at. No wonder, upon all theſe Accounts, that the *Enemies* of our preſent *Setlement* have, with all their Skill and Force, ever ſince the Year 1688, attempted to play an *Engine*, which They knew to be of ſo vaſt Importance to their Deſign. They judged very well, that the Nature of the Places themſelves would be favourable to their Impreſſions; and that the *Crop* of Succeſs muſt be greatly plentiful, if They could, by all their Management, influence theſe Seats of Learning, from whence All the *Clergy*, and Moſt of the *Gentlemen* of *England*, were to receive their Impreſſions; and in which They who remain long, were to give and propagate thoſe Impreſſions. And *this* End could be compaſſed by *Nothing* more likely to affect the *Excellent* and *Studious*, as well as the *Other*, Members of theſe Bodies; than by a perpetual Repreſentation (eſpecially if *Wit* and *Satire* played their Part well with it) of the *Court*, as an Enemy to theſe Societies; as diſpoſed to liſten to their Ill-wiſhers; as unfavourable to all their Pretences; and ſometimes, as only waiting for an Opportunity to ſhew even a Hatred to them, in an effectual and ruinous Manner. As theſe kinds of *Inſinuation* naturally beget in ſuch Bodies a *Diſtance*, and an *Indifference*, and by degrees an *Averſion*, or at leaſt a *Negative Diſaffection* to a *Government*, thus painted out as their *Terror*, and not their *Support*; On the *other* hand, This *Temper* might provoke Some, in conjunction with their *Enemies*, (if They have any) to repreſent *Them* to the *Court*, in a very unfavourable and diſadvantageous Light; as Bodies of Men, inveterately and without Hope determined to be *Enemies*. And thus a *War*, perhaps fatal in the End to *One* or *Other*, or *Both*, might go on from Year to Year, till a Deciſive Period were put to it by Force.

I own, for myſelf, that I always hoped to ſee *Another* ſort of a *Period* put to it; That of an *Alteration* in ſuch an Appearance, for the better. I often argued, That Men of Senſe and Learning; though diſpoſed to take their firſt Impreſſions from Thoſe whom alone They converſe with: yet, when *Light* breaks in upon them; when Proofs from Facts themſelves appeal to their Senſes, and call them to a Conſideration; cannot but ſee the *Abſurdity* of the *Suppoſition* of Any *Government*, or Any *Court*, being voluntarily and of Choice and determinately their *Enemy*; as well as the equal Madneſs, on their own Part, of the Attempting to make and force Them, by any *Behaviour* of theirs, to be ſo. For this is in truth the plain State of the Caſe. The *Enemies* of the *Government*, who ſcruple not to hazard the total Overthrow of Thoſe They practice upon, for the Sake of their own Deſigns, would willingly create ſuch a *Conduct* and ſuch a *Diſaffection* in theſe *Bodies*, as ſhould provoke a *Conduct* in their Superiors, which, having the Appearance at leaſt of *Violence*, might raiſe a *Spirit* to ſerve the Purpoſes of theſe *Enemies*. And then the Time is, to paint out the *Court* to them, as determined to cruſh or injure them. But I always thought, as ſoon as the Seaſon of Conſideration ſhould come, that *One Queſtion* aſked and anſwered muſt be ſatisfactory to any Man of good Senſe. "What One *End* in the World can a *Government* have in being an *Enemy* to thoſe *Great Bodies?*" Or, in another Way, "How is it poſſible *This* ſhould ever be, upon any Principles of Politicks and Intereſt, unleſs it be forced and made unavoidable by a long and determined Reſolution, on the contrary Side, of *War* and *Enmity?*" Whoever would take a *Minute* from his Studies, to aſk Himſelf This or the like *Queſtion*, would, after that *Minute* ended, ſee through the *Artifices* of the *Enemy*, who could impoſe *Impoſſibilities* upon Him for *Certainties*; and would find a plain Road to all the *Contentment* of Mind, in the Quiet Enjoyment of his Academical Life, which this World admits of.

And upon this Account, I always was confident that when a *Prince* ſhould ariſe, who ſhould, upon any proper Occaſion, let thoſe *Bodies* ſee, that *Fear* and Cowardice had no Part in his Conduct towards them; and yet who, by a long Courſe of Adminiſtration, ſhould let them feel, that no Shadow of Encroachment upon their *Legal Rights* and *Privileges* ſhould be feared from Him, or his *Miniſters*; a *Prince*, who ſhould truſt *Thoſe* with the Conduct of his *Affairs*, that had Themſelves received their firſt Impreſſions in thoſe very *Bodies*, and were known Friends and Patrons of them; and who ſhould demonſtrate his *good Diſpoſition* towards the great End of their Inſtitution, by many proper and well-choſen Inſtances of Munificence, to aſſiſt Them in the Purſuit of Glory by New Foundations, and New Conveniencies, and New Opportunities:—I was confident, when ſuch *Evidences* of Care and Love, and ſuch *Tokens* of Good were held forth; the *Spirit* raiſed by our Enemies muſt ſoon give back; the *Good Senſe* of Thoſe concerned muſt begin to exert itſelf; and at leaſt, an *Opening* be made for that Intercourſe and Communication of *Good-offices* between the *Government* and theſe *Learned Bodies*, which has of late Years in ſome meaſure been diminiſhed, or blocked up, by the *Management* of Thoſe who are in effect equally Enemies to *Both*; and in reality as *indifferent* to the true Intereſt and Security of what They pretend to *love*, as They are *determined* to the *Ruine* of what They profeſs to *hate*.

I have lived to ſee the Beginning of what I hoped. And I will as yet flatter Myſelf, and my Country, that the Good Spirit and Temper which have begun to appear, will grow brighter and ſtronger in thoſe *Learned Bodies*; that Surmizes and Jealouſies ſhall not get the better of the Force of Experience and *Fact*; and that it ſhall not be in the Power of thoſe Enemies, whoſe Projects can end in nothing but *Ruine*, to hinder the Progreſs and Improvement of what tends ſo viſibly to the peculiar Intereſt of thoſe *Societies*, and the publick Good of the whole *Kingdom*. But this is a Subject, worthy to be reſumed, when it may be handled at more length than the preſent *Paper* allows.

BRITANNICUS.

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LET-

LETTER C. LONDON JOURNAL, December 19, 1724.

The following Letter (which I very willingly give to the Publick, *this firſt Opportunity) contains ſeveral very good Sentiments, and ſuch as will unavoidably lead me to trouble the World with ſome farther Thoughts upon the ſame Subject.*

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR, *Oxford*, *Dec.* 14, 1724.

THE *Subject* of your laſt *Paper* is of the greateſt Concern to All who are *Members* of Either of Our *Univerſities*; and have contracted any degree of Regard to Them; and therefore, You will not wonder, if Any ſuch Perſon takes the Freedom to give You ſome of his Thoughts upon it. And as I ſhall now offer You ſome of mine, as they naturally ariſe, with all fitting Decency, and with all due Regard to Our own Intereſt, and That of Our Superiors; I freely give You leave to make what Uſe of them You ſhall think fit: being Myſelf *only* careful *not to diſpleaſe unneceſſarily*, but not at all concerned to fawn and flatter, on either Side of the preſent Subject.

I acknowledge, It is certainly true, what You obſerve, “ That a *Court* cannot *naturally*, or of Choice, be an Enemy to the Univerſities:” Or, in other Words, “ That there cannot be conceived any Reaſon, why a *Court* ſhould ever be ſo, but a Neceſſity put upon it by a Reſolution of Enmity, and the continual Performance of hoſtile Acts, on the other Part.” And this, I own, to be an Argument, and a very juſt and reaſonable *Argument*, againſt All Surmiſes, and Suſpicions of *Enmity* Above; which ought to be received, and have its Weight, in every Breaſt amongſt Us, till it be deſtroyed by, what alone can deſtroy it, any *Overt-acts* of Unfriendly Power, or any plain Denunciation of *Enmity* and *War*; or by ſomething of as much (or more) *Force*, as the Nature of that Reaſon againſt this carries along with it: which is all the *Force* of powerful *Self-intereſt*, and much-loved *Tranquillity*.

On the other hand, give Me leave to obſerve to You, “ That there cannot in Reaſon be any Cauſe formed, why either *This* or the *Other Univerſity* ſhould expreſs, or even conceive, the firſt Motions of Hatred or Ill-will to a *Prince* or a *Court*, without ſomething of Provocation, or at leaſt ſome ſtrong Preſumptions of an *Evil Diſpoſition* toward Them in *Thoſe Above*.” And this, You ought to acknowledge to be an Argument, why every trifling Jealouſy and imaginary Suſpicion; every little *Tale*, or idle *Story*, ſhould not paſs for a *Proof* of a Total Diſaffection; nay, nor every *unadviſed* or *ill-adviſed* Neglect, be received as an Argument of a ſetled and determined *Enmity* in thoſe Bodies. I mean, that a Court ought to be as unwilling to think Them *Enemies*, without *Open* and *Subſtantial* Proofs of it, as (I acknowledge) They ought to be, to think ſo of a *Court*, upon mere Imaginations, and groundleſs Suſpicions. The *Argument* from *Intereſt* holds on the Side of the *Univerſities* as well as on the *Other*. They have been ever greatly indebted to the *Crown*, from their firſt Foundation. *Kings* have been their *Patrons*, and *Queens* their *Patroneſſes*. The paſt Ages bear Witneſs to this; and there is no Age in which They do not ſtand in need of the ſame tender Regard, and Paternal Care; either for the Continuance, or

Enlargement of their Happineſſes. They are, if I may ſay it, the *Children* of the *Crown*; breathing at firſt by the Permiſſion or Appointment of It; receiving afterwards Nouriſhment and Strength from It; growing up under Its Protection to a State of Manhood and Firmneſs; and ſtill taking Refuge, upon all Emergencies, in the ſame Power lodged within the ſame Arms. It is not therefore, raſhly or eaſily to be conceived, that *Enmity* to a *Court*, merely for *Enmity's* Sake, will grow up here; or that where *Intereſt* calls ſo loud, the *Voice* ſhould not be at all heard; but *Enmity* to a *Prince*, or an *Adminiſtration*, ſhould be made a *Choice*, againſt the moſt prevailing Reaſons to the contrary, by a whole Body of Learned or Thinking Men.

And now, ſince I am entered thus far into the *Subject*, I will venture to give You my Opinion freely both about *Perſons* and *Things*; that the *State* in which We are, may be ſeen; and that what all good Men, of all Parties, who are not determined to be falſe to their *Oaths*, wiſh for, may be brought to ſome Perfection. I cannot ſpeak with ſo much Certainty about the *Other Univerſity*, as I can about *Our own*. Therefore, if the Caſe be not the *ſame* with *Them*, as with *Us*, what I ſay will not extend to Them. With regard to *Learning* and *Study*, We may be divided into *Three Claſſes*. One, of *Thoſe*, of All Parties, who truly and warmly purſue the End of all the Encouragements They meet with here; *Another*, of *Thoſe* whoſe Capacities render Them fit for no long Stay, or conſiderable Improvement, here; and who therefore are too apt to make up for this, by *Noiſe* and *Clamour*; and a *Third*, of *Thoſe* who, with good Capacities and Parts, chuſe to live a more gay and negligent Life, than this Place was originally deſigned to admit of. And (what is of more Importance to the Subject We are now upon) with regard to the preſent Government, I will be ſo free, and I hope without Offence to any who pretend any *Regard* to *Truth*, as to own, that *We* may be divided again into *Three* Claſſes. *One*, of ſuch as are hardly to be imagined reconcileable, in their Affections, to their preſent Superiors: *Another*, of ſuch as have taken the *Oaths* to the *Government*, with a ſincere and honeſt Intention of keeping them; but have received Prejudices and Impreſſions into their Minds to its Diſadvantage, yet not ſo as to be diſhoneſtly or determinately fixed in them: and a *Third*, of ſuch as have upon all Occaſions expreſſed a *Zeal* and *Affection* for it. If there are Any, who have been able to find a *Salvo* for the taking ſuch *Oaths*, as That of *Allegiance* and That of *Abjuration*, whilſt their *Heart* is eſtabliſhed in a direct *Oppoſition* to what They ſwear; as This is a Procedure which diſſolves the Bands of all Juſtice Religion and Society, and creates a Horror in the Breaſt of every private Chriſtian; ſo, I ſuppoſe, *No Government* thinks of *Influencing* ſuch Perſons, as are inſenſible to every thing truly good and ſacred.

If You would know under which of the *Claſſes* abovementioned I range Myſelf, and Thoſe amongſt Us whoſe Acquaintance is deareſt to Me; I will confeſs it to be the *Second* of them. We have ſworn Fidelity to the preſent *Proteſtant* Eſtabliſhment, in the Sincerity of our Hearts; without the leaſt Thought of being falſe or faithleſs to our *Oaths*. But We are Men; and, like other Men, liable to Impreſſions; capable of taking a particular Turn of Thought; and, for aught I know, the more eaſily led into one Track of Thinking, even from the *mechanical* Reaſons You mention: but I truſt, without the leaſt *Malignity* of Sin, or wilful determined reaſonleſs Oppoſition. I own, We may have liſtened too eaſily to the *Tales* and *Diſcourſes* of *Men*, whom We had no great Reaſon to value very highly for the Honour They do the *Univerſity*, either by their *Examples*, or their *Learning:* and may have been apt to have interpreted ſome *Appearances* in the *hardeſt* and moſt *ſplenetick* Senſe; and made *Realities* of them, to affright Ourſelves with, in that Darkneſs in which We often are forced to live. But as We never had any *Diſaffection*, but what was capable and deſirous of a *Cure*, and ready to examine and try whatever could appear under that View; We are as ready to hope, as You are to have Us, that an *Opening* is made for *better* Things to come. But We muſt not conclude, that *All* is done at once. *Thoſe Above* have indeed ſhewn a Diſpoſition, and even a Zeal, towards Us: from what Principle, I neither examine, nor think I ought to examine. It becomes Us to judge the *Beſt*, till We find Reaſon to judge otherwiſe. And certainly, We ought to meet a *Good Diſpoſition*, at leaſt half way. But allow me the Liberty to ſay, This is only an *Opening*; only a *Beginning* of *Good* to be hoped for. A little *Patience*, and a little *Trial*, will be yet neceſſary; and what We expect to be indulged in. As We are already inclined to believe that ſuch *Overtures* could not come from *Perſons*, who either *mean* or *wiſh* Us evil: ſo, We attend for the greater Confirmation of *Time* and *Experience*.

It cannot be denied, that It muſt be a great Encouragement to the *Preachers* growing up amongſt Us, beſides the *Aſſiſtance* it adds to Them in the Proſecution of their Way of Life here, to be called up to the *Metropolis*; to gain at leaſt a ſmall View of a World, which Many of Them would otherwiſe have but a little and fruitleſs Idea of; and perhaps, to meet with unforeſeen Opportunities of making their Way through that World, with more Uſefulneſs and Honour, than might have been without it. Neither can I forbear to ſay, that I am diſpoſed to commend, and even to extol, the Noble Deſign of pointing out, as it were, to other Young Men among Us, the Path of Uſefulneſs to the *Publick*, and future Advantage to Themſelves, by the Encouragement given Them to qualify themſelves for the *publick Service* of the *State*, or the more private Service of the *Higheſt Families*. Nothing was more wanted, (I will never be aſhamed to confeſs it,) and nothing more deſireable. But yet I will add that, if it ſhall appear that no farther *End* is looked after in all this, than a little preſent *Complaiſance*, or *Flattery*, beſtowed upon Us, to ſtroak and ſooth Us into a *Calm* of *Good-humour*; or to ſhame Us into an *Addreſs:* the *good Opinion* Many of Us have begun to conceive, will ſoon vaniſh, and no better *Diſpoſition* afterwards appear amongſt Us, than what has been complained of. As to *Thoſe*, whoſe inveterate Sourneſs is ſuch, that No kind *Conduct*, No *Beneficence*, No Acts of Real Service, can conſtrain Them even into the Appearance of *Good Manners*; I have no more to ſay *for* Them, than *Others* have to expect *of* Them. I ſpeak of *Perſons*, who are diſpoſed to liſten to Reaſon and Experience, even againſt the Impreſſions They may have once received.

We wait, I ſay, for the Confirmation of the Reality of this *Good Diſpoſition* towards Us. We expect a *Conſtant Regard* to be ſhewn by Thoſe in Power to the good Ends that are pretended. Without this, All is in vain. But when we once ſee and feel, that the *Natural Advantages* of theſe late Benefactions are truly attended to; that Men of Merit are brought out of Obſcurity into Light, by the Conductors of Them; and that the *higheſt Regard* is paid to the *higheſt Merit*, without the Workings of *Favour* or Prejudice: When We once find, that Young Men, who have made themſelves fit for the Service, are called out to it; and fixed in *Stations*, in which They may ſhew Themſelves an Honour to the Place of their Education, and a publick Benefit to their Country;

We ſhall then think our *Superiors* truly in earneſt. Our *Duty* muſt then *riſe* into Love and Zeal; and the moſt cunning Malice itſelf, I am confident, will not, after this, be able to give any farther Uneaſineſs to thoſe *Seats* of Learning, where *peaceful Quiet*, and *ſecure Leiſure*, and a pleaſant *Good-humour*, and a *ſerene Diſpoſition*, are peculiarly requiſite for the promoting and anſwering the *good* and *great Ends* of their *Inſtitution. I am,*

SIR,

Your, &c.

A. B.

LETTER CI. LONDON JOURNAL, December 26, 1724.

Anſwer *to the* Letter *from* A. B. *inſerted in the laſt* Paper.

SIR,

TO converſe with a Reaſonable Man, is one of the greateſt Pleaſures that any Debate can afford. And as You have been ſo impartial and ſincere on *your* Part; I ſhall with a great deal of Joy endeavour to be equal to You, in theſe, on *my* Part. We are, I think, well enough agreed in ſome *Points*, which are, as it were, a Foundation to build upon in raiſing up others.—It is no more the *Intereſt* of the *Univerſities*, to have the *Enmity* of the *Court*, than it is the *Intereſt* of the *Court*, to have the *Enmity* of ſuch *Bodies*. Thoſe *Bodies* ought in reaſon to be as ready in ſhewing a due Senſe of This, as the *Court* ought to be in giving Them all proper Proofs of a reaſonable and ſufficient Regard to Them. The firſt *Overtures* of Good-will and Service ought to be accepted as ſuch, without the Miſinterpretations of Paſſion, or Party, or Mere *Ill-humour* for Ill-humour's Sake: but then, It is incumbent upon Thoſe in *Power*, to demonſtrate by All their future Conduct that They truly intended a *Great* and *Laſting Good* in theſe *Overtures*; and not only a *little preſent vaniſhing Impreſſion* upon thoſe *Bodies*.—

In Theſe and the like *Conceſſions* and *Demands*, I think, We perfectly agree; if I underſtand You aright. And I take this Opportunity, to aſſure You, in particular, That I was far from deſigning, in Any thing I advanced upon this *Subject*, a *Panegyric* on *One* Side, or a *Satire* on the *Other*. I will go farther, and venture to tell You, that *I* am as naturally *jealous* of *Courts* and *Miniſters*, as *You* or any of *Your Friends* can be; that I think it beneath a Man to write of Them, in the Words of *Servile Flattery*; or to give Them the leaſt Part of the *Incenſe* of *Praiſe*, but when there are *Matters* of *Fact* to appeal to; *that is*, when *Praiſe-worthy Actions* claim it as their Due: and then, to no higher a degree, than the preſent Appearances and Circumſtances of thoſe *Actions* will ſtrictly juſtify. Within theſe *Bounds*, I am ſure, You Yourſelf will allow it; and beyond them, I will never carry it. The following Rules therefore, I will obſerve, in thinking and ſpeaking upon this *Subject*, with regard to *Both Parties* concerned in it; *Not* to treat Things as *perfected*, which are but juſt *begun*; *Not* to pay Complements to every *Appearance*, as if it were a *ſetled Reality* of much more Importance than it is: and at the ſame Time, *Not* to be too ſuſpicious of *Evil*, where nothing but *Good* ſhews itſelf; or to impute *Falſhood* or *Bad Deſigns*, where there is no preſent Ground for it. If You will join with Me in applying theſe *Rules*, You will find them equally neceſſary for judging about the *Conduct* of your *Learned Bodies*, as about the *Behaviour* of any *Court*.

When Thoſe who make the greateſt Figure in ſuch a *Body*, come up, with the utmoſt *Formality* of *Ceremony*, and in the moſt decent manner addreſs Themſelves perſonally to a *King*; and with a ſerious *Solemnity* profeſs *Allegiance* to *Him*, (ſpeaking to a particular Perſon;) and, calling *Almighty God* Himſelf into ſo important a Cauſe, aſſure this *King*, that They pour out their hearty Prayers for HIM, and for HIS *Family*; ſtill ſpeaking *perſonally* to *Him* now preſent before Them:—When this is ſo, All the *Enemies* They have in the World ſhall never perſuade Me, that They do not *mean* what They *ſpeak* in ſo ſolemn a Manner. Nothing but *Facts*, openly contrary to ſuch *Profeſſions*, and following *after* Them, can, in common Juſtice, be admitted as any Proof of ſo much *Evil*, as We ought not ſo *much* as to *ſuſpect* of One Another without Reaſon. But then You will permit Me to add, That *This* is but a *Good Appearance* at preſent; and that All who truly love thoſe *Bodies*, can do Them no better nor more ſubſtantial Service, than to put Them in mind, That to demonſtrate it to be a *Reality*, lies upon *Themſelves*; that their *Honour* is at ſtake, in the higheſt Inſtance poſſible; and that *Time* and *Experience* alone muſt either exceedingly add to it, or totally deſtroy it. You ſee therefore, that the *Work* We both wiſh well to, does not lie upon *One* Side only. It is abſolutely neceſſary on *Your* Part, That the World ſhould ſee You have a mind to be eaſy; and take a Pleaſure in being obliged; and expreſs a true Satisfaction in all Attempts of adding *Uſefulneſs* and *Glory* to Your Body. You will not, I truſt, be ſo *partial* as not to *ſee*, or ſo *weak-hearted* as not to *own*, even in the Place where you live, ſo plain and equitable a Truth as This.

And that You may not think, I am getting Myſelf clear of the *Burthen* of *Impartiality*, and laying it *All* upon You; I will now join with your *Demands* upon *Thoſe* Above; and will not ſcruple to call upon Them, in as high a Tone as You can wiſh, for Juſtice and Equity, and Impartiality, and Unwearied Steadineſs, in the Proſecution of what *They* have lately offered to You, as promoting your *Good*, and your *Honour*. It lies upon Thoſe who conduct thoſe *Schemes*, (I own it, and repeat it, *It lies upon* Them,) to make the *Effect* of their Propoſals as good, as the *Promiſes* of them ſeem at preſent. It is their *Duty*, in ſuch a degree, that I will be ſo free as to affirm, if any thing ſhall be found wanting on *their* Part towards it, That there never was a more *Inſignificant*, *Vain*, or even *Ruinous* Attempt, as ſuch a *Beginning:* The more *Inſignificant*, for having been ſo much ſpoken of as *Important*; the more *Vain*, for having been introduced into the World with ſo much *Pomp*, and the more *Ruinous* to Thoſe who were the Introducers, for the loud and great Profeſſions of *Real* and *Laſting* Service ſeriouſly and zealouſly deſigned. As therefore, according to my Rules of *Equity*, I cannot at preſent but judge that *All* the Service *pretended*, is ſincerely *deſigned*; becauſe I cannot think Any Great Men ſo void of all Senſe and Reaſon, as voluntarily to preſent ſuch a Scene, without ſuch real Diſpoſitions; or, in plainer Words, ſo *Mad* as to do this, without a true Intention of proſecuting it: *So*, I am at the ſame time ready to declare, That, if *Experience* and *Fact* ſhould come out otherwiſe; if *That*, which I think impoſſible in *Suppoſition*, ſhould become viſible in *Practice*; if the *Fruits* of ſuch fair and promiſing Trees ſhould prove *none*, or as bad as *none*;—I will *then* join *Mine* with *Your* utmoſt Reſentments; and turn all my *Hopes*, and flattering Prophecies, into deſerved *Satire* upon the *Underſtanding* or *Integrity* of Thoſe, who ſhall be found to have acted ſuch a Part, to the Deſtruction of what They ought to have promoted, and to the *Scandal* of their own *fair* and *ſmooth* Pretences. But *this* I will never believe poſſible to be the Caſe, till I ſee it.

In the mean while, Truſt Me, or rather Truſt the Nature of Things; *Intereſt*,—*Honour*,—*Love* to the *Publick*,—*Love* to *Themſelves*,—*Zeal* for the preſent *National Eſtabliſhment*,—*Zeal* for *their own* Eſtabliſhment,—Every Thing that can move a generous Spirit; and every *Tie* that can oblige a Man, mindful either of his Country, or Himſelf; regardful either of the preſent Age, or of his own Poſterity,—*All* ſpeak aloud in this Cauſe: and though the *Voice* of *One* ſort of them may ſometimes not be heard, the *Voice* of the *Other* is ſeldom known but to *prevail*, and almoſt ever ſeen to govern and regulate the *Practice* of Mankind. All Men may err; and the *Higheſt Men* may the ſooner *err*, if their great Affairs put Them out of the Reach of thoſe *Informations* and *Notices*, which are in ſuch Matters neceſſary. But this alone ſhould make Them extremely careful in this Caſe, that their own *Reputation* is in ſo great a degree concerned in it, as to *ſtand* or *fall* according to their own *Conduct* in it. If *Thoſe* who direct in reducing theſe Schemes to *Practice*, do not to the utmoſt of their Power guard againſt All that Impoſition which naturally ariſes from perſonal Favour or private *Friendſhip*; and make the beſt Choice they can, after all fitting Enquiries, of the moſt proper Perſons to partake of thoſe *Encouragements*, which the *Crown* offers at its own great Expence; You will be juſtified in the loudeſt and bittereſt Complaints You can make. On the *other* hand, if All that *Care* be taken which Humane Affairs and Humane Imperfection generally admit of; and Attempts made from time to time, to render Uſeful and Famous in the World, Thoſe who are beſt qualified to ſerve their Fellow-creatures, either in the Eternal Concerns of Another Life after this, or in the biggeſt *Temporal* Concerns of Society here below;—If this ſhall be ſeen to be the Caſe: You will be dead to your own Intereſt, as an *Univerſity*; and loſt to all Impartiality and Equity, as Men; if You ſhall not be ready *then* to acknowledge, That in the *Reign* of his *preſent Majeſty*, Greater and Truer Honours, more Real and Laſting Services, were done to our *Univerſities*, than many *Reigns*, and many *Ages* before, united together, can excel, or even equal.

Tell Me, What more manly and more *rational* Pleaſure, than ſuch a View, even to the *Oldeſt Men* amongſt You, who truly love the *Place* of their Reſidence, and wiſh Honour and Proſperity to Thoſe who are to ſucceed Them? And to the *Younger* Part, who are addicted at all to their *Studies*, What more *intimate* and more *ſenſible* Pleaſure, than to ſee their *Proſpects* enlarged;—*Intereſt* and *Glory* both inviting them to cultivate and exalt all the Faculties of their Souls, for the greater Service of *God* and *Man*; and a Door opened, through which They may in time enter upon a large and ſpacious *Theatre* of *Action*, and riſe into the View and Applauſes of the *Beſt* Part of Mankind? Is it poſſible, there ſhould be *Any Enemies* to ſuch a *Proſpect*, who can be called *Friends* to your *Body*? *Any*, that have ſtill Bitterneſs enough, to hinder or interrupt that good *Correſpondence*, which will be ſtill more and more neceſſary to bring what all good Men wiſh, to Perfection? I cannot, I will not believe it.—

There is a *Duty* on *Both Sides*. I have ſpoken my Sentiments very freely upon it: and, I think, without this Freedom, I could not have ſhewn my Regard to *Either*. At leaſt, I hope You are ſo equitable, as to take it in good part from,

S I R,

Your, &c.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER CII[e]. LONDON JOURNAL, January 2, 17$\frac{24}{25}$.

THERE is nothing more obſervable in humane Nature, than That *Forgetfulneſs* and *Inſenſibility* of the greateſt Evils, which is ſeen to come upon Men; (even of *Thoſe Evils* which have threatened Ruine to *Themſelves*, and every Thing that is dear to Them;) when a little Diſtance of *Time* or *Place* has intervened, and They have found *Themſelves* for a Seaſon at Eaſe from the immediate *Apprehenſion* of them. What one Man or Woman was there amongſt Us, who, in the Year 1688, did not ſtart at the Dread of *Popery*, and of the Methods of Support which conſtantly attended it, and were *then* underſtood to be inſeparable from it? But, as the Years have run on; and Eaſe and Freedom with them; and Opportunities been *given*, of dreſſing it up in a more pleaſing, or leſs horrible, Garb; the *Impreſſion* is almoſt worn away in *Some*; and in *Others*, even a *Diſcontent* at the Expence and Trouble of keeping it out, is ſprung up in the Room of it. Thus again, It ſtruck *Proteſtants* to the Heart *once*, to ſee whole Families, and Numerous Crowds of Unhappy Men and Women, driven from their Native Country, where They lived under a warm Sun, and in a fruitful Abundance; and forced to ſeek Refuge in the *Charity* and *Hoſpitality* of *Other Nations*. But a Tract of Time has had its Courſe, *ſince*; and All This can be now looked upon with a much more calm and ſedate Temper. It pleaſes Providence therefore, at ſeveral Intervals of Time, to permit *Appearances* and *Facts*, which may either keep Us awake, if We are ſo; or, if We are not, may rouſe Us from a Sleep, which, if it continues, muſt be a *Sleep unto Death*, and Deſtruction. I own, I have *Enthuſiaſm* enough to lead Me to interpret what has paſſed abroad at *THORN*, in ſome ſuch Manner as this. The *Proteſtant* World ſeems to be in a *Lethargy*. It is Goodneſs in the Governour of all things, to allarm and ſhock It into ſome Senſe of thoſe *Evils*, which are never far removed from it, and ever going forward, in the Contrivance of ſome Men, againſt it. *Here* therefore, is an Inſtance preſented before its Eyes, of the Implacable Malice and Great Power of its greateſt Enemies; and a flagrant Proof of what All are to expect, where-ever the ſame *Power*, and the ſame *Malice*, can prevail. And if Men will not be rouſed by ſuch *Terrors* as *Theſe*, They have nothing to blame but their own Wilful and Mad Stupidity.

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[e] A ſhort Extract from *Tindal's* Continuation of *Rapin's* Hiſtory of England, will throw ſome light on the Subject of this and the following Letter:

"The Proteſtants at *Thorn*, in *Royal Pruſſia*, belonging to *Poland*, were treated with great Cruelty, on account "of a pretended Riot in *July* [1724], which was really begun by a Student of the *Jeſuits College*, and for which, "the Preſident and Vice-preſident of that City, with Thirteen others, were condemned to be beheaded, and "others quartered and burnt, and the Proteſtant Counſellors at *Thorn* to be removed from the Magiſtracy, and "Papiſts put in their Places; and the Church of *St. Mary* to be taken from the Proteſtants, and given to the *Franciſcan* Friars. Mr. *Finch*, the *Britiſh* Miniſter at *Dreſden*, had orders to go to *Poland*, and inſiſt upon Satisfaction "for the Proteſtants of *Thorn*, and other Places in that Kingdom, oppreſſed by the Papiſts; but the *Poles* could "not be prevailed upon to do the Proteſtants juſtice."

Far be it from any of Us, to imagine that *Tumults* and *Seditions*, *Uproars* and *Outrages*, ſhould not be ſeverely judged; and every Man concerned in them *puniſhed*, in Proportion to the Part He bore in the Guilt: and *this*, let the Pretence be what it will. No Zeal *for*, or *againſt*, any thing in *Religion*, can juſtify the *Breach* of all or any of the Duties of *Social Life*. Nay, I will ſay, ſuch Evils are rather aggravated, by making what was deſigned for the *Peace* and *Quiet* of the World, the Inſtrument and Occaſion of Violence and Diſorder. Did any *Proteſtants* therefore, break into the Temporal Rights and Privileges of *Others*, moved by a miſtaken and miſapplied *Zeal?* Who would have blamed a due Puniſhment of the Perſons concerned? Did *Others* provoke Them to *This*, by any improper Behaviour? Let *Thoſe* alſo ſuffer ſomething, or elſe let it paſs as ſome Mitigation of the Other. This is not the *Point*. The Particulars which give the greateſt Apprehenſion, and raiſe the moſt uneaſy Senſations, are Theſe. —The *Power* and *Intereſt* which the *Jeſuits*, upon every Occaſion, ſhew themſelves to have; and which They in a particular Manner have made too manifeſt, in this Affair:—The *Sentence* and *Manner* of Executing it, enough to ſtrike *Horror* into every Heart, that comes to the Knowledge of it; and to make *every Ear tingle*, that hears it:—The *Conſequences* of it, beyond the *Puniſhment* of either the *real* or *ſuppoſed* Delinquents:—The Evidence from the Whole, that the *Great View* was to the diminiſhing, and in time extinguiſhing, not only that particular Branch of Proteſtantiſm, but every thing that preſumes to exalt itſelf againſt *Arbitrary Deciſions*, and *Implicit Obedience*.

The *Society* of *Jeſuits* were the Chief and Original Movers of this *Tragedy*: and that *They* have Intereſt enough in States and Kingdoms, to diſplay ſuch Scenes when They pleaſe, is but a melancholy Conſideration to Any *Proteſtants* or *Freemen*, who have ever heard of that Name. That every Member of that Society is of the ſame fiery Make, or inflexible *Bigotry*, it is raſh and groundleſs to imagine. But that, ſpeaking of *Them* as a *Body*, They are the *Worſt*; the moſt Terrible; the moſt to be dreaded by *All* who value any *Rights*, whether *Religious* or *Civil*;—for *This*, We have the Teſtimony of the very beſt of the *Romiſh Communion*, both for Temper and Learning, to bear Us out; beſides the *Experience* of many *Facts* to appeal to. That there is a certain and eſtabliſhed Difference between *ſome* Members of that *Church* and others, is not to be denied or diſowned: though, whether *Any* of Them can be truly *ſuch*, and not be liable to the Commands of their *Superiors*, even ſo far as to be put off from the Bias of All their Good-nature, and to extinguiſh every Spark of their Natural or Religious *Humanity*, for the Propagation of their Sect, I will not now enquire. But it is certain, that there is thus far a Difference, That *Many* of Them have not ſuch a *blind Bigotry*, as to be perpetually buſy in the forming and carrying on thoſe Schemes of pernicious Ruine and Deſtruction, in which *Others* take a Delight to be the *firſt* and *principal* Deſigners and Actors. Amongſt the *Latter*, None are more remarkable than *Thoſe* who have honoured Themſelves with the Sacred Name of *Jeſus*: not in order to imitate his unbounded Love; but under ſo good a Title to cover, if poſſible, from unwary Eyes, their own contrary Temper, and oppoſite Schemes of Action. From ſmall Beginnings, this *Society* has raiſed itſelf to an *immenſe* Bigneſs and Power. Their Reputation was high ſome time ago, for the *Learning* and *Knowledge* of ſome of their Members; and theſe gained them Acceſs into many Places where their other Qualities would not have done it. But as all *Knowledge* and *Enquiry* into any Truths, becomes ſuſpected as dangerous to a *Religion* which hates the Light, becauſe *That which maketh manifeſt is Light*; and becauſe *One* Truth may unfortunately lead to *Another* not ſo harmleſs: This Path to *Reputation* and *Intereſt* has been rather ſhut up of late Years; and They have (after *Riches*, and all the Strength Riches can procure, have flowed in upon Them,) choſe to gain ground, by a greater *Zeal*; a *hotter Bigotry*; a more Unlimited and Voluntary Obedience to the Holy See; and a more determined Laboriouſneſs in the extenſive Propagation of the *Romiſh Profeſſion*, than any other *Sect* of that *vaſt Body*, has been able to do. When *this Society* therefore gains Ground, and ſhews its Strength, amongſt the Rulers of this World; All *Proteſtants*, and every Soul that has a Feeling of what the Freedom of *Social* Creatures, and the Happineſs of *Rational* Creatures, in any degree mean, muſt mourn at the Sight; and eſteem It an Appearance of a *Growing* Evil, which threatens them *All* with the ſame Miſeries, which It executes upon *Some*, as faſt as *Power* and Opportunity ſhall give leave. Whoever They are that come into ſuch Hands, have no Remedy left but *Curſed Hypocriſy*, or *Uneaſy Patience*, under the inexorable Diſcipline of *Hardened Hearts*, and *Darkened Underſtandings*.

The *Sentence*, and the *Manner* of the *Execution* of it at *Thorn*, was worthy of ſuch *Movers*, and agreeable to *Thoſe* who had Intereſt enough to bring it about. But here, what ſhall we believe? The *Jeſuits* have already begun their After-game; and, putting all their Strength upon the Weakneſs of Others, would perſwade the World that the *Suffering Part* is *not* at all to be *credited* in their *Relation* either of the *Crime*, or the *Puniſhment*: and *that* for this Reaſon, becauſe They are *Hereticks*. This impudent Reaſon, ſtupid as it is, may move their own *Partizans*, and weigh with *Bigots* and *Slaves*. But I am ſpeaking to others; and I affirm, that We are juſtified, even in thinking the worſt We can think (in this Caſe) of the *Triumphant Side*; and the moſt favourably of the *Other*; from this very low and mean Proceeding, from this ſenſeleſs Reaſon given, merely to prevent every One of their own Religion aſking a Queſtion about the *Truth* of the *Facts*. The *Crime*, I may conclude, was not quite ſo great as a *Papiſt* himſelf is made to think it; and the *Puniſhment* much greater than the *Crime*; even to a degree ſufficient to raiſe an univerſal Horror; becauſe the *Society* which managed the Whole, the *Society* ſo famous for Sincerity and Truth, claim to Themſelves the ſole Privilege of telling the whole Story, and of being believed in what They ſay. The poor *Lutherans* muſt not be regarded, becauſe They are *Hereticks*—Thus, I ſay, They may deal with their own *Scholars* and *Slaves*; if there are any, *Slaves* enough to bear it.

But the *Facts* in the publick Face of the World ſpeak enough, without entirely relying on the *Relations* of Either Party concerned.—A Tumult raiſed; and in this popular Tumult, Outrages committed, as it is too often and almoſt always ſeen—The *Magiſtrates* not able to compoſe this ſo ſoon as it ought to have been: for, as to their *Will* to do it, Intereſt and Self-preſervation, and the certain Proſpect of Puniſhment, are Demonſtrations of it—The *Jeſuits*, the Sufferers, proſecute the *Complaint*—A terrible Sentence is obtained.—An Army is ſent to protect the Execution of it.—When there were ſome Hopes, upon humble Submiſſions, to obtain ſo ſmall a Favour as a *Reſpite*, the *General* is engaged by theſe cruel Men, to cut off all Hope of That; and by his *Letters* to procure an Order to proceed to the Execution *Eight Days* before the Day appointed in the Sentence: a Circumſtance, I believe, hardly heard of in any other Caſe, and entirely to be aſcribed to the reſtleſs Zeal of this *Society*, and their *Impatience* to bear the Thought of even a *Poſſibility* of *Mercy*—Thus, before any Interpoſition from *Other Powers* could be, ſeveral of the *Chief Magiſtrates* are deſtroyed—Inſulting Cruelties added to the Execution of ſome *Others* —And, (what adds to the Pageantry, and makes the *Whole* look like a Work of Zeal for their *Church*, and not of a due *Senſe* of their *Privileges* invaded,) ſome *Mean Perſons* ſaved from Death, merely on Account of the changing their Religion; and the *Brave Man* who died firſt, tempted and tortured with that *Wicked* Offer, whilſt a Cruel Death ſtared him in the Face. This was adding *Inſult* to *Cruelty*; and a much greater *Inward Barbarity*, to the *External Terror* of the Sword.—*This*, and the Other Proceedings, *Baniſhments*, *Confiſcation* of Goods, *Alteration* of the *Governing Council*, *Seizing* the *Lutheran Churches*, and enſtating the *Romaniſts* in them——

What are all theſe Exceſſes of *Rigor*, but ſtrong Preſumptions that the whole *Scene* was originally laid with this very View; and that *Thoſe* who have had *Intereſt* to profit ſo *enormouſly* by a *Tumult*, had *Cunning* and *Power* enough in the Town, to nurſe and cheriſh and provoke it into what at laſt it came to? But this is only a *Surmiſe*, perhaps weak, and without ground. I need it not. What *appears*, is alone ſufficient to create Horror, in the *Beſt* Part of the *Romaniſts* themſelves; and once more to ſhew all *Proteſtants*, their *Danger*, their *Intereſt*, and their *Duty*. I ſhall proceed upon this Subject in the next Paper.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER CIII. LONDON JOURNAL, January 9, 172$\frac{24}{25}$.

IN ſpeaking of the Affair at *THORN*, (which has lately made ſo much Noiſe in the World, and I hope will make a great deal more,) One hardly knows either where to begin, or where to leave off. I have already conſidered the Chief and *Original Movers* of that *Tragedy*; and the terrible *Sentence* procured againſt the *Proteſtants*, and the Cruel Execution of it. I will now go on to ſome other *Points*, ariſing from this Subject, of the utmoſt Importance to All who love, or hope for, *Freedom* in *Religion*, or *Happineſs* in *Civil Life*: *Two Things*, which conſtant Experience has ſhewn to be ſo *inſeparable* from One Another, as infallibly to flouriſh and decay, to live and die, together.

The *Conſequences* of this *Scene* of *Power* without *Mercy*, ought to be thought of by *Every Proteſtant*, as They extend much beyond the *Puniſhment* of thoſe Unhappy Men at *Thorn*, who fell under the Rage and devouring Fury of it. And *thus*, I think, is it to be taken by All, who differ from the *Church* of *Rome*, that, when They ſee ſo much Power in the Hands of the *Jeſuits*, They ſee it in the Hands of Perſons *determined* to uſe it to *their* Deſtruction; hardened in all the Paths that can lead to it; and devoted, more than any other Body in the World, in Heart and Soul, to the good Work of propagating their own *Faction*, and enlarging the Bounds of their own *Church*, by all the Methods that the *Wit* of *Man* can invent, and the Strength of Man can execute. I know how natural it is for *Proteſtants* in *Great Britain*, who have been long at reſt, and out of all View of the *Scene* of ſuch Actions, to think inwardly with Themſelves,—We are at a diſtance from the Influence of this Matter—We are ſorry for the Sufferings of miſerable Men, but hope, This Affair does not nearly touch *Us* under a Conſtitution like Ours; and in our Situation, fenced round, as We are, by the natural Bulwark of the *Sea*, from the reſt of the World.——But let not any One thus think, or ſay, What is *This* to Us? Give Me leave to affirm, That it is of the moſt concerning Conſequence to Us All, from the *Higheſt* to the *Loweſt*; from the *Prince* upon the *Throne*, to the *Meaneſt* of his *Subjects*. And as *abroad*, the *Calviniſt* as well as the *Lutheran* is touched by it; ſo *at home*, from the moſt rigid *Church-man* to the moſt diſtant *Quaker*, through all the Intermediate Differences of *Moderate Men*, *Latitudinarians*, *Preſbyterians*, *Independents*, *Baptiſts*; Every Church, and every Man, whether *Orthodox* or *Heretical*, whether *Regular* or *Irregular*, is intimately concerned in this Affair. Nay, abſtractedly from all Conſiderations of *Religion*; Every Man who has the leaſt Senſe of Civil *Liberty*, the leaſt Regard to the Happineſs of Himſelf or his Fellow Creatures in humane Society, muſt think himſelf intereſted in it.

Every *Advance*, and every *Step*, which the *Power* of ſuch *Bigotry* makes in the World, is an *Advance* and a *Step* towards the total Suppreſſion and Ruine of *Every One* of *Theſe*, and of all other *Denominations* diſtinct from Thoſe who are Slaves to *Rome*. You cannot think that ſuch *Policy* and ſuch *Zeal* mixt together, confine their View within the narrow Bounds of a ſingle *Town*: or that it can be any ſufficient Satisfaction to the *Bigotry* of *Jeſuitiſm*, to get the better of the *Lutherans* at *Thorn*. Alaſs! Theſe are but poor Morſels for ſuch *Appetites*. It is every *Town*, and every *Country*; every *Church*, and every *Kingdom*, of the known World, that They make the conſtant Care and Burthen of their *Religious Ambition*. They *pant* after Us all in the Bowels of *their Tender Mercies*, which are as *Cruel* as *Cruelty* itſelf: and can never be at reſt till our *Hearts* or our *Tongues*, (for it is much one to Them which of the Two They procure,) till our *Religion*, or our *Eſtates*, are all theirs. Unlike all other *Sects*, and all other Bodies in the ſame Communion, They are never diverted either by *Learning* or *Devotion*, either by their own *private Studies*, or *pious Exerciſes*, from the one main *Conſtant View* of ſubjugating *All*, to the *Faith*, not of *Jeſus*, but of the *Society* of *Jeſus*. To this Deſign They have conſecrated all their Labours; and from this They are never known to decline. When We ſee them therefore, powerful in the *Cabinets* of *Princes*; and ſucceſsfully dextrous in recommending Themſelves to the Mighty Men of this World, by their Intrigues, and by their *Intereſt* in managing the *Bigotry* of Thoſe under them——If We forget, or deny, that *This* touches *Us*; that *This* is *ſo much* gained *againſt Us*; that *This* points very terribly at every *Proteſtant*, and every *Chriſtian* in *Europe*, who is the *Diſciple* of *Chriſt*, and not of *Rome*——If We forget *This*, I ſay, We forget *Ourſelves*, and what We are, and what our *Intereſt* is, and what our only Hope and Deſire ought to be. Every ſucceſsful Exerciſe of *Power*, is an *Acceſſion* of *more*; and every *Act* of *Violence*, not redreſſed, gives Strength and Encouragement to proceed to *Others*. A *Terror* and *Feebleneſs* is thus ſtruck into the *Oppoſite* Part; and Spirits and Vigour are added to the *Oppreſſors*. And when They find their *Strength*, and that They can ſhew it effectually in the Deſtruction of *Some* They hate; what ſhall hinder Them, as *Power* and *Time* come on together, from exerting the ſame upon *All* Others whom They equally hate, and are equally ſworn to deſtroy from off the Earth?

But We of this Nation have ſtill a nearer Concern in this Affair, if All Religious and Civil *Rights* are of any Concern to Us. Every *Advance* of the *Power* of *Bigotry* abroad, threatens *Us* with a *Popiſh Pretender* at home; and together with *Him*, All the Train of his *Attendants*, Superſtition and Cruelty. None ſuch faſt Friends to *his* Cauſe; None ſo unmoveable in the Proſecution of it;

None ſo deſperate in what They once admit into their Hearts, as That *Society* which was the Mover of this *Tragedy*, We have now been ſpeaking of. Every Experiment therefore, of *their* Strength, tends by degrees to ſhake the *Throne* of our *King*; and to weaken our future Hopes of Happineſs under the ſucceeding Branches of his *Family*; as it paves the Way to every thing contrary to a *Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment*. And this methinks, ſhould weigh with *All Proteſtants* who would not be *miſerable*; whether They have the ſame Notions of *Happineſs* with *Others*, or not. The Point to ſuch Perſons is not, Whether They love their preſent Superiors; or whether they perfectly approve of their *Adminiſtration*: but whether They can bear all the Miſeries of *Popiſh Bigotry*, and will chuſe to exchange *Liberty* for *Chains*; *Property* for *Arbitrary Will*; the Eaſe and Security of a *Subject* of a *Proteſtant Prince*, and of a *Member* of a *Proteſtant Church*, for the fiery Operations of *Jeſuitiſm*, and the Cruelties of *Thorn*, and indeed of every other Place where the ſame *Zeal* has had the ſame Room to diſplay itſelf. This ſhould be no light Conſideration to the moſt diſcontented *Proteſtant* amongſt Us, who is One truly and ſincerely; That as a *Proteſtant*, He is not unconcerned in Any the leaſt Acceſſion of Power to that *Popiſh* Intereſt abroad, which, if it increaſes, will ſooner or later end in a *Popiſh* Intereſt, and a *Popiſh* Settlement, here; And that, as the *Pretender* (who is to reap the Benefit of this) is as famous for determined *Bigottry*, as the *body* of *Jeſuits* themſelves; Let Him but once get footing here, by what Means They pleaſe, (even by the Help of *Proteſtant* Hands lifted up againſt Themſelves;) yet ſtill, It can end in nothing but the *Adminiſtration* of *Thoſe*, whom his own *Bigotry* will point out to his Choice; *that is*, in nothing but the *ſame Meaſures* of Ruine and Devaſtation, by which the ſame *Bigotry* has ever worked, and ever will work, till humane Nature be totally altered. And if They can have any Comfort in ſuch a View, much Good may it do them! But let them ſometimes, in the midſt of it, caſt their *Eyes* abroad upon the *Proteſtants* at *Thorn*; and think within their own Breaſts, Whether if *They themſelves* ever come within the Sphere of Action of the ſame *Body*, they will not feel the ſame deſtructive Force, and be ſwallowed up in the ſame Whirlpool. Let not a little Prejudice, or the Imaginary *Want* of ſomething We may wiſh for, extinguiſh all Common Senſe; or take away all Regard to Ourſelves, and our lateſt Poſterity.

But We muſt not leave this *Affair* here. If *Proteſtants* do not learn ſome good Leſſon from it, beſides a *Zeal* againſt an implacable *Enemy*; it is, if I may ſay ſo, an *Act* of *Providence* loſt upon them. They have, many of Them, been often very buſy in interpreting *Providences*. Here is *One* that may very eaſily be underſtood; but perhaps, as Many others have been, it will be applied by the Multitude only to their *Neighbours*, and not to *Themſelves*. The *Cruelties* at *Thorn*, which You are ſo moved at, ſhould make You caſt your Thoughts upon that *Spirit* which is the Cauſe of Them; and thoſe *Thoughts* ſhould make You abhor and fly from the *firſt Motions*, the *leaſt Beginnings*, of that *Temper* in Yourſelves. *Inward Cenſures* of One Another, on Account of *Religious Differences*;—*Hard Sentences* and *Judgements* of *Private Men* againſt One Another;—The *Violence* of *Words*;—The *Refuſal* of Mutual *Communications* of *Friendſhip*;—The calling in *Worldly Aſſiſtances*, to aggrieve or hurt or ruine One Another, in any degree, or in any Inſtance;—*Theſe* are the *Motions* of the *ſame Spirit*, going on from *One* degree to *Another*, 'till it ends in the open Avowal of *Fire* and *Faggot*, *Swords* and *Gibbets*—*Theſe*, whenever They are ſeen amongſt *Proteſtants*, are the Strength of your *Enemies*; the only Defences of *their* Barbarities, and the only *Arguments* by which They can cover or excuſe their own Practices. Take from Them *theſe* Arms: and You leave Them utterly indefenſible in *that Conduct*, which *God* and *Nature*, *Reaſon* and *Revelation*, all condemn. The *Outrage* of *Perſecution* did not begin all at once, but grew up by ſlow degrees. If it had not, the *Notion* of it could not have been born by any humane Mind. Firſt, It was only a *Mental Uneaſineſs* at Thoſe who differed. Then it proceeded to *Verbal Declarations*, at which it ſtopped but a ſhort time. For when it was once come to *hard Words*, it was natural to proceed to *Blows*, almoſt as ſoon as the *Balance* of *Power* weighed on *One* Side more than the *Other*. *Moderate Penalties* were the firſt *Eſſays*: but when *They* had no other Effect but to provoke the Spirits of Oppoſers; *Puniſhments* too great for humane Nature eaſily to think of, ſucceeded in their Place. And upon *Theſe* now the *Popiſh Intereſt* reſts itſelf.

God be thanked, the *Proteſtant* World is generally come to a much greater Senſe of the *Duty* of *Mutual Love* and *Forbearance*, than once was experienced in it. But when by ſuch an *Inſtance* as This at *Thorn*, their *Senſe* is again quickened; and They are called upon to ſee and acknowledge the Deformity of the *Spirit* of *Cruelty*, made keen by *Religious Differences*; it is their *Duty* to ſearch to the Root of the Matter; to guard againſt the firſt Motions of ſuch a Spirit amongſt Themſelves, and to implant in their Souls the contrary Temper of *Univerſal Charity*: from the mere Want of which, ſuch unſpeakable Evils have come upon Humane Society, and ſuch Inexcuſable Scandals upon the *Chriſtian* Name.

BRITANNICUS.

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LETTER CIV. LONDON JOURNAL, January 16, 17$^{24}_{25}$.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

IF you find any thing tolerable in the *Papers* I here ſend to you, I have a particular Reaſon, which makes me now beg of you that you would permit them to go into the *Publick* as ſoon as poſſibly They can.

THE Practice of Juſtice and Virtue, as Men are prompted to it, and fortified in it, by Religion, is the Great Support of Government; which, it is impoſſible, ſhould long ſubſiſt without it. For as Man cannot enter into the Heart of Man, we receive Security, and put Confidence, according as we believe the Perſons with whom we are concerned, are governed in their Actions by the Proſpects of another World, and from thence are ſupported in doing well, or terrified from doing ill. No other Motive of Action will keep a Man ſteady upon all Occaſions, and defend him againſt the Temptations of Pleaſure and Pain, of Proſperity and of Adverſe Fortune. It is This only can give a Man a Law to himſelf; and without it, moſt Men will conſider only how to *Eſcape*, and not how to *Obſerve*, the Laws of their Country. This Religion, in ſome Shape or other, is found in all Nations; and from the Suppoſition that every Man has Impreſſions of it upon his Mind, it is very reaſonably expected by thoſe who make Laws, that the People under their Government ſhould take Oaths expreſſing their Diſpoſition to Subjection and Allegiance to the Perſons who are ſet over them; and their Reſolution to live peaceably under their *Magiſtrates*; as well as to oppoſe in their different Stations the Enemies of that Country in which They themſelves are protected and defended. And as long as this Teſt is required, One may ſay, that without a direct plain and conſcientious Acceptance of it, by the Generality of the People, (eſpecially thoſe who bear any Figure, or act any Part in the World;) the Band of the Society is broken, or greatly diſordered; or, in other Words, the Foundation of it is ſunk into Sand.

If we look upon this only in a ſecular View, and merely as it concerns *Politicks*; it appears a Point of the utmoſt Conſequence. If we think of it with Regard to the *Laity* only; on how precarious a Bottom muſt an Eſtabliſhment ſtand, if the Body of its Subjects give it this *Security* of *Words*, but in *Deed* mean little by it? But if we think of it with Regard to Thoſe who are to teach *Others* Religion, and the *Awe* of a ſacred Oath; We muſt be very weak *Politicians*, if We do not preſently aſſure ourſelves, that *Coldneſs* and *Indifference* in *Them* is as bad a Symptom, as open Animoſity in *others*; and that an Avowed Enmity in *Them*, is one of the moſt terrible Suppoſitions. Taking therefore, into the Account the firſt and moſt undeniable Principles of all Religion, there is ſo much Horror in the Thought, that I could never permit myſelf to believe that Any Perſons in their Stations of Life, and under the Awe of a voluntary Oath, could not only act an unconcerned Part towards the Welfare of their Country in their Publick Conduct, but a bitter and exaſperating One in their more private and perſonal Converſations: That it was poſſible that any ſuch could be ſo wicked, as to be in their inward Reſolution Enemies to a *Prince* to whom they have *ſworn*, and warm Zealots in favour of Him whom they have *abjured:* That any ſuch could be guilty of the terrible Practice of ſwearing Solemnly, merely as a Formality; and of taking an Oath, as an Act of the Lips to feed the Stomach, and not as the Utterance of them to expreſs and bind the Heart. But this has been openly proved *poſſible*, to the Grief of all good Men, by a remarkable Inſtance; too freſh to be forgot, and too melancholy to be now farther dwelt upon. I am far from thinking ill of any whole Party of Men upon ſuch an Account. I know, and am ſure, that very Many of them deteſt and abhor ſuch Impiety, and are far from ſuch Guilt of Soul as this is. But as the Thing itſelf is found *poſſible*; and as ſuch Perſons may, in ſome Conjunctures, betray their Country with the ſame Safety that Ingineers blow up a Tower, laying the Train, and ſtanding out of the Way of the Danger themſelves; and as the Force and Influence of *Arts* and *Arms* are often equally deſtructive in their Operations, and differ only in the Time of working; it is by all Means neceſſary to a *Government* to be vigilant and careful, where the want of Vigilance and Care muſt be of more than ordinary fatal Conſequence. And I, therefore, who love and honour a Clergyman, before any other Man in the World, if I think him a good Man, cannot with any Temper apprehend Any of them to be poſſibly Enemies to their Country, and to the Peace and Security of it, without pointing at the Evil, and wiſhing for ſome *Cure* for it.

A Neighbour of mine, in talking upon this *Subject*, uſed to diſtinguiſh the *dangerous Enemies* to our *Eſtabliſhment* into *Two* ſorts; Thoſe who, from a conſcientious Diſaffection to it, are content to loſe all They poſſeſs, rather than *ſwear* Fidelity to it; and *Thoſe*, who, having the ſame *Diſaffection*, but not the ſame *Conſcience*, chuſe to *ſwear* Allegiance to it, rather than loſe the leaſt Portion of what they poſſeſs. The *former* He called by their common Name of *Non-jurors*; and the *latter*, by the humorous Name of *Jurors-non*. A *Non-juror* will ſuffer any thing, rather than *ſwear* to the Government: A *Juror-non* will *ſwear* any thing, rather than *ſuffer*. A *Non-juror* is the moſt fair, diſintereſted and generous Enemy: A *Juror-non*, the moſt falſe, baſe, and deceitful

Friend. The *Non-juror* deſerves the *Pity* of all good Men, even whilſt They are obliged to defend the *State* by Severity againſt Him: the *Juror-non* commands their Hatred and Averſion, even whilſt no Danger appears immediately from Him. He that ſees a *Non-juror*, ſees an *Adverſary* to the Security of his Country, but a miſtaken avowed *Adverſary*, who owns his *adverſe Deſigns*, and gives you an Opportunity of guarding againſt Them: But He that ſees a *Juror-non*, ſees not only an *Adverſary*, but an *Adverſary* covered under the *legal Cloak* of ſworn Friendſhip; and an *Adverſary* not only to a particular Setlement here, but by Conſequence, from his Conduct, an *Adverſary* to all *Society*, and a Diſſolver of the moſt ſacred Ties that can keep it together. With Relation to theſe latter, We have actually one of the great Inconveniencies we fear from *Popery*; an Abſolution from *Oaths*, given Us in order to bring upon Us all the reſt of the whole Train of Evils attending it: Whilſt theſe *Self-abſolved* Criminals (like indolent *Incendiaries*) diſturb the World, perhaps without appearing in it; and covered from preſent Danger, view the Battle with Prayers for Succeſs to the Enemies of their Country.

It might be enough, one would think, to convince ſuch Perſons of the Folly of what They are wiſhing for, only to conſider what that State of Things is, with regard to Themſelves, which They are eager to part with; and what That is, which muſt ſucceed. Of the *former*, They have a *ſenſible* Proof, in that Eaſe, Quiet and Legal *Protection* They enjoy, equally with the beſt Subjects, in All that They procure and preſerve, even at the Price or Hazard of their own *Souls*; and in the Mildneſs of a Government, which diſpenſes its common Benefits to *Them*, with as free a Hand as to any *Others*; and in thoſe *Laws*, which make no Enquiry into the Sincerity or Inſincerity of their *Oaths*. This might be enough, one would think: Eſpecially when They might themſelves go on to diſcover, how *vain* it is in Them to flatter themſelves with the Hope of what They ſhall ſee and feel in another Revolution, and idly to imagine They may eſcape in the Common Ruine. For though they are *Papiſts* enough to hurt a *Proteſtant* Government by a falſe Submiſſion to it, while they favour its Deſtruction; yet this Similitude of Inclination will not endear them enough, to let their *Oaths* be admitted as good Security in a *Popiſh* Reign, which ſhall owe its Beginning to their Breach of them in a *Proteſtant* one. They muſt not think then to meet with a *Mildneſs*, which will allow them the quiet Enjoyment of ſuch ſuperficial Conſciences. And what will become of them, when They are made ſenſible by Experience, of what perhaps they do not know at preſent, That, though they are too much *Papiſts*, entirely to regard the laſting Intereſt of a *Proteſtant* Church; they are, at the ſame time, too much *Proteſtants*, utterly to comply with a *Roman Catholick* one? Thus they may ſee, if they will examine Themſelves, that their *Principles*, how looſe ſoever with regard to the preſent *Eſtabliſhment*, yet will diſqualify Them for all Favours under *Another*; unleſs They can as readily get through *all* the Difficulties of *Popery*, in order to ſacrifice their own Church to it, as They now do through that ſingle one of a *ſolemn Oath*. They may, at preſent, before the *Trial* can be felt, ſecurely go on; and with them, *All* that They can influence. The *Clergy-man*, who is the *Incumbent*; the *Gentleman* who has the *Advowſon*; and the *Tenant* who tills the *Glebe*, may fortify Themſelves in an *equal Inſenſibility*; and never diſturb their Repoſe with the Thought, that the *Pope* is piouſly inclined to think they all grow fat upon Sacrilege, and that a *Popiſh Pretender* (ſhould the Wiſhes of ſuch unthinking Men againſt the preſent Eſtabliſhment be granted) muſt transfer their *Dwellings* to an implacable Set of Enemies, and conſign *Them* to Want and

Poverty. But this muſt of Neceſſity be their Caſe, except they will comply in their reſpective Characters with every Thing ſuch a Change ſhall introduce; and ſubmit to a Complication of *Evils*, the *leaſt* of which is vaſtly bigger and more intolerable, than the *greateſt* of thoſe which even their own ſtrongeſt Imaginations can paint out to Them, from the preſent *State* of Things. If therefore, They cannot heartily and zealouſly comply with the Whole of *Popery*, when it ſhall come to be impoſed by *Others*; let them now take care not to bring upon Themſelves the Neceſſity, if I may ſo ſpeak, of ſuch a Choice, by a *Gradual Popery* of their own.

Of the two ſorts of *Enemies* to the *preſent Eſtabliſhment*, amongſt the *Clergy*, I have given you ſome of my Thoughts; and particularly, with ſome Freedom, of the *latter* ſort: And this, not becauſe I know, or think, there are *Many* ſuch; but becauſe, as I ſaid at firſt, We have lately had *One* too plain *Inſtance* of the Thing in fact. Nor will Any one who knows Mankind, much wonder if, in ſo great a Body of Men, a Few ſhould be found, deceived into the ſame fatal Way of thinking, by the *Example* and *Diſtinctions* of ſuch a *Caſuiſt*. As I have ſome Reaſon to ſuſpect, that there are *One* or *Two ſuch* in that Part of the Country where I live; This firſt led me to ſay ſomething upon this Subject. But all I ſhall ſay farther about them, wherever They are found, is this; That I fear, God will hide from their Eyes the true Notion even of their own Intereſt, till They are awake from the *Sin* in which They daily live, and from which they reap all the preſent Profits they enjoy.

There is *Another ſort* of our *Clergy*, for whom I am much more concerned; and whom I know, by the Experience of long Acquaintance, to be as *Good Chriſtians*, as *Good Neighbours*, as True to their Word, and as Faithful to what they ſwear, as Integrity and Honour oblige Them to be; who yet, often act with *Others* not ſo good as Themſelves, out of I know not what *Dread* of *Danger* to what They think ſacred; and are *diſaffected* (as ſome of Themſelves love to expreſs it) not to the *Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment* in the preſent *Royal Family*, but to the *Methods* of *Adminiſtration* under it: thus inadvertently helping forward the Work of *Thoſe*, whoſe *Perjury* They abhor; and by their Behaviour promoting thoſe *Deſigns*, which They would not have take effect for the World.

As I have the greateſt perſonal Value for many of *Theſe*; and as it appears of the greateſt Importance to any *Government* to have the *Hearts* of All honeſt Men; I ſhall take the Liberty another time, to give you ſome of my Thoughts with reſpect to *Them*; which, if you ſhall find they may be of Service either to *Themſelves*, or the *Adminiſtration*, or *Both*, you may publiſh as the Sentiments of,

SIR,

Your, &c.

PHILOPATRIS.

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LETTER CV. LONDON JOURNAL, January 23, 17^{24}_{25}.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

I PROMISED in my laſt, to ſend you ſome more of my Thoughts, with reſpect to that Part of the *Clergy*, which I have already juſt mentioned: *Thoſe*, I mean, who are truly worth regarding: *Men* of Conſcience and Integrity; who have ſincerely taken the *Oaths* of Fidelity, and are in their Hearts Friends to King *GEORGE*, and Enemies to a *Popiſh Pretender:* but yet have their *Diſſatisfactions within*, and ſuch as *ſometimes* break *out* too publickly, in the Aſſiſtance of *Others*, who mean *Evil* to All that is *Good*. Theſe *Diſſatisfactions*, which are the Ground of *Diſaffection* to an *Adminiſtration*, are often immediately cauſed by an accidental Concurrence of Circumſtances in one Neighbourhood; by the Contagion of Perſons already infected, of whoſe Capacities and Integrity there is a great Opinion; by the Artifice of *Bad Men*, who are ever conveying their own little Deſigns into Better Men than Themſelves; by a natural Propenſity of Mind, and (this ſupported by ſome Reaſon) to think ill of all Men in Power; by the Diſadvantage of a *Diſtance* from the beſt Channels of Intelligence, from which the Truth of Facts receives the moſt incurable Miſchief; by an Aptneſs to ſuſpect and dread the leaſt *Shadow* of Danger to what is ſacredly dear to them: and all *Theſe*, often heightened and improved by the particular Tempers and Diſpoſitions of each Perſon. I mention that *Dread* and *Suſpicion*, becauſe without *Theſe*, it is impoſſible that Frivolous and Groundleſs Impreſſions ſhould laſt for any Time. But the Thing which keeps theſe ſtill in force, muſt be ſome Inward Imagination, or Perſwaſion, that All Things in which *They* have the greateſt Concern, are not ſafe; That *Dangers* are preparing to open, or are already opened, upon their *Intereſts*; In a word, That the *Church*, or the Condition of *Churchmen* in it, is not ſufficiently and duly regarded: or the like. For it is impoſſible, I ſay, that Any Perſons of Senſe can go on to afflict Themſelves, without the Appearance of ſomething Bad; or *chuſe* to be *diſcontented* amidſt every thing that offers Them Peace and Contentment around Them.

This is the *Body* of Men, for whom My Concern is raiſed: and if it be a *Great Body*; i. e. a Body that deſerves our Care; What Lover of his Country, if He were put to wiſh the *One* Thing which might moſt ſecure to Us our *Legal Liberties*;—Our *Proteſtant Religion*;—Our *Every Thing* deſireable either to *Civil* or *Religious Society*;—What Man, I ſay, would not fix his *Wiſh* here, That *They*, who are to teach Others,—*They*, who, where-ever They deſerve to have an Influence, generally have a very great One,—*They*, who often lead Many by their *Example* as well as *Doctrine*,—*They*, who can be the *Inſtruments* of much *Advantage* or much *Miſchief*, ſhould be truly in the *Intereſt* of thoſe Meaſures, which alone can fix the fleeting Good Things of this World; and ſhould be warm, if poſſible, in their *Attachment* to them. This would be the *Vote* of every private Man, who paid his Country the Tenderneſs and Love He owed it. But then, with regard to this *Body* of Men, and Thoſe who at any time conduct the *Publick*; what *Adminiſtration* would not rejoice at their Friendſhip, and do every thing to obtain it, which could poſſibly be conſiſtent with the Duty They owe their Country, and their *Prince?* And reciprocally, I may add, what Perſons, of that Great Body, who have the Senſe and Underſtanding of Men of Letters, muſt not ſee their *Intereſt*, where it is written in the *largeſt Characters*; and acknowledge it to be inſeparably fixed to the *Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment*; and conſequently, to depend much upon the *Adminiſtration* of Thoſe who, under that *Eſtabliſhment*, preſide in *Publick Affairs*; and whoſe perſonal Safety, as well as their National Concern, is wrapped up in it? Upon theſe Conſiderations I have often wiſhed, the Caſe might be fairly ſtated between the *Two Parties* concerned; and that it might be conſidered, What the Intereſt and Duty of *Each* is; and what it is, that is, or can be, complained of, by *One* of Them againſt the *Other*. For, I really think, there is hardly any thing farther neceſſary towards the quieting ſuch Uneaſineſſes. And into theſe *two* Points, I have now a Mind to enter a little freely.

As to the whole Body of the *Clergy* therefore, *This Part* which I have been now deſcribing, who truly wiſh well to the *Proteſtant* Royal Family, and have ſincerely abjured the *Popiſh*, cannot in Common Senſe expect that Thoſe in the *Adminiſtration* ſhould not guard ſuch a Bleſſing againſt the *Worſt* Part of the ſame Body of Men, whenever They ſhall appear, who are Enemies to their Country: Nay, if *this Negligence* could be ſuppoſed, *They* of all Men, who are like to be the moſt certain *Loſers* by a Change, ought to be alarmed againſt ſuch a Remiſſneſs in Thoſe who are to watch over Them. Of the other *Two* Parts of that Body remaining, it can with as little Reaſon be expected, That the *Part* who have been ever ready to ſhew moſt Zeal for the Publick Happineſs under the *preſent Setlement*, ſhould be neglected and overlooked, and given up to the Contempt of the Enemy; and that *Favours* ſhould be heaped upon *Thoſe*, who have choſe not to give thoſe *open* Marks of their *Inward Attachment* to the ſame Cauſe. Were this the Proceeding Above, I ſhould not ſcruple to declare it to be contrary to all Rules of Equity, and out of all Proportion: nor ſhould I doubt, but that the Perſons ſo favoured would Themſelves inwardly blame ſuch a Procedure; becauſe, making it their own Caſe, under an *Eſtabliſhment* and an *Adminiſtration* which They had thought worthy of their open Zeal, They could not help condemning it, as a moſt unequitable as well as uncomfortable Conduct. It might be attributed to *Fear*, which often does Things to the Deſtruction of its own Purpoſes, and renders deſpicable what it thus throws away; but never, to *Wiſdom*, which always works by Reaſon and Proportion, and gains Ground and Strength by appearing to do ſo. No *Good* could come from it; but on the contrary, the *Evil* it pretended to cure, would grow *double* and *treble* by it. To protect Them in all their *Rights* and *Poſſeſſions*, and *Legal Claims*; and to be ready to meet Them with open Arms, when They ſhall join all their Force to keep off the Fears of thoſe *Evils*, which will ruine *Themſelves*, as well as their *Fellow-Subjects*; To deſire their *Aſſiſtance* in the Publick Security; and to ſhew a due Senſe of it, whenever it is ſeen;—*Theſe* are Points which *Intereſt* and *Duty* can never fail to procure from their *Superiors*.

But what I aim at may better appear, if We aſk, What is it that is regretted, or can be ſuppoſed to be complained of, as the Concern of this *Body* of *Subjects* peculiarly? Is it, that Any the leaſt *Diſinclination* towards Them is diſcovered,—the leaſt Backwardneſs to anſwer their juſt Demands,—the leaſt Disfavour towards Them as *Churchmen*,—the leaſt Sign of Careleſſneſs whether They are Friends or Enemies? On the contrary, Are not all Opportunities taken, and even

New Ones perpetually invented, to ſhew how much They are in the Thoughts of their *Superiors*; and what a Weight They have, conſidered as Perſons of that particular ſacred Profeſſion?—What has been omitted, that could eaſily be thought of? or, What has not been done, that ſeemed reaſonable, and could carry with it the Appearance of the greateſt Regard to Them? What *Oppreſſion* or *Hardſhip* has any One of Them to point out? Or, indeed, What particular Reſpect has been wanting, whenever Occaſions of ſhewing it have preſented Themſelves?—

Is it, that any the leaſt Impediment, Stop, or Delay, has been given to thoſe Deſigns, which were ſo agreeable to theſe ſame Perſons in the laſt Reign?—That any Damp has been caſt upon their Progreſs?—Any Countenance denied to Them?—Any Diſcouragement openly or clandeſtinely entered into, to their Prejudice?—On the contrary, Have They not met with the moſt ready and the moſt zealous Approbation? Has not Power exerted itſelf to bring them to Perfection? The many *New Churches* formerly projected, have been carried forward, and are ſtill bringing on to a Concluſion, even under the Diſcouragement of much greater Expence, than was foreſeen; and the Maintenance of Thoſe who are to be placed in Them, partly already ſetled, and now going to be compleated, in a very honourable and liberal manner. How abortive muſt the former Projects have been, without theſe finiſhing Strokes? And what greater thing could be done, for the Setlement and Enlargement of the Eſtabliſhed Church?—Is it, that Preferments are not given, as *They* wiſh? Far be ſuch a Reaſon of Diſcontent from all honeſt Men. For, ſince it is impoſſible, in the Nature of Things, that Every Man ſhould be perſonally pleaſed this Way, it is to lay the Foundation of Eternal, unavoidable Diſcontent, to make *This* a ſufficient Reaſon for it; becauſe, take which Way you pleaſe of diſpoſing of ſuch Favours, it muſt be ſo, that Multitudes muſt be neglected, and One ſort or Other perpetually uneaſy. Add to this, what I juſt now hinted, that *All* the World will allow it an equitable Maxim, That if Perſons in Power make the beſt Choice They can (conſidering humane Paſſions and Miſtakes,) from amongſt *Thoſe* who deſerve beſt at *their* Hands, and at the Hands of the *Prince* whom they ſerve; This is All that can reaſonably be expected—

I am now drawing to an End of your Trouble. I ſhall only ſay, That when *Nothing* can be alledged, either of Diſregard, or Want of due *Regard*, to the *Eſtabliſhed Church* and *Clergy*; When many things have been done, which muſt for ever be acknowledged to be what They wiſh; When Juſtice is always ready to protect Them; and Favours are diſpenſed by a *Rule* allowed to be equitable in itſelf; When the *Univerſities* have been encouraged and adorned by *New Benefactions*, and *Uſeful Acceſſions*; and *New Schemes* entered into, in order to accompliſh their Members, and to call Them forth into the Light and Expectation of the World;—When this is truly the State of Things; If theſe Perſons of whom I am now ſpeaking, do really mean a *Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment*, and really deteſt a *Popiſh Pretender*, (as I doubt not They do,) Their own Intereſt muſt guide Them to what may juſtly be expected from Them. If They are led to join in ſowing or nouriſhing Diſcontents and Diſſatisfactions againſt an *Adminiſtration*, which has done nothing to deſerve it, but many Things to deſerve the contrary; They may one time or other perhaps be able to ſhake it, or diſcompoſe it. But then, They ſhake their own Security, and their own Happineſs, under a *Proteſtant Prince*. The worſt that Any of Them can pretend to complain of, under it, We have ſeen, is either *Imaginary*, or of a mere *Negative* ſort, not fit to be the *Subject* of a *Complaint*. But ſhould they aſſiſt with *their Uneaſineſſes*, ſo far, as at any Time to bring to Perfection the *Deſigns* of our Common *Enemies*, They muſt remember They will loſe every thing *Britons* or *Churchmen* can value. Their *Poſſeſſions*, their *Properties*, their very *Lives*, and their *Church* itſelf, muſt of Neceſſity ſink in that Common Ruine, if ever it ſhould come. Thanks be to *Almighty God*, and to our *Superiors*, That View is far removed. May it be kept ſo by the Conjunction of all honeſt Hearts; and particularly Thoſe of that Body of Subjects, which the ſacred Intereſts of *Religion* itſelf ought to engage moſt inviolably in ſo good a Cauſe! I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

PHILOPATRIS.

LETTER CVI. LONDON JOURNAL, February 13, $17\frac{24}{25}$.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

I CANNOT forbear to thank You, for the Notice You took, in *Two* of your *Papers*, of the *Affair*, (the *Cruel*, *Deteſtable* Affair) at *Thorn*. Your Attempt to *alarm* all *Proteſtants*; to awaken Them out of the dead Sleep They were in; and to re-kindle that Warmth which once poſſeſſed Them, at leaſt into a degree ſufficient to ſhew a *Reſolution* of *Self-preſervation*; ought to give Yourſelf Satisfaction, whatever the *Event* of it may be. I wiſh, I could not ſay that the *Reſentment* of it ſeems to be already pretty much ſunk; and begins already to be talked of, rather as a Piece of *Hiſtory* that happened a Hundred Years ago, than as a *Matter* that now, at *this Moment*, affects the whole *Proteſtant Cauſe* throughout all *Europe*. This gives Me great inward Apprehenſions of the Diſpoſitions of my own *Countrymen*; That They can ſpend their Spirits and Vigour in any little *Party-quarrels*, or perſonal Animoſities, againſt One another; whilſt Step by Step, their Greateſt, their whole Concern, is dying a lingring but a certain Death. But this is not all. The Affair at *Thorn*, inſtead of confining my Thoughts to *foreign* Countries, has alarmed my *Soul* enough to make Me look *at home*; and conſider, from all Appearances around Me, in what a *Condition* We Ourſelves are here in *Britain* and *Ireland*, from *Thoſe* who profit, at our Expence, by every Advance to the *Popiſh Cauſe* abroad; and who are the *ſame Enemies* to *Us*, which the *Jeſuits* at *Thorn* are to the *Lutherans*;—only with this great Difference, That the *Lutherans* there are, and were, at leaſt, as good and as well-affected Subjects to the Supreme *Civil Government*, as their Enemies themſelves are, or ever were, or ever could pretend to be.

I live far removed from the great *Metropolis* of the Land; and in a *Country*, in which I am ſurrounded too much with ſuch Perſons as I am ſpeaking of: which is Reaſon enough for Me not to name the *Place* from whence I write this. I have no other Opportunities of making *Remarks*, but what have ariſen from the *Situation* I am in here; and the *Correſpondences* I have kept with my Friends at *London*, and in ſeveral Parts of the Country, ſince I turned my Thoughts to this *Subject*.—I have not the leaſt Reaſon to judge, even from the private Converſation of the *Roman Catholicks*, that They are at all grieved and concerned at the Fact of their *Favourites* at *Thorn*, in any ſuch Senſe as truly to deteſt and abhor it; or really to think it contrary to Right and Juſtice, to proceed in that *Summary*, *Cruel* Way, againſt Thoſe whom They call *Hereticks*. As for any *Publick Act* of *Abhorrence* or *Diſapprobation*, (which methinks, might have been eſteemed due from a Body of Men, who live, and enjoy all the Satisfactions of Life, by the unparalleled Indulgence of a *Civil Government*, to which They are avowed, undiſguiſed *Enemies*;)—As for any ſuch *Publick Act*, I ſay; I never heard of *Any*: and indeed, I imagine, upon ſecond Thoughts, it would be abſurd and impoſſible, upon the Principles of their own *Religion*, and their own Temporal Views, for *Them* to draw it up, ſo as to make it appear of any Conſequence. They may have been a little concerned at it, whilſt They feared, ſo enormous a *Tragedy* would end in ſomething diſadvantageous and ruinous to their own Cauſe. They may, in private Converſation amongſt their *Proteſtant Neighbours*, ſhake their Heads at the Mention of it; and put on the Aire of Compaſſionate and Tender-hearted Men. Nay, Many of Them may be truly ſuch, in their Natures; and All of Them very glad to appear ſo; as They are, to ſhew Themſelves the *Civilleſt* and moſt *Obliging* Neighbours; till the *Time* comes, when their Outward *Superiors*, and inward *Principles*, (never yet dropped or forgot,) ſhall command Them to throw off their *Habits* of *Maſquerade*, and to appear in their *proper* Figures, Open Implacable Enemies to our *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical* Eſtabliſhment.

As to *Ireland*; all the World knows that the *Roman Catholicks* in that Country, are more than *Ten* to *One*; taking in the Whole of the Kingdom: and all the World at this Time ſees, how ready and how dextrous they are in blowing up the Flames of any Controverſy againſt the *Civil Government*; having little need to appear in publick the *principal Agents*, whilſt They ſee that *Proteſtants* themſelves can carry Things almoſt to the utmoſt Extremity without it, and pave the Way for their *future* Triumphs. But I will ſpeak chiefly with regard to Ourſelves. In one Word, I find, from all Intelligence around Me, as well as my own Knowledge, that *Popery* is increaſing. Many of the *Poor* about Us, are daily charmed away by the prevailing Arguments of *Victuals* and *Drink*, and a little *Mony* for Help in their Buſineſs; and moved to forſake their old *Religion*, and their *Pariſh-miniſters*, (how devoted ſoever to Them, in oppoſition to *Other* Adverſaries) and to embrace the *Popiſh Profeſſion*, and to attend upon the *Prieſts* and the *Worſhip* of the *Church* of *Rome*, without bluſhing at it; without denying, or without hiding it. A great Multitude of *Converts* to that Church have been lately made, and are daily ſtill made; but I do not hear of above *One* or *Two* of our *Country-men*, in many Years, converted from it, to any other Perſuaſion amongſt Us. As for theſe Parts, in which I live; I profeſs, I ſee no *Zeal*—No *Zeal*, did I ſay? I may add, no *Deſire*, that it ſhould be otherwiſe, ſhewing itſelf in any proper or laudable Way. And yet, it is certain, that when the *Blow* comes, it will come firſt upon *Thoſe*, whoſe Duty in the firſt Place it is to keep off every Advance towards it.

If I may believe the *Advices* of my Friends, who are capable of knowing and judging, and have not yet deceived Me; it is not much *better* in thoſe Parts, in which leſs Noiſe is made about it. The Profeſſion of *Popery* is ſo little Modeſt, or Diſguſtful, that, in *Many* of the great *Cities* and *Towns* of *England*, the *Maſs* is little leſs publick, than the *Common Prayer*; and the *Maſs-houſe* as well known, and as openly frequented, as the *Pariſh Church*. In *London* itſelf, the *Increaſe* (the *daily* Increaſe) of *Maſs-houſes*, and of Thoſe who attend Them, is related to *Me*, to be ſo *viſible* to the moſt unobſerving Inhabitant, and ſo *ſenſible* to every Eye, that it is become the melancholy Subject of ſerious Converſation amongſt *All*, who can either look back to what is paſt, or are at all concerned for what is to come.

For my own part; My *Concern*, I acknowledge, upon theſe Appearances, is *not* merely that poor Mortals are miſled into *Religious Errors*; that They are engaged, by falſe Arguments and ſpecious Motives, to leave a *Better Church* for a *Worſe*, and to forſake *Chriſtianity* for *Popery*. The moſt honeſt Men in the World have been, and may be miſtaken. There is no Remedy; and there ought to be no *Remedy*, againſt this Part of the *Evil*, but *Argument*, and the *Goſpel* itſelf, propoſed againſt it. And if *They*, whoſe Buſineſs it peculiarly is, to watch over their Flocks; and to guard them againſt all *Spiritual Evil*; will not think it worth their while, in the reſpective Places to which their Duty confines them, to oppoſe *Care* to *Care*, and *Argument* to *Argument*, in order to ſave Men from the moſt pernicious and the moſt monſtrous of all *Errors*, that ever yet infeſted either *Natural* or *Revealed* Religion; They muſt, I think, thank Themſelves for the dreadful Conſequences, which, if the *Evil* goes on increaſing as it has of late, MUST inevitably come upon *Them* and *Us*, without any other Aſſiſtance or Inſtrument, but the natural Operation of ſuch an Increaſe. But the great Additional *Concern* I have, in our preſent Circumſtances, is, That every *Papiſt* is the *Subject* of the *Pretender*, and not of K. *GEORE*: That every Man converted from *Proteſtantiſm* to *Popery*, is converted to a *Religion*, (I am ſorry to uſe the Word *ſo*,) which immediately engages him, not only to be inwardly a *Well-wiſher*, but upon proper Occaſions a *zealous Actor* for the *Reſtoration* of the *Popiſh Line*, and for the utter Extirpation of the preſent *Proteſtant One*. I do not ſay, that This *appears* equally in every *Engliſh Papiſt*: but I ſay, that it *muſt* appear in Every ſuch, upon all proper Occaſions. An *Engliſh Papiſt*, that is, One who takes his Rules of *Prayer*, and *Life*, and *Action*, from the *Pope*, or from the *Pope's* Church, or from the *Pope's* Agents; and a Friend to the preſent *Proteſtant Setlement*; are *Inconſiſtencies*, never to be reconciled, whilſt *Light* and *Darkneſs* remain different Things. An *Engliſh Papiſt* muſt have *Him* for his *King*, whom the *Pope*, and his *Prieſts*, acknowledge for *King* of *England*; and He can have no other. This is a *direct*, *immediate*, flagrant, never-ceaſing *Enmity*.

And with this View, what the Conſequence can be of an *Increaſe* of *ſuch Inhabitants*; let All judge: as well *Thoſe*, who have *Religion* at Heart, beſides the Happineſs of the *Society*; as *Thoſe*, who thinking light of the Differences in *Religion*, yet have Senſe enough to know the *Deſolation* and *Deſtruction*, that *Popery*, with all its Attendants, in its own Nature, MUST bring, by degrees, (and never failed to bring,) upon the *Honour*, *Trade*, *Riches*, *Arts*, *Accompliſhments*, and every Thing deſirable in a *Nation* that has taſted *Freedom*, and is capable of enjoying it.—A State of Things! which, if it once returns, is *never never* to be beat back again from *Thoſe* who ſuffer it!—I will not tire You with any more *Obſervations* at preſent: but take leave.

I am, &c.

PHILOPATRIS.

LET-

LETTER CVII. LONDON JOURNAL, February 20, 17$^{24}_{25}$.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

AS a *Sequel* to the *Letter* ſent you by Me, and publiſhed the laſt Week; I could not forbear troubling *You* with *This*. My *former* gave You ſome *Obſervations* relating to the indefatigable Zeal and Induſtry of the *Papiſts* here, to propagate their own *Faith* amongſt Us; and the *immediate* Danger from it, to our *Proteſtant Civil Eſtabliſhment*. The *Paper* I now ſend You, ſhall add to them ſome *Obſervations* (not upon the *Neglect* of *moſt Proteſtants* to obviate ſo great an Evil, but) upon the *Readineſs* and even *Zeal* of *Some* who call Themſelves ſo, to help our Enemies in that Deſign of bringing All Obedience back again to the *Church* of *Rome*. And this I ſhall do, by a few *Remarks* upon a late Book, the *Tendency* of which, in all its Circumſtances, ought not I think to go unobſerved, merely becauſe the profeſſed *Author* is a *Writer* of little Account, and of a very low Reputation. The Piece I mean is the *Life of Cardinal Wolſey*. And when I tell you that this Work was *profeſſedly* deſigned to be publiſhed under the Influence and Direction of the late *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter*; and that *He* is ſaid in the Preface to have had Thoughts of undertaking this Work *himſelf*; You will juſtify *Me* in not over-looking it. It appears indeed ſo well calculated to promote the *Deſigns* that *Prelate* was engaged in, that, upon the *Defeat* of thoſe *Deſigns*, it might have been wondered, that the Publication of it was not dropped, if we did not know by long Experience, that no Diſappointments can engage ſome ſort of Men to ceaſe their Endeavours towards the ſame deſtructive and fatal Evils. And on *this* Account I eſteem it an Advantage, too great to be loſt, that we have ſo plain a Diſcovery of the great and perpetual Advances of ſuch Perſons towards *Popery*; and that they do not leave Us in the Dark, as to their *Real Intentions*, in a Matter of ſo much Concern to Us All. For I will venture to affirm, that the Principles interwoven into this Piece are ſo *viſibly* favourable to the Cauſe of *Popery*, and of *Papiſts* properly ſo called; and that the whole Reformation is ſo *manifeſtly* ſtruck at by it; that a concealed *Jeſuit*, employed in undermining the Grounds of it, could not be ſuppoſed in Prudence to propagate his Notions with leſs Diſguiſe, than the *Author* and *Adviſers* of this Hiſtory have done. Indeed, the *Deſign* is ſo plain and palpable, and the little Shadowings ſometimes beſtowed on it, are ſo faint and weak, that nothing but wilful Blindneſs can hinder *every Eye* from ſeeing what is aimed at in it. I will endeavour to ſhew this *Deſign* in full Light. And, becauſe the *Principles*, which tend to extinguiſh the juſt Abhorrence of *Popery*, by reconciling the Minds of ſuch as have not a ſufficient Knowledge of theſe Matters, to the Popiſh Maxims of Civil and Religious Oppreſſion, have been induſtriouſly ſpread of late Years, under ſuch ſpecious Colourings and ſeeming Reſtrictions, that many have been inſenſibly led into them without perceiving their dangerous Conſequences; I hope for ſome Succeſs in endeavouring to undeceive ſuch as have been thus miſled by a View of the *ſame Principles*, as they are diſplayed in a Hiſtory relating to the Beginnings of our *Reformation*; and carried to ſuch Lengths, and their *Conſequences* ſo openly aſſerted, that every one may more clearly diſcern their *Tendency*, than can be hoped, from *mere Argument* or *Speculation*. For, as it is true on *one* ſide, that the *Book's* being written by way of *Hiſtory*, gave the *Writer* and *Adviſers* of it a more inoffenſive and natural Opportunity of ſaying thoſe Things which in *Argument* they dared not have ſaid; ſo, is it true on the *other* ſide, that there is *Advantage* to Us from this very Circumſtance of its being an *Hiſtory*, that we are the leſs at a Loſs to know to what Point, and to what *main End*, the *Writer's Obſervations* and *Reflections* are made to tend. I ſhall premiſe only this farther, that where the *Citations* are not too large, I ſhall give them in the Author's own Words; and where the Limits I am forced to preſcribe to myſelf, will not allow this, I ſhall mark out the Paſſages referred to: that the *Writer* may have no Ground to complain that any Injury is done to him; and that the *Reader* may, by having recourſe to the Original, judge for himſelf how juſtly he is charged with the ſeveral Opinions, with which he has ſo ſuitably ſet off the Life of this ſhining Ornament of the Church of *Rome*; which is pretended to be written from ſuch *authentick Monuments as* (in the Opinion of this Author) *will give him a greater Name in future Ages, than if Statues had been erected to him through all Parts of the Kingdom; or a thouſand different Medals had been ſtruck in Honour to his Memory*.

The principal Points I ſhall mention, are ſuch as Theſe—The Writer's Notion of the true Grounds of our Reformation;—his *Apologies* for the *Popiſh Clergy's* Averſion to a *Reformation*, in order to condemn the Zeal of *others*; and his Treatment of the *Cardinal* himſelf, in Particular, *upon this Head*;—his Uſage of our Reformers and Martyrs; and of *Thoſe* who before the Reformation had oppoſed the *Errors* of the *Church* of *Rome*;—his partial Repreſentation of ſeveral of the favourite Doctrines of *Popery* of a ſecondary Nature, &c.

1. There is hardly any thing more remarkably pleaſant than the *Frankneſs* with which He opens to Us his own Deſign, when He tells Us, in his *Preface*, that He was induced to undertake this Work, by *a Deſire of reſolving the Grounds of the Reformation into a Regular and Eccleſiaſtical Method* of *Procedure*, *according to the Primitive Conſtitution and true Rights of the Chriſtian Church*, &c. *That is*, A *Proteſtant* writes the *Life* of a *Popiſh Cardinal*, with perpetual Applauſe to his *Hero*, a determined Enemy to all *Reformation*, in order to ſet our *Engliſh Reformation* upon its right and true Foundation! And as to his Notion of what alone could be the Method and true Foundation of our *Reformation*; if we conſider the *Regular* and *Eccleſiaſtical Method* of *Procedure*, into which he is ſo deſirous of reſolving the *Reformation*, it will be eaſy to account, not only for the unjuſt Reflections he has every where caſt on the *Reformers*, both at Home and Abroad; but to ſhew how far He *himſelf*, by the *Principles* he lays down, muſt be led to approve or diſapprove of our whole *Reformation* itſelf. His particular Notion of the Church, and the particular Rights he is ſo zealous to defend, may ſerve as a Clue to lead us to this *Regular* Method of *Procedure* He mentions; and theſe Rights may be preſumed to be ſufficiently declared, ſince he ſays, that "with reſpect to the Principles of Religion, he has induſtriouſly avoided "all Appearances of dogmatiſing, whenever he has had Occaſion to mention "ſuch controverted Points, which do not directly, or by neceſſary Conſequence, "affect the Church, conſidered as a Society: but under that Notion of it, he "apprehended a more free and open Declaration of thoſe Principles, without "which the Eccleſiaſtical State cannot ſubſiſt, abſolutely neceſſary: *or, in other* "*Words*, the Authority, wherewith the Church of Chriſt upon Earth is veſted," *&c. Vid.* Preface.

Theſe Principles, without which he conceives the *Eccleſiaſtical State* cannot ſubſiſt, are an *Independancy* from the *State*, and an *Authority* uncontrolable by any humane Power, *&c.* And leaſt any one ſhould doubt what He means; after having ſpoken of the *Premunire*, in which the whole Clergy of the Realm were involved in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. (Book III. Ch. xiv. § 8.) and of the *Submiſſion* made by the *Clergy* to avoid the Conſequences of it, He proceeds thus, (§ 12.) "It might here, upon my having mentioned the Submiſſion "made by the Clergy, not be improper to ſtate the Arguments on both Sides "relating to the Supremacy, without determining any thing poſitively on ſo "nice a Subject." But waving this for Reaſons obvious, he concludes (doubtleſs very juſtly,) "The Principles that I have on ſo many Occaſions laid down, "as the genuine Principles of the Church of *England*, concerning the Independent Powers and Rights of the Clergy; and which are founded upon immutable Reaſons of Wiſdom and Order;—thoſe Principles, I ſay, are ſufficient to ſhew what it might have been proper for me to have ſaid, relating "to this Branch of the Queſtion:" *i. e.* had it been *ſafe*. Thus He does in effect claim to His *Clergy* the ſame Powers, which are exerciſed by the Popiſh Clergy; and theſe, as neceſſary to the very Being of a Church.

I muſt not be ſo unjuſt to *Him* as to hide from the *Reader*, that He does indeed condemn the *Abuſe* of thoſe *Powers*. Thus (Book I. Ch. viii. § 7.) reflecting upon the *Power* of the *Eccleſiaſtical State* at that Time, *viz.* when *Popery* prevailed in *England*, he has theſe Words, "I do not ſay, but that the "Eccleſiaſtical Power was in many Inſtances extended beyond its juſt Bounds, "and ought to have been in ſuch Inſtances reſtrained," *&c.* Good Man! He is willing to allow the *Eccleſiaſtical Power* in the Times of *Popery* has been ſometimes *abuſed*, and extended beyond its juſt Limits: and this is no more than *Papiſts* themſelves have been free to allow. Nay, He allows that it ought to have been *reſtrained in ſuch Inſtances*; but then it is to be obſerved, that this is only *Grimace*, in which the *Papiſts* themſelves will alſo join with Him: For, according to Him, This ought only to have been done in a *Regular* and *Eccleſiaſtical* Methord of *Procedure*; that is, the Ruling Powers amongſt the *Popiſh Clergy*, acting in a Body according to their eſtabliſhed Rules of Form and Order, muſt have conſented to lay this Reſtraint on Themſelves and their *Inferiors*; ſince there was, it ſeems, no other Authority upon Earth, which had any Right to lay it on them. What ſlender Hopes of a *Reformation* there would have been upon this Foot, had we been content to wait for it, until it had been firſt moved by the *Popiſh Clergy*, who needed moſt to be reformed; and had it been committed to *their* Management; it may be left to this Author himſelf to determine; who has obſerved (Book II. Chap. xviii. § 1.) that "there was "not at this Time," *viz.* near the Time of the Reformation, "any great "Proſpect of a Reformation in *England*, if we may judge from the Maxims, "whereby either the Court, or the Clergy, who were principally veſted with "the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, appeared to be governed."

And indeed his real Opinion of our *Reformation* will appear from his condemning it, conſidered as begun and carried on by the *Parliament* or *Civil Magiſtrate*; and from his condemning it more, conſidered as undertaken and forwarded, (without Authority according to him, either from *God* or *Man*,) by the poor *People*, led by the *Dictates* of their *Private Judgements*, that is, their Conſciences. As to *Private Judgement*; he has plainly declared it a Scandal in reſpect to the *Reformation*, which he is concerned to obviate. (Book II. Ch. xxx. § 6.) "I cannot but take Notice here of a Scandal caſt upon the Reformation, "highly derogatory to the Credit of it. It has been pretended, that the *Noble* "*Claim of Right*, which Chriſtians have, to judge for themſelves, was the Foun-

“ dation of it.” And in order to obviate this pretended Scandal, he peremptorily avers (§ 7.) “ that the Methods which were taken here, to introduce the Reformation, were all in a Publick and Authoritative Way; nothing was done, but by the Whole Power of the Church of *England,* in a legal Repreſentation of her Clergy.” In which Words his Meaning can be only this, That He condemns every other Step that had been taken in order to it; and judges every Attempt towards it to have been unchriſtian and unlawful, till the *Clergy* at laſt gave their *Sanction* to it; and authoritatively, it ſeems, declared that *from* ſuch a Time, it was lawful for the *Laity* to be *Proteſtants*; but *before* that Time, it was *unlawful.*

This will appear more and more, as we proceed to other Points. Here is enough to ſhew Us, that, under Pretence of ſetling the true *Foundation* of the *Reformation*, he has not only effectually declared againſt the *Royal Supremacy*, which has ever ſince thoſe Days been eſteemed a *main Branch* of our *Reformation* from *Popiſh Tyranny*; but effectually deſtroyed all the *Real Foundations* upon which, *Hiſtory* will tell every body, it proceeded; and by condemning Them in the Manner he has done, and ſetting up a *Method*, which was not, in this Author's Senſe, at that Time claimed or ſpoke of, as the only *Proper* and *Chriſtian* One, he has as effectually pronounced our *Reformation* in *England* to be *Groundleſs* and *Antichriſtian*, as if he had in plain *Words* ſaid as vile Things of it as he ſcruples not to ſay about the *Reformation* in foreign Countries. I am, for the preſent,

Your, &c.

PHILOPATRIS.

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LETTER CVIII. LONDON JOURNAL, February 27, 17$^{24}_{25}$.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

IN my laſt I undertook to make ſome *Obſervations* upon a late Book, called, *The Life of Cardinal Wolſey*. I began with the *Author's* Notions of the true *Foundation* of our *Reformation* here in *England.* I now go on to obſerve, 2. That, agreeably to theſe darling Notions of his own, He invents *Deſigns* of a more regular *Reformation* for the *Popiſh* Clergy; and by them excuſes and even juſtifies their Delays of all Reformation; and at the ſame time condemns *Thoſe* who made more haſte to *reform* the *Abuſes* under which both *Prince* and *People*, both *Church* and *State*, groaned. Book II. Ch. xxx. § 8. He tells Us, that “ He inſiſted the longer *upon the former* Article *of the* Foundation *of our* Engliſh Reformation,—*to* confirm his *Conjecture*.” (An excellent Way of writing *Hiſtory* by *Conjecture*, without the leaſt Proof!) And what is this *Conjecture*? No other but this, “ That the *King* and his Great *Miniſter* (Wolſey) did not ſo readily come into the Meaſures taken towards a Reformation abroad, becauſe they ſaw the early Tendency of ſome Doctrines to deſtroy the very Being of the Chriſtian Church, and to introduce an Adminiſtration into it without any Authority either from God or Man. They reſolved poſſibly (if they had any ſuch Deſign) when they ſhould ſee a proper Time of reforming the Church, to do it in ſuch a Manner, that the Reformation of it might appear to all the

" World, not to be the Effect of popular Clamour, or any tumultuary Proceed-" ings, but of mature Advice and regular Conſultation; that the Diſorders un-" der which the Eccleſiaſtical State languiſhed, ought to be healed without ap-" plying ſuch Remedies as would conſume its very Vitals; and that it was " better, till Matters might be more ripe for ſuch a Reformation, that certain " Diſorders ſhould be tolerated, than a Way be opened to any illegal Preten-" ſions to rectify what was amiſs; thereby to deſtroy the Hierarchy, and leave " the Church without any Paſtors, according to the Inſtitution of God, and " conſequently without any authentick or valid Adminiſtration." What theſe Doctrines were, which tended to deſtroy the very Being of the Chriſtian Church, may poſſibly be ſeen (Book II. Ch. xvii. § 1.) where, upon *Luther's* being ſaid to refuſe any other Judge but the *Word of God*, excluſive of the Doctrines or Authority of *Men*, the *Author's* Cenſure upon it follows in theſe Words: " It " ſeems impoſſible indeed, upon ſuch a Principle, that the Unity of the Church " ſhould be preſerved, or that any Authority in it ſhould have a juſt and regular " Power of cenſuring other Perſons, either as Heretical, or obſtinately Here-" tical: Becauſe every Man having the Rule of his Judgement before him, and " an equal Right to judge for himſelf, and all Men being fallible; the Queſtion " appeareth unanſwerable, Who art thou that judgeſt another? By what Autho-" rity doſt thou judge? or, Who gave thee this Authority? So naturally do theſe " Principles, which tend to reſolve all the Grounds of Faith into a Private Spirit, " in Oppoſition to the Doctrine and Authority of the Church, ſet Men free from " all Manner of judicial Reſtraints in it, and open a direct Way to Confuſion " and every evil Work."

As to the *Conjecture* this Author ſeems ſo fond of, it may be ſeen explained at large in a very ſurprizing Manner, (Book II. Ch. xviii. § 4.) Which, becauſe it lets us at once into his whole Scheme of Opinions, and is as remarkable a Paſſage as Any in his whole Work, I ſhall inſert at large: " It appeareth ſuffici-" ently evident (*ſays He*) that the Cardinal was very averſe to any Innovation " in Religion with reſpect to Doctrine, Worſhip, or the Government of the " Church then eſtabliſhed; though he uſed his beſt Efforts in order to a Refor-" mation of Manners, and eſpecially of all ſcandalous Diſorders, whether " amongſt the regular or ſecular Clergy. He ſecretly *perhaps* ſaw and lamented " the Errors of the Church, in the Communion of which he lived, on all the " other Accounts; and wiſhed a Regulation in a ſober, pious and regular Way. " But the tumultuous Proceedings, and ungovernable Licentiouſneſs, of the " Multitude, formerly in *Bohemia* and now in *Germany*, on Occaſion of intro-" ducing a Change in the eſtabliſhed Religion, might make him afraid that any " Attempts of introducing it here would not be better conducted than in other " Parts, or on former Occaſions; or, profeſſing Obedience to the Church of " *Rome*, though he knew the Corruptions in it to be great, yet he apprehended " greater might follow upon the Principles of thoſe, who pretended to reform " without any other Commiſſion than that of a Private Spirit, or againſt a ſu-" perior ſtanding Authority, and which he acknowledged to be ſo. He might " *poſſibly* think, a Government in many Reſpects defective or irregular, yet was " better than no Government. He might propoſe to himſelf the Example of " our Lord, who lived in Communion of the Jewiſh Church, and never com-" manded his Apoſtles to ſeparate from it, notwithſtanding the Governours of " it *taught for Doctrines the Commandments of Men*; though he had certainly the " moſt unconteſted Authority to that End, had he thought fit to exerciſe it. " But he would not (ſay They upon whoſe Principles I now argue) make Uſe

“ of a particular Privilege, againſt a general Obligation, and in Breach of Publick Order; the Violation of which, nothing but the laſt Extremity can excuſe, and *ſcarce any thing* can compenſate. As to the Pretence of the Reformation from the high Claims of the Sacerdotal Powers, and of the Temporal Privileges and Revenues annexed to the Clergy, he might ſuſpect, what indeed afterwards happened, that Reformers, in the Heat and Tranſport of their Zeal, are very apt to run from one Extreme to another: That the Noiſe, for Inſtance, and Clamour, which had been raiſed againſt the Abuſe of the Epiſcopal Powers, might in the Conſequence tend, as the Event afterwards proved in ſeveral Countries, to the utter Extinction of the Epiſcopal Order amongſt them: That though very great Privileges and large Revenues were then appropriated to the Clergy, yet a Reformation on that Account, eſpecially under the Conduct of the Secular Princes, (according to *Luther's* Propoſal, when he made an Offer of a Hundred Thouſand Men to the Emperor, if he would lead them to the Gates of *Rome*, in order to reform the Pope,) might poſſibly be carried ſo far, as to deprive them of their juſt and indubitable Rights. And *if* this was his Calculation; the ſacrilegious Invaſions, which were afterwards made in many Places, both upon the Rights and the Revenues of the Clergy, plainly demonſtrate, that he was not much miſtaken.”

It is not unpleaſant to obſerve, that the *Cardinal* is here repreſented by his great Admirer, as having acted a more mean and diſhonourable Part, than his worſt Enemies have ever charged him with, in an impious and obſtinate Adherence to, and a Defence of, the corrupt Doctrines, Worſhip and Government of the Church of *Rome*, notwithſtanding he is ſuppoſed to be apprized of its Errors and Corruptions. The Arguments alledged as ſufficient to ſatisfy the Conſcience of a *Cardinal*, and to juſtify his Conduct, are ſuch a Maſter-piece of *Church-caſuiſtry*, as may challenge the Skill of a whole College of *Jeſuits* to ſurpaſs. It were however to be wiſhed, that the *Author* had ſhewed leſs Deference to the *Principles* he has invented for *thoſe* he is perſonating, than to diſhonour the ſacred Example of our Lord, by producing it to countenance ſuch groſs Prevarication, and wilful Oppoſition to the Truth. The Sum of this *Author's Arguments* againſt a Reformation amounts to this, That the Exorbitant Power and Wealth of the *Popiſh Clergy* might be endangered by it; and theſe, in the Opinion of ſuch corrupt and ambitious *Eccleſiaſticks* as the *Cardinal* was, were eſteemed too ſacred to be hazarded for the Sake of all the Truths of the Goſpel. And it is obſervable, that a Reformation, carried on under the Conduct of Secular Princes, is here expreſsly diſallowed, as no leſs dangerous to thoſe juſt and indubitable Rights of the *Clergy*, (as they are termed,) than *One* entered into by the raſh Zeal (as He terms it) of ſuch Reformers, as had no Commiſſion but that of a Private Spirit; (in other Words, their own Conſciences and the Word of God;) and, in the Judgement of this Author, *no Authority either from God or Man.*

That the ſacrilegious Invaſions of the Rights and Revenues of the Clergy, which the *Cardinal* is ſuppoſed ſo prudently to have foreſeen, and for the Sake of which he is repreſented ſo excuſable in oppoſing any Steps towards a Reformation, were deſigned as Reflections on the *Reformation* of the *Church* of *England*, is evident from the Paſſages already cited (Book III. Ch. xiv. § 8, 12.) concerning the Rights the Clergy were deprived of on Account of the Præmunire, and the aſſerting to the Crown the Right of Supremacy; and from his Reflections on the Diſſolution of Monaſteries, (Book III. Ch. ii.) where they are pompouſly celebrated, not only as Seats of uſeful Learning and Religion, (*O rem ridiculam,* *ridiculum*, &c.) but as Places of conſiderable Benefit to the Publick on political Accounts; particularly in giving an Opportunity, which He thinks very deſireable, to Perſons of Quality and Others, to provide for their *Daughters* in an eaſy Method; that is, to force their Children to a Life of more *Miſery*, and *Diſtraction*, and ſometimes *Wickedneſs*, than could ever perhaps come from the moſt unprovided Condition in which They could otherwiſe have been left. This *pious* and *truly charitable* Plan is, in truth, the moſt *impious* and *uncharitable*, taken in this *View:* and the greateſt Contradiction to the Deſigns of Almighty God, and to the very End of Humane Society, that can well be imagined. And yet, ſo fond is this *Proteſtant Writer* of it, that on this Occaſion, he "begs "leave to repeat it again, no publick Foundations could now be laid upon a "more pious and truly charitable Plan."

It is true, He endeavours to juſtify the *Cardinal* in his Deſign of converting ſome Monaſteries to other Purpoſes, on Account of his pious Intention, and the Licence he had obtained from the Pope: but to prevent this from being pleaded in Juſtification of thoſe Diſſolutions that were afterwards made at the Time of the Reformation, and to throw all the Odium he poſſibly can upon them, he ſays, (Book II. Ch. xxv. § 3.) "Had the Cardinal indeed propoſed to diſſolve "the leſſer Monaſteries, meerly to transfer them into Lay Hands, to enrich or "aggrandize Private Families, to which Purpoſes the Founders of them neither "did, nor could by any equitable Conſtruction be preſumed to intend them; "This had been a wicked and ſacrilegious Attempt indeed, and a notorious "Violation of the common Rules of Juſtice, which nothing could have been "ſaid by the Wit of Man to palliate or excuſe."

I will trouble you no farther. I think, without one Word more, What I have pointed out is ſufficient to make it as clear as the Light itſelf, that this *Hiſtory*, (deſigned, it ſeems, by a late *Prelate* now abroad) is directly levelled againſt the *Reformation* both at home and abroad; and againſt *Every Step* really taken to bring it about; and not only to lay all the Load poſſible upon *Thoſe* who hazarded all their Concerns in this World for it; but even impudently and without a Bluſh, to invent and embelliſh the moſt plauſible Excuſes and Apologies, (nay, and *Commendations)* for Thoſe, who were the moſt zealous Oppoſers of it, and who lived and died hardened in the *Bigotry* and *Tyranny* of the *Church* of *Rome*. I am,

SIR, &c.

PHILOPATRIS.

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LETTER CIX. LONDON JOURNAL, March 13, $17\frac{24}{25}$.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

THE following *Tranſlation* of a Letter, written in *High-Dutch*, from One to his Brother, ſeeming to many Perſons to contain more Particularities relating to the late *Execution* at *THORN*, than have yet appeared; and having the Aire of Truth and Simplicity, without any Embelliſhments, in the whole Relation; I hope, you will think fit to comply with the Requeſt, not of Me only, but of many Others, in the *Publication* of it. We flatter ourſelves, It muſt have its Uſe with all ſorts of Readers. Thoſe, who are concerned about nothing but Matters of Fact, and *Hiſtorical Truths*, conſidered as ſuch, will be glad to have their *Curioſity* ſatisfied, in what They ſeem to exerciſe their *Curioſity* alone about, without any other *Paſſion* or *Emotion*. Thoſe, who conſider the Share which *Religion* bore, in Every Step and Every Part of this direful Tranſaction [from the Sentence of the *Chancellour*, who is very credibly reported to have *faſted* and *prayed* for three Days and three Nights before he pronounced Judgement, in order to ſanctify the Madneſs of his Zeal; to the Inſults and Barbarity of the *Executioner* himſelf]—*Thoſe*, I ſay, will lament the unpardonable Indignity put upon the moſt ſacred Name of *Jeſus*; and upon the moſt beneficent and charitable *Inſtitution* that ever the World was witneſs to, by making it the Incentive and Cover to what it abhors and deteſts. *Thoſe*, who are *Proteſtants*, may ſee, if they pleaſe, how cool ſoever the Appearance of Things is, yet that the *ſmalleſt Pretence* can kindle again the Fires and Fury of their Adverſaries. And thoſe of their *Adverſaries*, who ever *think* at all, or let any Glimmering of Light break in upon them, may now *think* within Themſelves, "What ſort of a *Religion* that is, *in* which, nay, *at the* "*Inſtigation of which*, They themſelves, for aught They know, may be obliged, "upon proper Opportunities, to act, in their ſeveral Stations, the ſame Part "which has lately been acted abroad; and whether ſuch a Religion can be from "God." I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

PHILOPATRIS.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

Dear Brother,

I ARRIVED here at *Thorn* from *Dantzick* on the 6th of *December*, and deſigned to proceed the next Day to *Warſaw*; but at *Five* a-Clock, in the Evening, a Scaffold was begun to be erected, by the Light of Flambeaus, and the ſame was finiſhed at Eight. About *Three* the next Morning, Prince *Lubomirſky* ordered the *Senate* of *Thorn* to make Preparations at the *Town-houſe* for the Execution of the Preſident *Roſner*. The Senate, accordingly (under the utmoſt Fear and Conſternation) bought ſix Ells of *Red Cloth*, and cauſed the ſame to be ſpread on the Ground, in the back Yard of the *Town-houſe*. About half an Hour after *Five* a-Clock, the *Preſident*, aſſiſted and accompanied by two *Lutheran* Miniſters, and followed by *two Jeſuits*, was brought under a Guard to the Place of Execution. When he firſt ſaw the *Red Cloth*, He was very much frightened, and ſaid, *O Lord God, have pity on me, for I ſee now there is no Mercy for an Old innocent Man, (as I am) who has done nothing that can be laid to his Charge, and is entirely innocent of having been concerned in the laſt Tumult.* Upon which the *Major*, who commanded the 2000 Soldiers belonging to the *Crown*, ſaid, *You muſt expect no Mercy here, but implore God for Mercy, and rely only on him.* Here the *Jeſuits* interrupted the *Major*, and ſaid, *Sir, You may ſtill expect Mercy, if you will change your Religion.* But the *Lutheran* Miniſters ſpoke to the *Preſident*, and deſired him to conſider how ready They were to cheat and ſeduce him; for it was certain that the *Poliſh Decree* muſt be fulfilled: Whereupon the *Preſident* anſwered firmly, *Nobody ſhall ſeduce me; for I will live and die an innocent Chriſtian, and appear before God Almighty the Supreme Judge, who knows my Innocence.* And thereupon kneeling down, He began his Prayers, and expected and received the Blow of the *Sword* with a joyful Heart, and like a true Martyr.

At half an Hour after *Eight* five other innocent Perſons, viz. *Maak* a Merchant, *Hertel* a Tanner, *Mertz* a Shoe-maker, *Becker* a Button-maker, and *Wunſh* a Shoemaker, aſſiſted and accompanied by four *Lutheran Miniſters*, (namely, Mr. *Koch*, Mr. *Rathig*, Mr. *Kohler*, and Mr. *Rechenberg)* were brought to the Scaffold, which was ſurrounded by 1000 Soldiers of the *Poliſh* Troops. But the aforenamed poor People had hardly Time given them to ſay their Prayers; but were forced to kneel down, one after another, and undergo the Cruelty of having their Heads but half cut off. And when they, after the Stroke was given, fell down, the *Executioner* would have let them lie in ſuch a miſerable and languiſhing Condition for a great while before they expired; but the aforeſaid *Major*, who attended the Execution, ſeeing this, took Pity at laſt on thoſe miſerable People, and threatened to ſhoot the *Executioner*, if he did not ſhorten the Pain and Miſery that theſe poor Souls ſuſtained; and then at laſt this curſed Brute did it, by drawing theſe *half-expired* wretched Men, by their Hair, along the *Scaffold*, to another dead Body; and there finiſhing his Butchery by cutting off their Heads.

The four *Lutheran* Miniſters went after this, in order to accompany the other four remaining innocent Creatures; but as they went to fetch them, they were moſt horribly curſed and damned by the *Jeſuits:* However, the poor *Miniſters* took no Notice of it, notwithſtanding their Adverſaries uſed very hard and cruel Expreſſions, taxing them aloud with being guilty of theſe People's Eternal Damnation. But the *Major* (leſs cruel than the *Jeſuits)* interpoſed at laſt, and ordered them to forbear; though all in vain; for they continued their curſing and foul Language, till the Miniſters brought the other four miſerable Wretches to the Scaffold. One *Corviſer* a Butcher, was the firſt whoſe Execution came on; and after his Hand was cut off at two Blows, the *Executioner* left him in that bleeding Condition for a long while; till at laſt he drew the Sword, and cut his Head half off, as he had done to the former. After him came *Schultz*, a Needle-maker, who was uſed in the ſame Manner; and then it came to the Carpenter *Guthbrot's* Turn, who, after his Hand was cut off, received *three* Strokes, and at every one of them he roſe from the Ground: But when the *fourth* Stroke was given, he attempted to get up again, but his Strength failed him; whereupon the *Executioner* dragged him by the Hair over the Scaffold to another dead Body, and then gave him a great many Cuts and Blows till he expired. At laſt came up one *Hoff*, a Gingerbread-maker, who at fiſt fell into an *Agony*; but being taken up and ſupported by the *Miniſters*, at laſt he took Courage, and laying his Hand on the Block, had the ſame cut off at two Strokes, as the former had, crying out all the while for the Mercy of God, till his Head was ſeparated from his Body at one Stroke.

After this, the *Executioner* called for a large Glaſs of *Brandy*, and drank to the *Executioner* of *Thorn*, who refuſed to pledge him; but, taking his Sword which he had lent to the *other*, put it under his Cloak to go away; but the other demanding the Sword again, drew it out, and giving ſeveral Cuts and Strokes upon the Scaffold, cried out aloud, *That all the* Lutheran *Dogs muſt be ſerved after this Manner.* Not only this, but in a brutal Manner, he added the higheſt Indecency to his Inſults and Cruelty; for he took a Knife and quartered *Calviſer's* Body; and having cut off his hidden Parts, firſt held them up, and then rowled them for ſome time about the Face of the Deceaſed. In ſhort, it cannot be deſcribed how brutiſhly he behaved himſelf. At laſt he threw the four Quarters of this Man, together with the other three laſt executed Bodies, off of the Scaffold into a Waggon, and carrying them without the Gate, where there were two *Waggons* ready with Wood, he burnt them all to Aſhes under the Gallows.

After the *Execution* was over, the *Lutheran Miniſters*, as they were going home, were purſued by the *Roman Catholicks*; which the *Former* perceiving, begged a Guard for their Security: And ſo the *Latter*, not being aware of this, went round the Town-houſe with a vaſt *Mob*, and looked for them; whilſt the *Miniſters* paſſed through the *Town-houſe* with their Guard; which the *Papiſts* now ſeeing, out of Fear of the Guard, withdrew, and let them get away. It is thought, that if the *Miniſters* had not uſed this Precaution, and got a *Guard*, the *Mob* would have certainly ſtoned them to death. The Conſternation was ſo great, that not one of the *Lutheran Inhabitants* was ſeen either at their Windows, or at their Doors; and all the Time, a very great Number of the *Poliſh* and *Popiſh* Mob patrolled up and down the Streets, in order to *frighten* all the Townſmen of that Perſuaſion, from ſo much as looking out from any Part of their Houſes. But as I lodged at the *Three Crowns* in the *Market-place*, I ſaw, with the greateſt Horror, all that was tranſacted; and from the Whole obſerved how thirſty the *Papiſts* are after the Blood of *Proteſtants*.

The *Preſident* had no Family; but the others have left Eight Widows and Thirty-three Children. I could give you a larger Deſcription of this Tragedy; but Time will not permit me. I am,

Yours, &c.

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LETTER CX. LONDON JOURNAL, March 20, 17$\frac{24}{25}$.

To BRITANNICUS.

SIR,

AS you have publiſhed ſeveral Papers, relating to the Affair at *THORN*; I think you cannot well entirely take leave of that *Subject*, without taking ſome Notice yourſelf, or permitting another to do it, of the "*Speech* of the "*Reverend* FATHER, the *Advocate* for the *Jeſuits* at *Thorn*, delivered be-"fore the *Aſſeſſorial Tribunal* of the *Great Chancellour* of *Poland*;—*demanding Sen-*"*tence* againſt the *Proteſtants* of the ſaid *City*." The *Speech* itſelf is now in the Hands of the *Engliſh* World; and made already ſo publick, that I do not mean to recommend to you the *Publication* of it, Word for Word; but only to beg that you would allow the following, or the like *Remarks* upon it, to paſs into the World, through your Hands, *now*, before the *Memory* of that *Ever-memorable Butchery* be quite extinct.

You ſee, Sir, a *Jeſuit*,—one of the Reverend Fathers of the *Society* of *Jeſus*,—is commiſſioned to go to the *Tribunal* abovementioned; and there to be the *Advocate* of that *Society*, and in *their* Name to plead for *Juſtice*. The *Cauſe* was a Cauſe of *Tumult* and *Riot*; a *Cauſe* of a *Civil* Nature in itſelf, though accidentally heightened by Differences in *Religion*. Now, what would one expect in ſuch a Caſe, but an impartial treating of this Affair, with Regard to the Behaviour on *both* Sides; and particularly with a View to thoſe *Laws*, by which both *Parties* were obliged to conduct themſelves in their Differences? Or, if All the Crime lay on *one* ſide, that it ſhould not be heightened with falſe Colours; and the *Paſſion* of *Cruel Zeal* raiſed in the *Judges*, where an equitable Conſideration of *Rights* and *Privileges* ought only to have been in view? Or, if thoſe *Godlike* Virtues, of *Compaſſion* and *Tenderneſs*, have any Influences, who that has not known the World, would not have hoped to ſee ſome ſmall Sign of them, in the Words and *Actions* of the *Advocate* of a *Society* taking its Name from the meek and charitable *Jeſus*; or, at leaſt, the *Maſk* of it put on, for the Sake of *Appearance* and *Decorum*? But, amidſt all the *Hypocriſies* of that *Society*, Far be *ſuch Hypocriſy* from them! They imagine themſelves injured, to be thought capable of the Impreſſions of *Pity*; and They throw off the very *Cloak* of *Humanity*, for fear They ſhould not be eſteemed to be the moſt perfect *Society* of the *Romiſh* Perſuaſion, and the moſt compleatly fitted and determined for all Projects and Actions of Importance. And accordingly,

1. At the very Entrance of the *Advocate's* Speech, the *Jeſuit* begins with *Religion* only. It is the IMPIETY of *Thorn*, with which he rouſes the *Bigoted Attention* of thoſe *Judges*, whom (in a ſervile, fulſome Flattery, as inconſiſtent with all the *Rules* of true *Oratory*, as it is with Decency or Religion,) He ſtiles *the* Atlaſes *who may be ſaid to uphold* HEAVEN, *by their ſupporting the Honour of it, and maintaining the Defence* of God, *and of his Divine Mother*, &c. And, after a *Torrent of his own bitter Tears*, he introduces "*Religion* herſelf, *with her Eyes bathed in Tears, crying Juſtice! Juſtice! Juſtice!*"—But how is it that the *Reverend Father* proves the Cauſe, to be the Cauſe of *Religion*? Why, the Worſhip of Images is an Article of Faith--Some Images were demoliſhed in this Tumult; and therefore, *Religion* is *bathed in Tears*, &c. Nay, He tells them, *It is an Article of Faith which God has confirmed by Millions of Miracles*, particularly by St. *Jacek's paſſing dry-ſhod through the Poliſh River Weiſſel, by Virtue of a* Stone-image *of the Holy* Mother *of* God, *which He carried along with Him.* And from a *Saint's paſſing dry* through a *Poliſh River*, what a powerful Argument is to be urged to a *Poliſh Tribunal*? So that, we ſee, it is *Idolatry*, that is the *Religion* concerned; and That only. It is the *Worſhip* of *Images* which is the *Religion* that was affronted; and *That* only. Behold, to what a Paſs that ſacred Thing, called *Religion*, is brought! The very *Word* itſelf is come to ſignify *Any Thing*, and *Every Thing*, except what it ought to ſignify: and by this Means it is, that the *Thing* itſelf is hardly known, or felt, or ſeen, where it is moſt talked of.

But I do not obſerve this, as if the *Cauſe* of the *Advocate* would have been at all the better, had his Notion of *Religion* been better than it is. Let it be placed upon what you will; it has nothing to do here. Such *Sentences*, and ſuch *Executions*, have no relation to it. The *better* it is in itſelf, the *leſs* they have to do with it; the more they diſhonour it; the deeper they wound it: and with the greater Aggravation; becauſe the better the Cauſe is, there is the leſs need of ſuch terrible Supports. The God of Heaven will not have *his Heaven upheld* by ſuch *Atlaſes*; and the bleſſed *Jeſus* leaves his own Honour, and his *Eternal* FATHER'S Honour, and much more, his *Earthly Mother's* Honour, to the quite contrary Methods; the *Methods* of Humanity, and Perſuaſion, and Love. We *Proteſtants* therefore, ſhould not methinks, inveigh againſt the *Reverend Advocate*, ſolely for ſhewing a *Cruelty* of *Zeal* in Defence of his own *Idolatry*; but ought to acknowledge that the ſame *Fiery Zeal* would have been, at leaſt, equally inexcuſable, whatever Part even of *True Religion* He would have propagated and defended by the *ſame Methods*.

2. The *Impiety* of the *Zeal* of the *Lutherans* againſt the Idolatry of the *Romaniſts*, is ſet forth by the *Advocate* from this aggravating Circumſtance, That all this Outrage was without any *Provocation* given. This is what he would inſinuate. But how does He prove it? You would expect perhaps to hear, under this Head, Proofs and Teſtimonies, that All was quiet on the *Jeſuits* Part; that the *Lutherans* raved without an *Adverſary*; and committed theſe *Outrages*, from the mere Gaiety of their Hearts, without any *Inſult* or *Affront* from others. But if you expect this, You will be greatly diſappointed. The Reverend *Father* knew better what to inſiſt upon. And therefore, inſtead of ſaying, what Inſult have theſe Hereticks to complain of? What Provocation from any *Catholick*, to urge in their Vindication? Inſtead of this, the *good Jeſuit*, but *wretched Orator*, aſks, "*After all, What Miſchief had theſe* POOR IMAGES *done them? THEY had not inſulted their Scholars.*" The *Patience* of the *Tribunal* of *Poland*, or their *Zeal*, muſt be beyond the common pitch of Humane Patience, and Humane Zeal, to be able to bear with ſuch *Oratory* as this!—It is very certain that the *poor Images* had neither hurt the *Proteſtants*; nor were able to *hurt* them. And if their *Worſhipers* had been as harmleſs as the *Images* themſelves, the *Tragedy* ſtill in our View, had never been acted. But the very Manner of Expreſſion, here uſed by the *Jeſuit*, makes it very *certain*, that, though the *poor lifeleſs Images* had not inſulted the *Scholars*, yet, ſomething elſe had done it;—ſome *living Bodies* had inſulted them—or elſe the *Advocate* would not have paſſed ſo poorly over this Part of the Subject.

3. We in *England* are particularly obliged to the *Reverend Advocate*. When He is repreſenting the hard Caſe of a *Catholick* at *Thorn*, with regard to *Marriage*, in the worſt Colours He can think of; the *Colouring* is taken from *England*; and the Miſeries there groaned under. "*Is not this* (ſays He) eſtabliſhing a Supremacy like That in *England?*" Again, after ſpeaking of the Laws of *Thorn*, with regard to a *Lutheran*, *converted to the true (that is*, the *Popiſh) Religion*, He exclaims—"*THORN* is another *LONDON*. *The Catholicks groan there under* ENGLISH *Laws*." And yet, what *Catholick* of common Senſe, whoſe *Bigotry* has not taken away his Feeling, would not rather chuſe to *groan under* ENGLISH *Laws*, than to live within the reach of Lawleſs Zeal, or Unrelenting Bigotry, which, upon ſome Occaſions, and upon the ſlighteſt Differences, ſcatters Deſtruction or Miſchief upon All around it? What does the beſt Part of the *Catholicks* themſelves get, where-ever *Power* comes into the Hands of a *Society*, which knows no *other* Uſe of it, but to increaſe *itſelf* by all the Methods of Deceit and Force? But,

4. I ought not to have ſaid, The very Appearance and Maſk of Tenderneſs was thrown away. I retract the Saying, and acknowledge the Miſtake. Let the *Advocate* be heard. *I dare not, (ſays he) require of you Execution, or CORPORAL PUNISHMENT. The Sacredneſs of my Eccleſiaſtical Character*

permits not ME to be ſtained with the BLOOD of Criminals.—Behold this Inſult of *Humanity*, which only increaſes the *Cruelty* of the *Speaker!* The *Fathers* of the *Inquiſition* abhor Blood in their *Eccleſiaſtical Character:* ſo do the *Fathers* of the Society of *Jeſus*, in *theirs*. But as the *Will* of the *Former* is ſufficiently known to the *Civil Executioners* of their Pleaſure, by the ſolemn Act of declaring againſt Blood and Corporal Puniſhment; ſo, here, the *Will* of the *Jeſuits* is plainly revealed by their *Advocate's* mention of *Blood* in the ſame manner, as if He had ſaid, "—*The* Fathers *of the* Society *are not permitted in their* Eccleſiaſtical Capacity *to be ſtained with* Blood: but *This* does not hinder *Them* from expecting it, in *another* Capacity; or *You* from decreeing it in your *Lay-capacity*." Or again, "It does not become *Me*, who am an *Eccleſiaſtick*, to require a *bloody Execution*; but I mention *it* to let you know, that it may become *You*, and is expected from *You*, who are not *Eccleſiaſticks*." So true is it, in a very literal Senſe, "*That the Tender Mercies of Some are Cruel*." The *Advocate* knew before whom he ſpoke, and had no Doubt about the *Bloodineſs* of the *Sentence* to be pronounced; and to ſhew that all his *Tenderneſs* was *Impudent Grimace*, He opens his Mind plainly, in the *Paragraph* before—"*We ſupplicate You*, Gracious Lords, *to cauſe the Sentence, which You ſhall now pronounce, to be executed WITH RIGOUR, and WITHOUT DELAY—ſince DELAYS* (obſerve the Good-natured, Compaſſionate, Humane *Jeſuit's* Reaſon for this) *ſince DELAYS* (ſays He) *always leave Room for CLEMENCY and Moderation*." And here I muſt leave Him: for I am in too great a Commotion of Mind, to go on.

If ſuch *profeſſed Enemies* to All the natural Tenderneſſes of Mankind, and to the moſt amiable Parts of Social *Religion*; who ſtart at the very Thought of *Clemency*, and lay in their *Claims* againſt the very Poſſibility of *Mercy*;—If ſuch as *Theſe* are to be accounted *Members* of *Humane Society*; ſo are *Lions*, and *Wolves*, and *Tigers*; and every Beaſt of Strength, that lives upon its *Prey*, and fattens upon the *Blood* of weaker Animals. I am,

Your, &c.

PHILOPATRIS.

AN ENQUIRY
INTO THE REASONS OF
The CONDUCT of *GREAT BRITAIN*,
WITH RELATION TO
The Preſent State of AFFAIRS in *EUROPE*.

THE whole Face of Affairs in *Europe* is, within the Space of the laſt Year, ſo much altered; that it is almoſt impoſſible for the moſt unconcerned Spectator to prevent his Thoughts from running out into Queſtions and Suppoſitions about it. Curioſity itſelf, the loweſt Principle of all our Enquiries, will force its Way into ſuch a Scene: And will expect, or invent, ſome Account of ſo ſurprizing a *Change*; from a Calm hardly paralleled by any paſt *Proſpect*, to a ſudden Gathering of Clouds; which, if not ſoon diſſipated, muſt burſt, and diſcharge themſelves ſomewhere or other.

But when Self-intereſt is joined to this natural Curioſity; and it becomes a *perſonal* and *National* Concern, to know the main Cauſes and Springs of ſuch Events, as All are intereſted in; there ſeems then to be a Right, ſtrictly ſo called, to demand and receive all the Satisfaction the Nature of ſuch Affairs can permit to be given. In a free Nation eſpecially, where no Reſolutions can be effectual without the Conſent and Support of the Community, every Man, who can think at all, will think it an injurious Treatment, if, at a proper Time, and in a proper Manner, ſome Light be not held forth to him; and ſome ſatiſfactory Solution given of ſuch Appearances, as muſt otherwiſe very much perplex and diſturb him. And one Thing *Governours* themſelves are ſure to find, That unleſs they ſhew ſuch a Regard to Thoſe who juſtly think they have a Claim to it, this Evil will come to paſs, that Mankind (always diſpoſed enough towards Diſſatisfaction, either through a ſort of natural Ill-will to Thoſe above them, or through a Wearineſs under the Continuance of the ſame *Adminiſtration*, or through an affected *Popularity*, or real *Patriotiſm* not ſufficiently inſtructed) will take that Side of the Proſpect to dwell upon, which will afford them moſt Matter for Satyr at Home; and lay all the Load upon the Conduct of Thoſe, in whoſe Time of Power ſuch a *Criſis* of Political Affairs appears in the World.

All this was never more true, than in this Nation, and at this Time. Every *Briton* who, either by his Treaſure or his Blood, by his Vote or his Intereſt, by his Perſon or his Repreſentative, has in Time paſt borne any Part in procuring the Common Peace, and eſtabliſhing the ſeveral Intereſts, of *Europe*: Every ſuch Member of the *Britiſh* Nation, who by this Time flattered himſelf with Hopes of enjoying the Reſult of all our Toil, and Taxes, and Blood, in an Univerſal Peace, and an extended undiſturbed Commerce, has a Right to aſk,—How comes this Face of Things to be again over-clouded?—All *Europe* once more in Agitation—Three Fleets from *Britain* fitted out at a great Expence, and with the utmoſt Expedition ſent to ſeveral Parts of the World :—And, what is moſt unaccountable, the *Emperor* and *Spain*, Powers that could hardly be kept within the Bounds of Common Decency, towards one another, by all the Addreſs of two powerful Mediators in a *publick* Treaty, abandoning that *Mediation*; and, in the Middle of it, privately running into one another's Arms, and uniting, in Deſigns deſtructive to the *Commerce* and *Rights* of other Nations, with all the Marks of Cordial Affection and a Reſolute Friendſhip.

Is not This, the *King* of *Spain*—of that Country, which has always felt the Want of the Friendſhip of *Britain*, more than of That of all other Nations beſides; to ſuch a Degree, that it has paſſed into a *Proverb* throughout the Kingdom, *Paz con* Inglatérra, *con todos otros la Guerra: Peace with* England, *and War with all the World beſides?*—of that *Country*, which reaps more Advantage from the Trade with *England*, than from That of all its other Neighbours put together?—And, Is not this the ſame King, whoſe Engagements to the *Intereſts* and *Poſſeſſions* of *Britain* in *his* Country, are as ſolemn and ſtrong, as the moſt expreſs Treaties can make them?—The ſame, who juſt before the Opening the Congreſs at *Cambray*, owned and ratified them all, by acceding in Form to the *Quadruple Alliance*; and accepting, by That, the Mediation of *Britain* and *France*?

And above all, if we turn our Eyes to the *Emperor*; Is not This the *Prince*, whom we once bore upon *our* Shoulders, out of the Reach of all his Enemies, and ſupported by *our* Strength in the Time of his own greateſt Weakneſs?—The *Prince*, whom *our* Zeal, and *our* Fleets, and *our* Treaſure, laboured to fix upon the Throne of *Spain*, at a Time when Difficulties and Dangers ſurrounded the whole Imperial Houſe at *Vienna*?—And now, Veſted, as we always wiſhed Him to be, with the High and Auguſt Dignity He enjoys; Is not this the *Emperor*, who may juſtly be ſaid to owe the Preſervation even of all his Hereditary Countries, and of his Imperial Crown itſelf, (if we may have liberty to ſay ſo,) to that hazardous and unequalled March of the Confederate Army into *Germany*, and to the happy Conſequences of it? To that *Victory*, in which the *Britiſh*, *Dutch*, *Hanoverian*, *Pruſſian*, and *Heſſian* Troops bore ſo great a Part; and, in a particular Manner, to that *Britiſh* General, who projected and conducted the *Whole*?—And the ſame *Emperor*, who, as He was throughout the laſt War the chief Object of the Love and good Wiſhes of this Nation, ſo, at the End of it, was eſtabliſhed in the Poſſeſſion of *Flanders*; and owes *Oſtend* itſelf to thoſe victorious Arms, which had before ſupported his Perſon, and preſerved the *Empire* for him? And all this long Scene of Service and Toil, entered into and proſecuted by us, We muſt own, againſt the repeated Remonſtrances of *many*, that We were haſtening apace to make Him a Power too great and too formidable; and that we ſhould find in *Him* at laſt, the Enemy we then dreaded only in *another*?

It is natural to every *Briton* to look back, and to aſk theſe and the like Queſtions. And the next Thought which ſucceeds, is almoſt as natural; That it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that theſe Powers ſhould take ſuch Steps without ſomething to juſtify them. We can hardly imagine it poſſible, That, without ſome real and high Provocation, the *Emperor* could throw any the leaſt Indignity upon the *Crown* of *Great Britain*; or act any injurious or even hard Part towards a Nation which had ſacrificed ſo much Treaſure and ſo much Blood to his Service. And therefore, we are apt enough to conclude, (and have Reaſon to do ſo, till we find it otherwiſe) That ſome great Miſmanagement on the Part of *Britain*; ſome unjuſtifiable Partiality towards Others; ſome Breach of

Faith; ſome Outrage or other in Politicks, has been committed againſt his *Imperial Majeſty*: Or, that ſome unpardonable Behaviour on our Part, with Regard to his juſt Intereſts, muſt have been the Occaſion of a Conduct that ſo far exceeds the Common Maxims of *Princes* and *States* towards one another.

And indeed, I ſhall be very free to own, If this be the Caſe; if either ſolemn *Treaties*, or any Engagements, with the *Court* of *Vienna*, have been broke through; if either Affronts, or even Neglects inconſiſtent with the Duty of a faithful Ally, have been Part of the Conduct of the *preſent* Court of *Great-Britain* towards his *Imperial Majeſty*; former Appearances ought not to be ſpoken of; all paſt Obligations ought to be as nothing in the preſent Account; the *Emperor* has a Right to guard and ſtrengthen himſelf by Treaties *contrary* to his former Treaties, and to act the Part He judges beſt for his own Honour and Security: And we of this Nation have no Right to tax *Him*, either with Ingratitude unprovoked, or with Breach of Faith without the Appearance of a Juſtification; but ought to turn all our Zeal againſt Thoſe, whoſe Counſels, and whoſe Behaviour, upon this Suppoſition, have made ſuch a Conduct on his Part, wiſe, juſt, and neceſſary. And the ſame muſt be acknowledged with Regard to *Spain* alſo; if any ſuch *Excuſe* can juſtly be alledged, on that Side.

We will now, therefore, enquire What has been the Behaviour of the *King* and *Nation* of *Great Britain*, ſince his preſent *Majeſty* came to the Throne, towards the *Emperor* particularly: and, as we paſs, towards *Spain* alſo. And I will put the Account of this into *two Periods*. The *firſt* ſhall be, from his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Crown, to the Opening the *Congreſs* at *Cambray*: The *Second*, from the Opening of that *Congreſs* to the Signing of the *Treaty* of *Peace* at *Vienna* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*.

At the Time when his *Majeſty* came to the Throne of *Great Britain*, ſeveral Points of great Importance remained to be adjuſted, before the *Peace* of *Europe* could be eſteemed as a Thing fixed upon any laſting and ſolid Foundation; in particular, ſome Things very uneaſy to the *Emperor*, and others very much deſired by *Spain*. In conſideration of this, his Majeſty, after other previous Treaties and Conventions, entered directly upon theſe neceſſary Points, which were fixed in the *Treaty* of *London*, *July* 22, 1718, entirely to the Emperor's Satisfaction: who was himſelf a *Party* in that Treaty, and confirmed with his own Hand what his *Miniſters* had before ſigned in his Name. His *Italian* Dominions, always dear to him, He juſtly thought not very ſecure, without the Poſſeſſion of *Sicily*; upon which the Preſervation of *Naples* very much depends. This great and important Point, the *King* of *Great-Britain* fixed, as a main Article of this *Treaty*: and engaged, in Concert with *France*, that, *Sardinia* being delivered up to the *Emperor* by *Spain*, the *King* of *Sicily* ſhould accept of that Iſland in lieu of *Sicily*, which He ſhould yield to the *Emperor*.

On the Part of *Spain*, a Favourite Point was likewiſe ſetled. Don *Carlos*, Son to the preſent *Queen*, was eſtabliſhed in the Succeſſion of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*: And This conſented to, by the *Emperor*, who alone was capable of diſturbing it; and effectually guaranteed by the *Powers* of *Britain* and *France*. I will at preſent name no other Particulars, but theſe *two* principal ones. Some other Points, Circumſtances, and Incidents, in order to perfect the Peace between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, remained to be ſetled in a Congreſs, under the Mediation of *Britain* and *France*: And this *Mediation* made a Part and an expreſs Article of this *Treaty* of *London*, to which the *Emperor* long ago, and *Spain* afterwards, ſet their Hands, and gave their ſolemn Conſent. The former of the two Articles now mentioned, *viz.* *That* relating to *Sicily*, did not long ſubſiſt in Words only; but was ſoon actually put in Execution; and the *Emperor* put in Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom.

Hitherto, Nothing but *Friendſhip* appears: And perhaps, Friendſhip to Exceſs. What the *Emperor* exceedingly deſired, is granted to Him: And nothing granted to *Others*, but what the *Emperor* himſelf had previouſly conſented to, as a reaſonable and fitting *Equivalent*. Neither had the King of *Spain* any Reaſon to complain, when the Succeſſion of *Don Carlos* in *Italy* was put in ſo ſure a Way of taking place at the Time appointed. So far indeed, was *He* from it; That, before the Opening of the *Congreſs*, He himſelf acceded to the *Treaty* of *London*, and conſented to all the Allotments made in it.

The *Congreſs* was at length opened at *Cambray*, *Jan.* 26, N. S. $172\frac{3}{4}$, in order to ſetle all remaining Uncertainties, under the Care of the two mediating Powers, *Britain* and *France*. This will be a *Second Period*; from this Opening at *Cambray*, to the Opening of another Scene at *Vienna*. And through the whole Management of this *Congreſs*, the Part the *Mediators* acted, was ſo impartial, ſo equitable, ſo agreeable to the Treaty of *London*, which was the Baſis of this Congreſs; that the moſt ſolemn Appeal may be made to Both the *conteſting Powers*, Whether any one Step was taken, which could give any the leaſt juſt Ground of Complaint. No Appeal is, indeed, neceſſary. The *Imperial Court* would loudly have complained of any Conduct; if there had been any towards that Court which could have deſerved it. But there never was any Complaint of that Sort from thence: Nor indeed could there have been any made, without diſcovering at the ſame Time that there was nothing to complain of, but the too great Equity and Juſtice obſerved by the *Mediators* between the two contending Powers; and their reſolute Adherence to all *Treaties*; and particularly to *that* of *London*, to which this Court itſelf had conſented. Nor did *Spain* make the leaſt Complaint againſt the Behaviour of the *mediating Powers*, through the whole Progreſs of the Mediation; but what aroſe from the conſtant Juſtice of the Mediators, in keeping within the Bounds of their Duty and Honour, and their not giving into any new and exorbitant Demands of that Court.

Thus, therefore, ſtands the Caſe. Whilſt a *Mediation* was happily going on, under the Sanction of a ſolemn Treaty, appointing this *Mediation*; and this *Appointment* ſigned, and conſented to, by theſe contending Crowns; without any apparent Diſſatisfaction, or even the leaſt Pretence for it, a *private Treaty* is entered into, carried on, and finiſhed at *Vienna*; in plain Contradiction to that *Article* relating to the *Mediation*, by which They had ſolemnly obliged themſelves to ſetle the Points in Difference, under the Eye and Influence of *Great Britain* and *France*: And the whole conducted with the higheſt Diſreſpect to the mediating Powers, and without the leaſt ſeeming Deſire of keeping the common Meaſures of Decency with them. Conſidering, therefore, only the Manner and Circumſtances attending this Tranſaction between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, at *Vienna*; as it was a Violation of an *expreſs Article* of a former Treaty ſigned by Themſelves, and an high and unprovoked Indignity offered to the *Mediators*; theſe were alone enough to juſtify the *Mediators*, in any publick Act of due Reſentment of ſuch Uſage.

But ſo far were They from ſhewing any ſuch Reſentment; ſo far from making this open Affront, the Occaſion of an open Rupture; that when the *Signing of this Treaty was* firſt, in Form, notified to the two Courts of *Britain* and *France*; and it was declared to be no other than a *Defenſive* one, with Regard only to the mutual Satisfaction of the *Emperor* and *Spain*; and not contradictory, but perfectly agreeable, to the Treaty of *London*: So far were They from improving ſuch Uſage into a publick Quarrel, that both at Home, and by their Miniſters every where Abroad, They expreſſed a great Pleaſure that the *Two Powers*, whom the *Mediators* at *Cambray* could not bring even to Terms of common Civility towards one another, had found the happy Means, without the Ceremony and Aſſiſtance of any *Mediator*, to get over Difficulties that had been declared almoſt inſuperable; and to link themſelves in the Bands of Friendſhip, upon Terms, not inconſiſtent (as it was affirmed) with the *Repoſe* of *Europe*. This was the great End of the Congreſs itſelf: And, if this End were anſwered; the Mediating Powers were not ſollicitous about the Means uſed in compaſſing it; but could paſs over the great Diſregard ſhewn towards Themſelves, in Conſideration of the ſolid and common Good obtained by this Agreement.

But in how decent a Manner ſoever, the Courts of *Britain* and *France* treated this Affair: Thoſe of the *Emperor* and *Spain* ſaw very well that ſuch a Step could not but be very ſhocking to the *Mediators*; and ſtood in need of the beſt Apology They could make. And very luckily (as They or their *Agents* thought) for Themſelves, the Behaviour of the *Court* of *France*, in ſending back the *Infanta* to *Spain*; joined with his *Britannick* Majeſty's not accepting the *ſole Mediation* at *Cambray*; furniſhed them with One as good as They could have wiſhed. And therefore, the *Imperial Miniſters* at *Cambray*, at *London*, and at *Paris*, were very ready at firſt to put it all upon this; and to declare that, the Reaſon of this extraordinary Step was, that the *Court* of *France* having affronted his *Catholick Majeſty* in ſo high and ſo unpardonable a Manner, that *Spain* could not in Honour any longer act with the *Moſt Chriſtian King*, as a *Mediator*; and the *King* of *Great Britain* having declined to act as *ſole* Mediator, when it was propoſed to him to do ſo by the *Crown* of *Spain*: This broke off all Hopes of any Effect from the Congreſs at *Cambray*; and left his *Catholick Majeſty* nothing to do, but to fly to *Vienna*; and, out of a due Reſentment of ſo great an Injury, and the Neceſſity of his Affairs, to throw himſelf entirely upon the Honour and Equity of that Court: And, more particularly, that his *Imperial Majeſty*, upon *Ripperda's* firſt Applications, ſhewed a great Unwillingneſs to move the *Negociations* out of their Courſe at *Cambray*; but at laſt prevailed upon himſelf, out of Love to the *Publick Tranquillity*, to conſent to the carrying them on at *Vienna*, after he found it more and more plain, that the Reſentment of *Spain* againſt *France*, and his *Britannick Majeſty's* Refuſal of the *Sole Mediation*, made it impoſſible to proceed at *Cambray*.

Such was the Language of the *Imperialiſts*, upon the firſt Notification of the *Vienna Treaty*, when they thought it needful to make an Apology for it. And though it cannot be affirmed that the *Court* of *Spain* did itſelf expreſly offer this, as the firſt moving Reaſon of that Piece of Conduct; yet (according to the beſt Accounts from *Spain)* upon the firſt publick News of the *Vienna* Treaty at *Madrid*, the Diſcourſes of many were taught to run that Way, and to dwell upon that ſame popular Topick. And without Doubt it was thought a very cunning Part, thus to attribute ſuch a Conduct to ſudden *Rage* and Paſſion; that *this* might afford ſome Colour for a *Treaty* in Appearance ſo detrimental to *Spain*, and a little palliate the *low Terms* accepted by that Crown; and by this means, as they flattered themſelves, remove all Suſpicion of any pernicious and unjuſtifiable Secret behind the Curtain, till the due Time came for revealing it.

But as *Facts* and *Dates* are ſtubborn Things, not to be ſhaken by the Sound of Words and plauſible Speeches; this itſelf proved the moſt unlucky Pretence poſſible: and only opened a Door to the beſt-grounded Suſpicions, that ſomething very bad, too bad to be owned, was at the Bottom of ſuch a Behaviour.

The Courts of *Great Britain* and *France* were not ſo idle Spectators of the Affairs of *Europe*, but that they had long before this the moſt evident Proofs in their Poſſeſſion, that this Account of that Tranſaction was impoſſible to be true. The Reſolution of the *Court* of *France*, relating to the *Infanta*, did not come (no, not in Suſpicion) to *Madrid*, till *March* 8, *N. S.* $172\frac{4}{5}$, *Ripperda*, who conducted the *new Treaty*, had been ſent to *Vienna* above *three Months* before that: and even his *full Powers* for making this *clandeſtine Treaty* were ſigned *Nov.* 22, 1724. And ſoon after the *Treaty* of *Peace* was ſigned in Form at *Vienna*, the publick Language at the Court of *Madrid*, was, That they had looked upon the *Peace* with the *Emperor*, as a Thing ſure ever ſince the preceding *March* 29, on which Day a *Courier* was known to come from *Vienna* to *Madrid*, with the News of all the *principal Articles* being adjuſted, *i. e. twenty one Days only*, from the Day of the firſt News at *Madrid*, of the King of *France's* Reſolution of annulling his Marriage with the *Infanta*.

This is ſo evident a kind of Demonſtration, that Perſons of the loweſt Underſtanding cannot but conclude from it, how abſurd it is, to make this *Reſolution* of the *Court* of *France*, the firſt Step towards an Excuſe for what was reſolved on, and ſet on foot, with full Powers ſigned for the Purpoſe, above three Months before it. For who is there, that cannot immediately ſee, That a Proceeding authorized, *November* 22, could not be owing to an Affront which was not heard of, till *March* 8. following? And that a *Treaty* thoroughly adjuſted, in its main Articles, at *Vienna*, ſo early in *March*, as to be known at *Madrid* the *Twenty-ninth* of that Month, could not be ſo much as facilitated, or modelled by what was not known at *Madrid* till the *Eighth* of the ſame *March*: And which therefore, could not in ſo few Days be ſent to *Vienna*, to operate *there*; and the *News* of that *Operation* be returned to *Madrid*?

But, if poſſible, it was ſtill more unaccountable to draw an Excuſe from his *Britannick Majeſty's* not taking upon himſelf the *ſole Mediation* at *Cambray*: which it was well known he could not have done without an open Affront to *France*; and a manifeſt Violation of the *Quadruple Alliance*; beſides other Inconveniences. For it was not till *March* 9, $172\frac{4}{5}$, that the *Court* of *Spain* moved this. — The *Motion* was then to be tranſmitted to *London*; and the Anſwer to it, to be ſent back to *Madrid*. This Anſwer did not arrive till about *April* 24. following: and therefore, I need not ſay, could not have the leaſt Part in a *Treaty* ſet on Foot above *four Months* before, and *ſigned* in Form *April* 30, 1725, at *Vienna*, *i. e.* about a Week after his Majeſty's declining the *ſole Mediation* was known at *Madrid*; and when it was impoſſible to be known at *Vienna*. Theſe, therefore, were Pretences entirely foreign from the true Reaſons of that Conduct. The *Treaty* of *Vienna* was authoritatively begun, and going forward, long before the *Provocation* from *France* could poſſibly palliate that clandeſtine and diſhonourable Proceeding. And it muſt have been brought to perfect Maturity, *before* the Motion was ſo much as made to his *Majeſty* to take on him the *ſole Mediation*; becauſe it was even ſigned in Form before the Intelligence of the King's Reſolution againſt the *ſole Mediation* could, with any Certainty, arrive at *Vienna*. And from ſuch an Apology at the firſt Appearance of the *new Alliance*, the Courts of *Britain* and *France* had a Right to be jealous; and to ſuſpect ſome Secrets of a very pernicious Nature ſtill behind.

But we have not yet done with this firſt Scene. It is proper to obſerve, that during this whole Proceeding, and for the Space of above three Months after the News of ſending back the *Infanta* was come from *France* to *Madrid*, the Expreſſions of *Friendſhip* towards the *Britiſh Court*, ran as high as poſſible at the Court of *Spain*, *viz.* to this Purpoſe: “ *That his* Catholick Majeſty *was reſolved* “ *to ſeparate himſelf for ever from* France, *and place his entire Friendſhip and Confidence ſolely in the* King *of* Great Britain:—*That to this End he now deſired to* “ *enter into the moſt ſtrict Engagements for the rendering that Friendſhip perpetual.*— “ *That it was hoped*, his Majeſty *would ſuffer* the Negotiations at Cambray *to go* “ *on under* his Mediation *only*, INTO WHOSE HANDS HE WAS DESIROUS TO PUT “ ALL HIS INTERESTS, *&c.*” Whilſt all this Time *Ripperda* was acting with *full Powers* at *Vienna*, in contradiction not only to this *Mediation*, and the Meaſures by which it muſt have been conducted, had his Majeſty accepted it; but, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, to all ſubſiſting Engagements, and in Violation of the *Laws* of Friendſhip and Amity between Nations. Nay, whenever that *Negotiation* of *Ripperda's* at *Vienna* happened to be touched upon, as a Piece of common Talk only, the Language of the Court *of Spain* was, “ *That he was an* “ *enterpriſing Man, and loved to make a Noiſe in the World:*” inſinuating by this, that That *Court* had no Part in what *Ripperda* was doing at *Vienna*.

When *his Majeſty's* Reaſons for not taking upon himſelf the *ſole Mediation* were repreſented at *Madrid*, the Force of them was acknowledged by that *Court*: and at the ſame Time a great Willingneſs was expreſſed to *accept even of a Reparation from* France, *for the* Indignity *offered to* Spain, *ſo it might come through the Hands of the* King *of* Great Britain, *and the Pleaſure that* Court *would have, upon ſuch a* Reparation, “ *in the Proſecution of the* Negotiations *at* Cambray IN “ THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY WERE BEGUN; His Majeſty *being a common* “ *Friend to both Parties, and One of whoſe Affection* Spain *had ſo often, and par-* “ *ticularly* upon this laſt Occaſion, received the moſt eſſential Proofs.” I hardly need to obſerve, that at this very Time Things were ſo ripe at *Vienna*, that the *Treaty* of Peace was ſigned in Form, *April* 30, about ſeven or eight Days after this Language of *Friendſhip* at the Court of *Madrid*; and after theſe earneſt Deſires expreſſed, of the Continuation of the Negotiations at *Cambray in the Manner in which they were begun.*

But this Way of Speaking did not ceaſe yet: For after *May* 21, on which Day a Courier arrived at *Madrid*, with the News that the *Treaty* of Peace between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, was ſigned on *April* 30: After this publick Intelligence of a *Treaty* ſigned at *Vienna*, the Language of the *Court* of *Spain* was full of *Excuſes for not having communicated the Steps of this* Negotiation *at* Vienna *to* his Britannick Majeſty; and full of the uſual Profeſſions of “ a *par-* “ *ticular Regard for his Friendſhip, and a ſincere Deſire of cultivating the ſtricteſt* “ *Union with him*;” together with all Aſſurances, “ *That nothing had been ſtipu-* “ *lated in this Treaty, in any wiſe prejudicial to the* King, *or to the Intereſts of his* “ *Subjects, or in the leaſt contrary to any of the Engagements entered into with* “ *him, either ſeparately or jointly with* France; and Expreſſions of *a deep Senſe of* “ *the great Obligation that* Court *had to his Majeſty for the Proofs he had ſo often* “ *given of his Friendſhip and Regard for the Intereſt of* Spain; always accom- “ panied with the *Hope, that what had happened would in no wiſe leſſen* his “ Majeſty's *Friendſhip, which* this Court *entirely depended upon, and deſired to* “ *cultivate by all the Ways poſſible.*”

There were indeed Tokens and Symptoms of Evil continually, during this whole Scene of *Civility*, ſhewing themſelves; fully ſufficient to guard againſt all Truſt in any ſuch Profeſſions, either of the Court of *Madrid*, or that of *Vienna*: and theſe, ſucceeded by *worſe* and *worſe* Appearances; and at laſt, by ſuch certain Proofs as can leave no doubt of a *Secret Treaty* of the moſt dangerous Conſequence between the two *new Allies*. And I will now mention ſome, in the Order of their Time.

1. On *May* 1, *O. S.* 1725, the *Emperor's Miniſter* at *London* notified in Form to the *Court* of *Great Britain*, the Signing of a *Treaty* of *Peace* at *Vienna* between his *Maſter* and the *King* of *Spain*: and communicated a *Copy* of that *Treaty* at the ſame Time. After Aſſurances that this *Treaty* was made upon the Foot of the *Quadruple Alliance*, with ſtrict Regard to all former Engagements, and the like; He expreſſed his Imperial Majeſty's Hope, that his *Britannick Majeſty* would *accede* to this *Treaty*; and by virtue of that *Acceſſion* be *Guarantee* to the *Succeſſion* to the Territories of the *Emperor*, as ſetled in his Family by a late Conſtitution: and before he concluded, ſaid, "That, after the ſigning of " the *Vienna Treaty*, *Ripperda* acquainted the *Emperor* that there remained ſtill " ſome Things to regulate between the *King* his Maſter, and the *King* of *Great* " *Britain*; and that the *King* of *Spain* requeſted the *Emperor* to make uſe of his " *Mediation*, for the ſetling them: That the *Emperor* had anſwered, that if theſe " Affairs had any Relation to the Treaty of *London*, or aroſe in conſequence of " that Treaty; and if it ſhould prove agreeable to his *Britannick Majeſty*, he would " employ his *Mediation*; but otherwiſe, He would not concern himſelf with " them."

To all this it was anſwered, "That, as for the *Signing* of the *Treaty* at " *Vienna*, it was no News here; his Majeſty having already by a Courier received " Advice of it: That, with Regard to the *Guaranty* mentioned, his *Majeſty* " could not conſent to burthen himſelf with new Obligations, by being *Gua-* " *rantee* of the *Succeſſion* lately eſtabliſhed by the *Emperor*; but was reſolved to " leave his Hands at Liberty, in order to have it in his Power to regard, and " aſſiſt, his true Friends upon all Occaſions that may ariſe; and that, as for " what he had related as repreſented by *Ripperda* to his *Imperial Majeſty*, this " Court knew of nothing *Britain* had to ſetle with *Spain*, but ſome Points of " *Commerce*, for which there could be no need of a *Mediator*."

And certainly, no one can think but that it was wiſely and happily judged, to refuſe a *Guaranty*, which might have been attended with ſo fatal Conſequences. For, as the *Emperor's* Children are now *Females* only; and the Influence of that *Succeſſion* upon *Europe* muſt depend upon the *Marriages* of theſe *Females*; and as no one *then* knew, to what *Princes* they might be hereafter married: It was wiſe in his *Majeſty* not to oblige *himſelf* to *ſupport* a *Succeſſion* which might poſſibly, by ſome future *Marriages*, become formidable to the reſt of *Europe*; and fatal in the End to *Britain* itſelf. And as it was wiſe, ſo it is already proved to be *happy*, that ſuch an Engagement was refuſed: For (as it will by and by appear) the *Succeſſion* is *already* in Proſpect *formidable*; the *Archdutcheſſes* are deſtined to the *Infants* of *Spain*; and ſuch a *Power* ariſing from this Conjunction, as in all humane Probability may make the reſt of *Europe* tremble.

Nor can the Argument taken from the *Emperor's Guaranty* of the *Succeſſion* here, in his Majeſty's Family, (which has been ſince urged,) be of any Force in this Caſe. For, in the *firſt Treaty* between his *Majeſty* and the *Emperor*, this *Prince* abſolutely refuſed to be *Guarantee* to our Succeſſion; and never would hear of it, till by the *Quadruple Alliance* his *Majeſty* had obtained for Him the great Advantage of the Poſſeſſion of *Sicily*. As therefore, his Imperial Majeſty refuſed the *Guaranty* of the *Succeſſion* here, in his *Majeſty's* Royal Family, in one Treaty, though a Treaty entered into and proſecuted with perfect Amity on both Sides; and as He would not *afterwards* come into it, but upon a very ſignal and beneficial Acquiſition to himſelf firſt ſetled: *This* cannot be judged a good *Argument* for his *Majeſty*, to *accede* to a *Treaty* entered into and finiſhed, not only without his Privity; not only without any Regard to his Friendſhip, or any one Mark of Reſpect towards him; but in open Diſreſpect to *him*, as *Mediator* at a Congreſs then ſubſiſting; and, under theſe very different Circumſtances, to become a *Guarantee* of a *Succeſſion*, of the Conſequences of which, to his own Kingdoms, and the reſt of *Europe*, no Judgement could be made, till the *Marriages* of the *two Archdutcheſſes* ſhould come to be ſetled and known. But, to return to our preſent Subject,

This *Propoſal* of the *King's* being a Guarantee for the *new eſtabliſhed* Succeſſion in *Germany*, [to which the *Emperor* could not in Reaſon expect a Compliance] conſidered alone, gave Ground for a Suſpicion, that ſome latent Matter for Quarrel was now treaſuring up. And this Suſpicion juſtly increaſed, upon the Offer of the *Emperor's Mediation*, coming at the ſame Time with this *Treaty* itſelf. For this *Offer* ſuppoſed *Differences* between *Britain* and *Spain*: And as theſe muſt be *Differences* without any real Ground, (every material Thing being ſetled by *Treaties* between thoſe two Nations,) this looked like a Deſign to blow up a Fire where there was none; and to preſume an Uneaſineſs between *Spain* and *Britain*, which might be improved hereafter into an open Rupture.

It is impoſſible, as we paſs, not to obſerve how very artful the *Manner* of this *firſt* Propoſition muſt now appear, ſince Things have opened more to the Eyes of the World. The *Offer*, we ſee, is made for accommodating *Differences*, without naming, or hinting at, any particular one. There could be no doubt but that the *Offer* was really made with Relation to *Gibraltar*. The Emperor's Miniſter was not to name this: But ſome time after, the Court of *Madrid* openly avowed, that the Mediation *of the Emperor which Spain had accepted*, was a *Mediation for the Reſtitution of Gibraltar*: Nay, and ſome time after that, the *Emperor* himſelf, (as we ſhall ſoon ſee) orders his *Reſident* here, to ſhew the *Words* in which he had obliged himſelf to this *Mediation for Gibraltar*. Again, this *Offer* is made, merely as ariſing from a Diſcourſe of *Ripperda's*; without the leaſt Hint of any *Obligation* upon the *Emperor* to make it, or to proſecute it. And afterwards, this Offer of *Mediation* appears, by Order of the Imperial Court, as an expreſs *Article* of a *Treaty* between *Him* and *Spain*. But, what is ſtill more, his Imperial Majeſty by his *Miniſter* repreſents his Anſwer to *Ripperda* to have been, that he would not concern himſelf in any Affair that did not ariſe in conſequence of the Treaty of *London*, not even ſo far as to uſe his *Mediation*: and afterwards (as it will preſently appear) by his *Reſident* here, produces the Article itſelf, by which he had *engaged* himſelf to uſe his good Offices, that is, his *Mediation*, for the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar*; of that Place, the Poſſeſſion of which was known to be aſcertained to the Crown of *Great Britain* by that very *Treaty* of *London*, confirming the Treaty of *Utrecht*; and about which therefore, it was as well known, that there could be no juſt Ground for a Difference.

All this ſufficiently confirms, in Event, the Juſtice of that *Suſpicion* of ſome *Secret Agreements* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, which the Offer of this *Mediation* immediately raiſed in the Court of *Great Britain*: And this, before the Treaty of *Peace* now delivered could be read and conſidered. But,

2. When the *Treaty* itſelf was read and examined; and ſuch *Friendſhip* was ſeen to be eſtabliſhed between *ſuch Powers*, upon *ſuch Terms*; the Conſideration

of this might juſtly raiſe yet ſtronger Suſpicions. For thus the Caſe appeared. Nothing was found in this *Treaty of Peace*, of Importance, or, ſo much as in Appearance, Honourable to *Spain:* Nothing of the *Order* of the *Golden Fleece*, which had been ſo much inſiſted on at the Congreſs: Nothing of the *Titles* to be uſed by theſe *Two Powers*, but what might eaſily have been ſetled *there*, much more to the Honour of *Spain*. And, if we come to Points of much more Importance; the *Neutral Garriſons*, which, by the *Quadruple Alliance*, were to be the great Bulwarks of the Succeſſion of *Don Carlos* to *Tuſcany*; and every Thing the *Mediators* had propoſed for *his* Security, and that of the Duke of *Parma*, were all loſt to *Spain* by this Proceeding: Whilſt the *Emperor* gains every Thing, and particularly the *Guaranty* of his own *Succeſſion* by *Spain*, which the *Imperial* Ambaſſadors had ſollicited in vain at the *Congreſs*.

To ſee, therefore, *Two Powers*, full of ſuch a Rancour againſt one another as had reſiſted the Influence of a powerful Mediation for *ſeveral* Years, now in ſo ſhort a Space of Time running into one another's Embraces, with ſo much Eagerneſs and Precipitation:—To find (upon comparing this *new Treaty* with *former* Pretenſions,) the *Crown* of *Spain*, at *Cambray*, ſo exceedingly uneaſy with the good Terms it was ſure of obtaining by the *Congreſs* there; at *Vienna*, ſo *readily* ſubmitting to *much worſe:*—at *Cambray*, not to be ſatisfied with the Emperor's Faith, even with the *Guaranty* of *Britain* and *France* together; at *Vienna*, entirely depending upon the Faith of the ſame *Emperor*, without *any Guaranty* preſent or to come:—What could be collected from ſuch an Appearance, even upon the firſt Reading, but that this *Treaty* of *Peace* now communicated at *London*, was not the ſole Treaty made at *Vienna*; but that there muſt be a *ſecret* one ſtill behind, too unjuſtifiable to be yet revealed? And of this more *Suſpicions* followed thick upon one another. For,

3. Soon after the *Treaty* of *Peace* was ſigned at *Vienna*, which was *April* 30, 1725, *Ripperda's* Inſolences towards his *Majeſty*, and even *Threatnings* began; and from that Time continued, till it was thought more *politick* to be more *ſilent*. Of theſe, the Advices from *Vienna* were now perpetually full. Such, for Inſtance, as theſe that follow, were his common Diſcourſes.

"*If King* George *ſupports* France, *we know very well how to place the Pretender upon the Throne*—Alberoni *was a Great Man, but committed many Blunders: One great one was, That he ſent the* Spaniſh *Fleet to* Sicily, *inſtead of Sending it to* England, *to dethrone the* King; *which might eaſily then have been done: and this once done, the Way had been made plain for every Thing elſe.*—*King* George *had beſt conſider how to come to Terms with us*; *for we have it in our Power to puſh the* Pretender's *Intereſts with* Efficacy." And in all his Diſcourſes of this ſort, he always took it for granted, that the *Court* of *Vienna* would never make the leaſt Heſitation to enter into all the Meaſures of *Spain*.

His Converſations of this peculiar Malignancy towards his *Britannick* Majeſty, were without Number, and without Meaſure. And ſo far was he from ſeeming to deſire, they might be kept ſecret, that *one* of his Speeches to his Company was this: *I know all that I ſay, is told again. I am very glad of it. I ſay what I ſay, on Purpoſe that* it may be *told*. Nor did he ſpeak with much greater Reſpect of his *Majeſty's* Allies. Particularly, upon the Mention of the *Treaty* of *Hanover*, between the *Kings* of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Pruſſia*, he ſaid aloud, *Yes, yes, We ſhall teach theſe little Gentlemen (Petits Meſſieurs) to make Treaties.* And I will add here that, about this ſame Time, a very conſiderable Man in the *Court* of *Vienna*, was not much behind *Ripperda* himſelf in his Regards towards his *Majeſty*; when, in a *Converſation*, upon a Perſon's expreſſing his *Doubt* about his *Britannick Majeſty's undertaking* to be Guarantee of the *Auſtrian Succeſſion*, he anſwered with a great deal of Emotion, *Then let him look to himſelf; for we are well informed they begin to be weary of him in* England.

We may well think theſe and many more *Inſults* and *Threatnings*, from Perſons of ſuch Figure at that Time, ſufficient to create new *Suſpicions*, as well as to ſtrengthen Thoſe already created. Such Uſage, and ſuch Freedom of Language, could not ariſe out of *nothing*; but muſt be the *Effect* of ſome *Agreements* and *Reſolutions*, not yet appearing to the World.

4. Theſe *Suſpicions* were greatly confirmed by the Accounts from *Vienna* of *Ripperda's* Expreſſions of another ſort, immediately after the ſigning the *Treaty* of *Peace: Expreſſions*, I mean, dropt ſometimes, as it were accidentally, upon ſeveral very important Points. He did not ſcruple, in proper Places, and upon proper Occaſions, to declare in Converſation, *that* Spain was *engaged to ſupport the Oſtend Company*; and when that led the Diſcourſe to *Gibraltar*, he ſaid, *We know* Gibraltar *to be impregnable; but by the Meaſures we have* now *taken here, we aſſure Ourſelves we ſhall oblige* England *to give it up*. At the ſame Time, he ſpake of the *Marriage of* Don Carlos *with the eldeſt* Archdutcheſs, *as a Thing* agreed upon; and added, *the* Prince *of* Aſturias, *for whom this Match was firſt deſigned, is conſumptive, and cannot live.* And ſurely, ſuch *Expreſſions* muſt amount to the *ſtrongeſt Suſpicions* of a *Treaty*, as yet *Secret*, of which theſe *Three* important Points muſt make a Part. This is the *leaſt* we can ſay of ſuch Diſcourſe, coming from a Principal *Agent* in this *New Alliance*; though at this Time only in the way of accidental Converſation.

5. Theſe Suſpicions grew ſtronger, upon the Appearance of the *Treaty* of *Commerce:* which, though ſigned at *Vienna* on the Day after the *Treaty* of *Peace*, yet, was not *communicated* to the Court of *Great Britain* by the *Emperor's* Order; nor any *Notification* to this Hour, made, of ſuch a Treaty, either *before* or *ſince* the Signing it. The King's Miniſter at *Vienna* procured a *Copy* of it, as ſoon as it was printed there, and tranſmitted it to *London*. When this came to be read; and when it appeared in the plaineſt Light, that, by the Expreſs Words of it, ſuch *Alterations* were made in the *Commerce* of *Europe*, as muſt begin in the Ruine of our *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Trade, and end in that of all the other valuable Branches of our Commerce: What could the Court of *Great Britain* conclude from ſuch a *Treaty*, but that even This, bad as it is, is not all; that there muſt be ſomething yet unknown to put in the *Balance*, on the Side of *Spain*, for all theſe unparalleled Advantages given, againſt the expreſs Words of *former Treaties*, to the *Emperor* and his *Subjects*; and that *They*, who were capable of entring into ſuch *Articles* as theſe, which now appeared, could not hope to ſucceed in them, without *other Articles*, and *another Treaty*, ſtill kept in Darkneſs, till the proper Time of producing it ſhould come?

6. About the End of *July*, or the Beginning of *Auguſt*, the D— of *Wh——n* arrived at *Vienna*. The Court of *London* was not ignorant of his real Errand: nor of the Sum of Money he received, in his Journey, towards his Expences, from the Pretender's Friends. And though he diſguiſed his Deſign a little, when he firſt appeared at *Vienna*; and pretended to his *Majeſty's* Friends there, that his View was only to travel for a few Years, till the Memory of his Extravagancies at home might be a little effaced, and his private Affairs in better order: yet, he quickly acted another Part in all his Converſation and Conduct. He ſoon grew *intimate* with *Ripperda*, with whom he had frequent Conferences, and from whom he was known to receive Money. He was admitted to the *Con-*

verſation of the *principal Perſons* of the Court of *Vienna*. And during his whole Stay, both *He* and *Graham*, the *Pretender's* Agent at *Vienna*, had a very particular Intimacy with the *Ruſſian Miniſter* at that Court. At firſt the Project was, that He was to return to *England*, and do great Exploits there. But when he himſelf began not to think *England* a very ſafe Place for one who had laid himſelf ſo open; the Deſign of his Return thither was laid aſide: and another Plan was then concerted, of ſending him to *Rome* to the Pretender, and from thence to *Spain*. And before he parted from *Vienna*, his *intimate* and Fellow-labourer *Graham*, had long Conferences with a Perſon of great Importance at that *Court*: as he had *afterwards* ſeveral others. This *Conduct* of *Wh——n* at *Vienna*, and of ſo many conſiderable Perſons whilſt he was there, ſtill increaſed the Opinion, that the new *Alliance* could not be ſo innocent a Thing as the *publick Treaty* of *Peace*.

7. The ſmooth Language at *Madrid* was by this Time gradually abated, and at length quite changed. At the End of *June* 1725, the Court of *Spain* openly avowed the Acceptance of the *Emperor's Mediation* for the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar*; but at the ſame Time made the uſual Profeſſions of Friendſhip for the *King* of *Great Britain*, and hoped that this *Acceptance* of that *Mediation*, would not offend him. Nor did this Court make any Scruple frankly now to own that the *Affair* of *Gibraltar* had been from the Beginning a principal Point, concerted between the *Emperor* and *Spain*. In Conſequence of this, about the Middle of *July* following, M. *Grimaldo*, by order of his Catholick Majeſty, wrote a Letter to his *Britannick Majeſty's* Miniſter at *Madrid*; the Concluſion of which was very Peremptory: "That the Continuance of the Alliance and Commerce "of *Great Britain* with *Spain*, depended upon his Majeſty's reſtoring *Gibraltar* "forthwith." And the Language of this Court, from this Time, was of an inſulting Strain, with Regard even to the *King* himſelf, who was then at *Hanover*; and in Words, not very civil, to this Effect, "*Let him make haſte home, and* "*call his Parliament, and propoſe the* Reſtitution *immediately*." This *Alteration* in the *Language* of the *Court of Madrid*; this demanding *Gibraltar* in ſo peremptory a *Manner*, which *Britain* poſſeſſes by *Treaties* ſigned by this *King* of *Spain* himſelf, gave another juſt Ground of Suſpicion of a *Secret Offenſive Treaty*, of a very pernicious Nature.

8. What confirmed all theſe Suſpicions very much, was, the *Reception* of *Ripperda* at *Madrid*; of the *Man* who had been the Maker of the *Vienna Treaties*, and who had uſed *his Majeſty* in ſo inſolent and outragious a Manner. For, as *before* his coming thither, no Satisfaction was ever given at *Madrid*, upon Complaint made of theſe *Affronts* and *Threatnings*: ſo, *after* it, all *Honours*, *Profits*, and *Truſts*, were heaped upon him, in a Degree hardly ever known.

And it was but reaſonable to conclude from hence, That, as the *Court of Spain* had verified one Part of his Publick Diſcourſes at *Vienna*, by demanding *Gibraltar*; ſo the aggrandizing and honouring him in ſo extravagant a Manner, without ſo much as the leaſt Diſavowal of his Behaviour, at *Vienna*, towards the King of *Great Britain*, was a ſort of Declaration, in Effect, that his whole Conduct, of which this was ſo remarkable a Part, was not only not diſpleaſing at *Madrid*; but perfectly agreeable to the *main Deſign*, and Tendency of the *new Alliance*, begun, conducted, and finiſhed by this very Man at *Vienna*. And indeed, daring as *Ripperda* was, yet, it is hardly conceivable that he would have dared to have treated his *Britannick Majeſty*, in that inſolent Manner: had he not known it to be agreeable to the *Tenor* of the *New Alliance*; and been well aſſured he ſhould be ſupported in it.

Theſe were all *Suſpicions*, or ſomething ſtronger than *Suſpicions*, built upon *Appearances* that could have no Interpretation put upon them; and could have no *Meaning*, nor *Conſiſtency* in them; unleſs upon the *Suppoſition* of *another Treaty* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, beſides *that* made publick to the World. But we can ſtill carry this Matter from *Suſpicion* to *Certainty*; For,

9. As there are Times and Seaſons, when the Diſcovery of Secrets may be thought to be of ſuch ſingular Uſe, as to countervail all the Inconveniencies of doing it: ſo it happened in this Caſe. *Ripperda*, now His *Catholick Majeſty's* Prime Miniſter at *Madrid*, thought it of the higheſt Importance to uſe all Means to prevent the Acceſſion of the *Dutch* to the *Treaty* of *Hanover*. And when he ſaw that other Methods failed of this Effect upon the *Dutch Ambaſſador* there; he had recourſe to thoſe which he thought would terrify the *States*, in their preſent Situation, from all Thoughts of doing it. At the Beginning therefore of *February*, 172$\frac{5}{6}$, with the utmoſt Seriouſneſs and Poſitiveneſs, he aſſured both the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Miniſter at that Court, that there was a *ſecret offenſive Treaty* between *Spain* and the *Emperor*, in which They had obliged themſelves mutually to ſupport one another in their ſeveral Demands: And of this *Treaty* he told them *three* particular *Articles*. I. That the Emperor was to aſſiſt *Spain*, in the obtaining *Gibraltar*. II. That *Spain* was to ſupport the Emperor in his new *Eſtabliſhment* of the *Oſtend Company*. III. And the *Third* was an *Article*, to ſetle the *Quotas* of *Money* on one Side, and *Soldiers* on the other, for the Purpoſes of this *ſecret Treaty*. This was to influence the *Dutch* to judge that it would be in vain to endeavour to alter or unſetle that *Oſtend Trade*, which was ſo reſolved upon, and ſo guarded.

M. de Ripperda might have added another ſecret Engagement, into which the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* had entered; *viz.* to undertake the placing the Pretender on the Throne of *Great Britain*, and to begin with that Enterprize, before they proceeded to the Execution of their further Projects for involving all *Europe* in War and Confuſion. Of this Engagement the Court of *Great Britain* received ſuch certain Intelligence from ſeveral Quarters; that it is no more to be doubted, than Theſe Particulars of the ſecret offenſive Alliance, avowed and declared by *M. de Ripperda*.

M. de Ripperda's profeſſed Diſcovery of a ſecret *Treaty*, was ſoon farther confirmed by what followed. An Account of this frank and open Diſcovery was immediately ſent to the *Court* of *Great Britain*. And, at the opening of the laſt Seſſion of *Parliament*, A Noble Perſon in an high Station, agreeably to that Regard he owed to his Country, and to the Satisfaction due to that *Auguſt Aſſembly*, of which He was a Member, publickly declared it, in the Houſe of *Lords*, as an undoubted Truth, and what *Ripperda* had owned, That there was a ſecret *Offenſive* Alliance between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, which contained *Articles* in it deſtructive of the Rights of *Britain*, both with Regard to its *Poſſeſſions* and its *Commerce* abroad. This poſitive and undiſguiſed Declaration in *Parliament*, made a great Noiſe without Doors. And, upon the Signification of this, to the Court of *Vienna*, The *Imperial Reſident* here was ordered to give Satisfaction to the *Britiſh* Court, upon this Subject. Accordingly, he came to ſome of His Majeſty's Miniſters, and read out of a Paper the Words which he ſaid were the Contents of the Article which His Maſter had entered into, relating to *Gibraltar*: The which implied, that his Maſter had engaged to uſe His good Offices for the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar*. And this was ordered to be produced, as a full and ſatisfactory Proof that there was no ſuch Thing as a ſecret *Offenſive Alliance* between the two *New Allies*. One would think indeed, that no ſuch *Effect* could poſſibly have been intended by this Proceeding, or expected from it. For, as upon this Occaſion, it might have been naturally and juſtly expected, as a Thing abſolutely neceſſary to the Vindication of the Court of *Vienna*, that the *Imperial Reſident* here, ſhould have been ordered to have ſhewn likewiſe what followed immediately this Article; and indeed the Treaty itſelf, of which it was a part: And as neither of theſe was ordered or ſuffered to be done; the Whole of this taken together, will prove the Truth of that very Imputation, which the Court of *Vienna* deſigned by this Step to vindicate itſelf from, as from ſomething unjuſtifiable and diſhonourable.

If from *Vienna*, we go back once again to *Madrid*, we ſhall find ſtill more *Evidences* of a *ſecret Treaty*. For juſt about the ſame time that *Ripperda* ſpake ſo openly to the two *Ambaſſadors*, the King of *Spain* himſelf wrote a Letter to the *States General* for the ſame Purpoſe of keeping them from acceding to the Treaty of *Hanover*: which was read in the *Aſſembly* of the *States* of *Holland*, *February* 8, *N. S.* 172$\frac{5}{6}$. In *this* He acquaints Them, That "He ſtands obliged to aſſiſt his "Imperial Majeſty, in caſe of a War, or Inſult—which He will perform—making it a common Cauſe—holding for Enemies Thoſe who ſhall be Enemies "of his *Imperial Majeſty*." All which, as denounced to the States, who had no uneaſineſs with the *Emperor*, but on account of the *Oſtend Company*, muſt regard only That; and can have no Meaning but this, that, if the *Dutch* ſhould act, merely in their own Defenſe, and in ſupport of their own Rights, againſt that Company; His *Catholick Majeſty* had entered into an Engagement to aſſiſt the *Emperor*, and ſupport the *Oſtend* Company by Force, if needful: as it was explained by that King's *Miniſter* himſelf at the *Hague*, in a Declaration made by Him, "That His Catholick Majeſty would look upon whatever ſhould be undertaken againſt the *Oſtend Company*, as done againſt himſelf." This is an open owning of a Treaty, beſides That already *Publick*; and of an *Engagement* in it to ſupport the *Oſtend* Company by Force.

To proceed; When about two Months after the firſt Declaration made by *Ripperda*, it was repreſented at *Madrid* how much the Court of *Great Britain* was ſurprized at this open Diſcovery, made to the *Two Ambaſſadors*, *of a ſecret Offenſive Treaty:* No other Reply could be obtained, but, in general Words, That the *Court of Spain* ſtill deſired the Friendſhip of *Great Britain*; and that the Engagements entered into at *Vienna*, would not hinder this. Nor could any thing that was urged, move *that Court*, either to *own* this *ſecret Treaty*; or at all to *deny* it. Very ſoon after this, the two *Ambaſſadors* thought it proper to have a Conference with *Ripperda*; in which He began a little to ſhuffle, and to *interpret away* what He had ſaid of an *Offenſive Treaty*, by endeavouring to perſuade Them, That it was little more than a *Defenſive One.* But being preſſed by *Both*, who agreed in what He had before told them; and required peremptorily to anſwer, whether he had not declared to Them expreſly that there was a *ſecret* Offenſive Alliance between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, He anſwered, *That he had told them ſo*; and added, *that all he had told them was true.* And how indeed could he poſſibly deny it, ſince there was not a *Foreigner* of any Diſtinction at *Madrid*, who had not heard him, without Reſerve, declare the ſame about this *ſecret Offenſive Alliance?* And whom can we believe in ſuch a Caſe; if not a Prime Miniſter ſo often affirming a matter of Fact to ſo many; whilſt neither the *King* his *Maſter*, nor any of His other *Miniſters* at that time denied it; or at all looked as if they had any Thoughts then of denying it?

And once more, when an Application was made at *Madrid*, from the *Britiſh Court*, with Relation particularly to the Part which *Spain* appeared now to take in the Affair of the *Oſtend Trade*; at firſt nothing was avowed, but an Obligation to uſe *Good Offices* for accommodating that Affair. But, when a *Propoſal* was offered, which the Court of *Spain* acknowledged to be a very *reaſonable* one; and when upon this it was urged, That, ſince This Propoſal was thought a *reaſonable* One; if the Imperial Court ſhould refuſe to liſten to it; This would be a *juſt Reaſon* why *Spain* ſhould not ſupport the *Emperor* any farther in what *Spain* itſelf judged to be unreaſonable; It was anſwered, "This could not be allowed: For "*Spain* muſt ſtand by its *Engagements* with the Emperor." This was a plain Acknowledgment of farther *Engagements*, and of *another* Sort, than thoſe of a *Friendly Accommodation*; and, by juſt Conſequence, of a *ſecret Offenſive Treaty*. For ſuch Engagements muſt be entered into by *Treaty*; and this *Treaty* muſt be diſtinct from *That* already *publiſhed*, which does not contain them; and it muſt be an *Offenſive* Treaty, becauſe it is in ſupport of an Invaſion made upon the *Rights* of others; and in oppoſition to Thoſe who act only in *defenſe* of thoſe Rights founded upon the moſt ſolemn Treaties.

After all this, it is too late for the *Court* of *Spain* to ſink the Credit of this *Diſcovery* made by *Ripperda* to the two Ambaſſadors; or to think of deſtroying the Credibility of what this Court itſelf has given Teſtimony to. All the *Circumſtances* of this Affair, as I have related them, make it too plain to be *now* evaded: And all who know any thing of *Publick Affairs*, will look upon what I have now produced, as a poſitive and *convincing Evidence* of what before was only a ſtrong *Suſpicion*.

This therefore, we are too ſure of; That the now publick *Treaty* of *Peace*, made at *Vienna*, was itſelf entered into without the leaſt Provocation from the *Mediators*; in contradiction to an *Expreſs Article* of the *Quadruple Alliance*, appointing this *Mediation* alone for the adjuſting remaining Differences; covered all the time at *Madrid* with the ſmootheſt Language, and the pretended earneſt Deſire of proceeding ſtill at *Cambray*; and made up of Articles ſo diſhonourable to *Spain*, that nothing can account for them, but the *Suppoſition* of another, and this an *Offenſive Treaty*, yet private: That this is not only *Suppoſition* upon *Conjecture*; but is proved to Us, by Arguments too ſtrong to be denied; the repeated Affirmation of *Him* who was made Prime *Miniſter of Spain* after he had made this *Treaty*; the Acknowledgments in Effect of the Two Courts themſelves of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, with regard to *Gibraltar*, and the *Oſtend Trade*; and the Order from *Vienna* for producing at *London* an *Article* of a *Treaty*, in ſuch Words and in ſuch a manner, as makes it impoſſible to doubt of the Reality of it.

We will now ſee what Light we can get into the Nature of This ſo certain *Offenſive Alliance*; and the other *Treaties* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*: and in what manner *We* Ourſelves are likely to be affected by *Them*; with regard to, the great and only Security of all Our other good things, the preſent *Proteſtant Royal Family*; with regard to the Poſſeſſions of *Great Britain* in *Spain*; with regard to the ſetled Rights and Privileges of the Nation in *Trade* and *Commerce*; and indeed, in conſequence of theſe, with regard to our being, or not being, at all, a Nation worth exiſting. If after this, we extend our View farther, We ſhall ſee what is likely to be the Fate of *Europe*; and what will become of the Balance of Power, if the main Deſigns projected in this late Alliance at *Vienna*, ſhould be permitted to take effect. This Enquiry is the only way to our making a true Judgement of the *Steps* taken by *Britain*, and the Powers in Alliance with it. And when we have done this, — *Let them that are Blind, be Blind ſtill.*

I. The *firſt* Enquiry which will offer itſelf, upon this occaſion, to the Mind of every True *Briton*, will ariſe from the Intereſt We all have, in the preſervation of our preſent *Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment*; and our *concern* to find out how *This* is already, or will probably be, affected by this *New Alliance*.

I know very well how eaſy and how common it is, to laugh at the Name of the *Pretender*, whenever it is mentioned upon ſuch Occaſions; as a Political *Bugbear*, or *Scare-crow*; a mere Word of Alarm; or a Puppet to be played by *Stateſmen* at their Pleaſure, and whenever their Deſigns require it. But it would be very unfortunate for *Great Britain*, and end in the total Ruine of *Us* and our *Poſterity*; if Thoſe who are at the Helm, ſhould ſuffer themſelves, at the Pleaſure of ſuch as wiſh them no good, to be laughed out of that Care and Wakefulneſs which their *King* and their *Country* require of them. There is not a Day, nor an Hour, in which the neceſſity of Attention to this great Point, does not appear: Nor is there, I fear, any *Criſis* of Affairs in *Europe* poſſible, at this time, without *This* bearing a great part in it. And therefore, when a Breach with a *Proteſtant* King of *Great Britain*, who loves his *Subjects* too honeſtly to give up their greateſt Concerns to the Demands of any Power upon Earth, is thought convenient and uſeful; no one can help concluding, from the known Principles of the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, that the Moment They reſolved upon entering into an *Alliance* ſo injurious to his *Britannick Majeſty*, and ſo deſtructive to the Intereſts of *Britain*: the ſame Moment another Reſolution muſt alſo be taken: the Reſolution of giving His *Majeſty* all the uneaſineſs they could, even in his higheſt Rights; and either forcing Him by this means to *Their* Terms; or preparing the way for a *King* of *Britain* after their own Hearts, from whom they may expect all Submiſſion and Compliance. But this is only a probable Argument. Let us come now to *Facts*.

I have already mentioned ſome Preliminaries; the Journey of *Wh——n* to *Vienna*, and his Conduct and Intrigues and Encouragements there; as well as *Ripperda's threatning King George* with the *Pretender*, before he left *Vienna*. But afterwards the *Appearances* of a *ſetled Deſign* againſt His *Majeſty* and His *Royal Family*, ſoon began to thicken apace; and the *Intelligences* about it to be very poſitive, from all the Friends of *Great Britain*, at almoſt every Court of *Europe*.

In the *firſt* Place, according to what had been before concerted at *Vienna*, the D— of *Wh——n*, with Letters Recommendatory from young *Ripperda*, went for *Rome*, directly to the *Spaniſh Miniſter* reſiding there. By this Miniſter, he was introduced to the *Pretender*. In the *Pretender's* Houſe, he was kept cloſe ſhut up for *Six Days*; to hide, if poſſible, his being there: and, after very cloſe Conference, was poſted away to *Madrid*, where old *Ripperda*, his great and intimate Friend, was now in high Credit and Honour.

Thither he came with *Credentials* from the *Pretender*; and, as a publick Mark of Confidence in him, adorned with a Garter, and a new Title; and was very kindly entertained at *Madrid*, with theſe open Diſtinctions of Treaſon and Perjury upon him. And though it was often ſaid, and promiſed and ſworn to, by *Ripperda*, that this *New Agent* ſhould be ſent away in *twenty four Hours time*; and as ſtrongly ſworn to, that he never admitted him, nor ever would, into his Company; yet he ſtill remained at *Madrid* without any Mark of diſpleaſure; and was known to be frequently with *Ripperda* himſelf in cloſe Conference. His intimacy with Count *Koningſec*, the *Imperial* Miniſter at *Madrid*, and the freedom of his Viſits to him, were very remarkable, at a time when he profeſſed himſelf to come into *Spain* on no other Errand but the *Pretender's* Service; and this, without reſerve to the *Engliſh* themſelves at *Madrid*, who were in the Friendſhip, and even in the Service, of the Crown of *Britain*. This made it certain, that the buſineſs of theſe frequent Meetings with Perſons of Character, both in the *Spaniſh* and *Imperial* Service, could be no other, than that which brought him to *Madrid.* At the ſame time the late Duke of *Ormond* was admitted to frequent *Audiences* at *Court:* in which no one could think that the Intereſts of his Maſter were forgot. On the contrary, Now it was that ſeveral Projects for the Execution of what was the ſole End of *Wh——n's* Journey to *Madrid,* were laid before the *Court* of *Spain,* to be weighed and conſidered in their ſeveral Probabilities.

What can the greateſt Well-wiſher to this *New Alliance* ſay, in Apology for this Conduct of the *Court* of *Spain*; as well theſe Audiences given now to the late Duke of *Ormond,* as the Reception the D— of *Wh——n* was favoured with, at a time when he came directly commiſſioned by the *Pretender*; and never attempted to hide the full intent of his Journey? What can any one ſay, who will but read the *ſixth* Article of the Peace of *Utrecht*; in which the *Catholick King doth Promiſe, as well in his own Name, as in that of his Heirs and Succeſſors, that they will not at any time diſturb or moleſt the* Queen, *her Heirs and Succeſſors of the Proteſtant Line, being in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of* Great Britain *and the Dominions Subject thereunto; neither will the aforeſaid Catholick King, or any of his Succeſſors, give at any time* any Aid, Succour, Favour *or Counſel, directly or indirectly, to any Perſon or Perſons, who on any Cauſe or Pretence ſhould hereafter endeavour to oppoſe the ſaid Succeſſion by open War, or by any Conſpiracies againſt ſuch Prince or Princes, poſſeſſing the Throne of* Great Britain, *by virtue of the Acts of Parliament made there?* And, ſince his *preſent Majeſty* came to the Throne, in *Art* 5. of the *Quadruple Alliance* (to which *Quadruple Alliance* the preſent King of *Spain* acceded, before the opening of the *Congreſs* at *Cambray)* His Catholick Majeſty (as the Emperor had done before) *binds himſelf, his Heirs and Succeſſors, to maintain and guaranty the Succeſſion in the Kingdom of* Great Britain, *as eſtabliſhed in the Houſe of his Britannick Majeſty now reigning; as likewiſe to defend all the Dominions and Provinces poſſeſſed by his Majeſty; and not to give and grant any Protection or Refuge, to the* Pretender (there deſcribed) *or his Deſcendents, nor any Succour, Counſel, or Aſſiſtance whatſoever, directly or indirectly.* And *to obſerve the ſame* [*i. e.* not to give *Reception,* Succour, *&c.*] *with regard to thoſe who may be* Ordered *or Commiſſioned by the ſaid Perſon* [*the Pretender*] *to diſturb the Government of his Britannick Majeſty, or the Tranquillity of his Kingdoms,* &c. Let but the late and preſent Conduct of the Court of *Spain* be compared with theſe expreſs Stipulations: and every Reader may be left to make his own Inferences from ſuch a Compariſon. To return,

The Evil I was ſpeaking of, was not to reſt in Words and Schemes: nor were the Projects I have mentioned, only propoſed in *Theory.* Preparations were actually made in *Spain,* to put the determined Purpoſe in Execution: Of which Preparations I will enumerate certain Particulars that could not be concealed.

In *Februrry* 172$\frac{5}{6}$, a Reſolution was taken to ſend a Body of Troops conſiſting of 12000 Men, to the Coaſts of *Galicia* and *Biſcay.* There were at that Time at *Cadiz* ſeveral *Spaniſh* Ships that were plainly deſigned for an Imbarkation: Two of them were of 70 Guns, one of 64, one of 56, one of 26, and one of 24; and all victualled for a Hundred Days. And at *Cadiz,* it *now* was, that 4800 Arms were known to have been bought, and deſtined to the *Pretender's* Service. His *Majeſty's* Miniſter at *Madrid* did indeed, upon the Diſcovery made to Him of the Place where they lay in Pawn for a certain Sum, take effectual Care, by firſt laying down that Sum, and afterwards paying their whole Price, to keep them out of the Hands of the firſt Purchaſers, who earneſtly ſollicited to have them, and frequently offered the Money which had been lent on them.

For he knew from undoubted Intelligence, the Purpoſe They were intended for. Beſides theſe *Ships* at *Cadiz*; there were likewiſe then in *Spain*, three *Ruſſian* Men of War, one of 64 Guns, and the other two of about 40 Guns each, equipped ſome time before from *Peterſbourg*, which came to *Cadiz* in the Beginning of *Winter* 1725, to carry on the Pretence of Merchandize; but in *December* went from thence to St. *Andero*, and lay there the three following Months.

As to theſe three Ships, the Court of *Great Britain*, ſome time after they ſailed from *Peterſbourg*, made a full Diſcovery, by Letters from the *Pretender's* Agent there, and others concerned in this Tranſaction, which fell into their Hands; that they had been fitted out at the Expence of the *Pretender's* Friends, with the Privity of the *Court* of *Peterſbourg*, and ſent to *Spain* to be employed in an Expedition for the *Pretender's* Service; and that five more had been contracted for, and were deſigned to follow. And accordingly, at the Time of their paſſing the *Sound*, ſo very particular a Joy was expreſſed at *Stockholm*, by a certain *Party* there, that it could not but be remarked by the Friends of *Great Britain* at that place. And in their Paſſage, when they lay in the North of *Scotland*, and afterwards were driven by Streſs of Weather into *Ireland*; his Majeſty's Officers belonging to the Cuſtoms, who, according to their Duty went on Board, found all the Symptoms of Enmity to his *Majeſty*; all poſſible Tokens of a warlike Deſign; and all the Fears of a Diſcovery that could ſhew themſelves. And *after* theſe Ships were ſafe in *Spain*, it was given out by one of the Greateſt Men in the Court of *Ruſſia*, and written by another Great Man, from his Mouth, to *Stockholm*, in order to influence the *Swedes*, "That the Alliance of *Britain* and "*France* would be of the leſs Moment; ſince the *Imperial Court*, and the *Pretender's* Meaſures in *Spain* would now find thoſe two Powers full Employment." And it was likewiſe *after* the ſafe arrival of theſe *Ruſſian* Ships at St. *Andero*, and during their ſtay there, that the Motions and Projects of the *Pretender's* Friends grew more and more Vigorous in *Spain*. Not only the late Duke of *Ormond* admitted to frequent Audiences at this Juncture, but one *Connock*, the *Pretender's* conſtant Miniſter at *Madrid*, hardly ever out of *Ripperda's* Houſe; and one *Pomphilly*, lately come from *England*, offering Money to all the *Broken Officers* He could meet with at *Madrid*; (as ſeveral of them freely affirmed, and particularly a *Swiſs Proteſtant*, One of thoſe to whom the Offer was made) and this profeſſedly upon a Deſign then on foot in favour of the *Pretender*.

From the Mention of theſe particular Preparations, I paſs on to ſhew what Uſe was intended to be made of the whole. So early as *February* $172\frac{5}{6}$, 12000 Men (as has been ſaid above) were deſigned to be ſent to the Coaſts of *Galicia* and *Biſcay*, the firſt Project of the Court of *Madrid* being to make an Attempt on his Majeſty's Dominions from thoſe Parts. But as ſuch a Body of Troops could not at that Juncture march thither, without giving an Alarm; the Pretence for it, made uſe of by the Court of *Spain*, was, that they had certain Intelligence of a Reſolution taken by the Court of *Great Britain* to land a Number of Troops in that Part of the Country; who were to burn and deſtroy all before them, and even the Shipping in all the Harbours. Under the Cover of this pretended Intelligence, which no one in *England* could poſſibly give, and which no one at *Madrid* could really believe, the March of theſe Forces was ordered. But his Majeſty's Miniſter at *Madrid* repreſenting to the Duke of *Ripperda* (who was then Prime Miniſter, and in the higheſt Degree of Truſt and Confidence with the King his Maſter,) that ſuch Intelligence could have no Foundation, and even that ſuch a Deſign from *England* was impoſſible; *Rip-*

perda promiſed the March of thoſe Troops ſhould be forborn, till a Declaration from the *Britiſh* Court, to the Purpoſe of what Mr. *Stanhope* had ſaid, could be obtained. But the true Reaſon of delaying this March, was, that ſome of the Pretender's Friends had repreſented to the Court of *Spain*, that the ſending of 12000 Men to *Galicia* and *Biſcay*, without any Colour of Neceſſity for them, in a Country where there never uſed to be above two or three Battallions, would give ſuch an Alarm to *England* as would inevitably put us upon our Guard; and therefore it would be more eligible to order that Body of Troops to *Navarre*, on a very natural Pretext of ſecuring that Frontier againſt *France*; but when there, they would be ſo near *Guipuſcoa*, that they might be ready to imbark, on very ſhort Notice, in Tranſports to be provided at a Port of that Province; and be convoyed from thence by a number of Men of War, of which thoſe three *Muſcovite* Ships were to be Part. They propoſed at the ſame time, that ſome few Ships ſhould be ſent with Arms from *Cadiz* directly to *Scotland*; and a Body of 6000 Men kept ready by the Emperor at *Oſtend*.

But the Court of *Spain*, being ſoon after perfectly informed, that ſuch vigorous Reſolutions were taken, and ſuch Preparations and Diſpoſitions made, by *Great Britain*, that it was in vain for them to hope for any Succeſs at that Time from ſuch an Attempt; they ſuſpended for the preſent the putting this Deſign into Execution; the rather, finding themſelves obliged to ſend Part of their Ships from *Cadiz* and St. *Andero* to the *Weſt-Indies*: And the *Muſcovite* Ships returned home.

Thus in fact ſtood the *Caſe*, in favour of the *Pretender*, at the Court of *Madrid*, before the *Vigorous Meaſures* of *Great Britain* altered it. And, who that conſiders the whole of this, will be moved by any the ſtrongeſt *Verbal Aſſeverations* of that *Court*, againſt ſuch Facts; when it is remembered, That this whole Scene of the *New Alliance*, which is acknowledged to be framed againſt our *Trade*, and our Right to *Gibraltar*, was begun and carried on to perfection, under the Colour of the Higheſt Regards to his *Majeſty*; and accompanied all along with the ſtrongeſt and moſt pathetick Aſſurances of *Friendſhip*?

Eſpecially, if we add here, what ought to alarm the *Britiſh Court*, and was ſufficient itſelf to juſtify All their *Earlieſt Precautions* and *Preparations*; *viz.* That ſoon after the publiſhing the *Vienna-treaties* of *Peace* and *Commerce*, They had poſitive Intelligence; and Intelligence from more than one Perſon; and ſuch as could be entirely depended on; That one Expreſs Article of this *Alliance* between the *Emperor* and *Spain* contained an Obligation in *Favour of the* Pretender; and a Stipulation to make the Attempt for Him in *England*, before opening the War in any other Parts. And by as undoubted Intelligence it was added, That the *Pretender*, in return, had ſince obliged himſelf to reſtore *Gibraltar* and Port *Mahon* to the *Crown* of *Spain*; to be Guarantee of the Emperor's *Oſtend trade*; and lay open the Commerce, in our *Plantations* abroad, to *Their* Ships, with the ſame Privileges as the *Engliſh* themſelves enjoy. And for this *Article*, entered into by the *Emperor* with the King of *Spain*, for the Service of the *Pretender*, there is as Certain Evidence, as of the Being of a *Secret Treaty*; of which I cannot think it poſſible to doubt, after what has been, and will be, ſaid upon the *Articles* of *Gibraltar*, and the *Oſtend-trade*.

This brings our Thoughts to the Court of *Vienna*: For *This Article* touches the *Imperial Court*, equally with *That* of *Spain*; and proves the *Pretender's* Cauſe, to be the Concern of the *Former*, as truly as of the *Latter*; and to be made ſo by an expreſs *Stipulation* in a *Treaty*. And this alone is *Evidence* enough of the Worſt *Diſpoſition* towards a *King*, and a *Nation*, which have not deſerved ſuch a

Return from *Vienna*. For, *This* ſingle Point being certain; it will be of *ſmall* Importance, to alledge the Conduct of this Court in not giving ſuch publick Tokens of *this* Diſpoſition, in *Fact*; as the *Other* has done: which will only ſhew a cautious *Prudence* in the *Execution*, but not at all any *Innocence*, or *Ignorance*, of ſuch *Deſigns*. The *Article* alone demonſtrates the *Deſign*: and that is ſufficient.

But indeed, if, *after* this, We conſider the moſt *publick* Parts of the late Conduct of the *Imperial Court* towards this Nation; we cannot conclude leſs than This, That there is little Deſire or Thought *there*, of keeping any Terms with us, in any reſpect: I mean, that part of Conduct, which regards *our Trade*, not only by conſequence, but directly and immediately. At *Oſtend*, and in the *Netherlands*, the preſent and future Fatal *Effects* of the *New* Eſtabliſhment are too viſible; at the ſame *Oſtend*, which was conquered and preſerved by *our Arms* and thoſe of the *Dutch*. In *Sicily*, reſcued from the *Spaniard* by our *Fleet*, as well as ſecured to the *Emperor*, by the good Offices of our King in the Treaty of *London*; In the ſame *Sicily*, the kindneſs was ſoon returned by a *prohibition* of all our *Woollen Manufactures*; and this *prohibition* not yet removed, but only *ſuſpended* for a while, upon the ſtrongeſt *Repreſentations* and the plaineſt Evidence, that this Proceeding was againſt the *Faith* of *Treaties*, which made the *Britiſh Privileges* there, exactly the ſame, as in all other *Dominions* of *Spain*, to which it once belonged: Thoſe ſame *Treaties*, under which the *Duke* of *Savoy*, at the Peace of *Utrecht*, took poſſeſſion of this *Kingdom* of *Sicily*; and under *which* the preſent *Emperor* took it after him. And lately, in the Auſtrian *Dominions* in *Germany*, preſerved from Ruine by *the Arms* and Money of Us and our Allies, moſt Species of our *Manufactures* are prohibited. So that in every Inch of Ground His *Imperial Majeſty* is poſſeſſed of; even in thoſe Countries gained by our Aſſiſtance, and where He is as cloſely bound by particular Treaties as the moſt ſolemn and repeated Engagements can bind him; In all, He has acted the ſame part towards Us, in one of our tendereſt Concerns. And if the *Imperial Court* be reſolved to go on in theſe Paths; This alone muſt determine them to eſpouſe the *Pretender's* Intereſt: as They are fully aſſured of His preſent Majeſty's firm Reſolution never tamely to give up the Rights and Privileges of this Nation, in ſo eſſential a Point as that of Trade.

But I have done: and I am ſure, have ſaid enough upon this *firſt Point*, to put it beyond all Doubt, that this *New Alliance* at *Vienna* contains in it, and will certainly bring after it, if not vigorouſly oppoſed, the moſt unſpeakable Evil to *Great Britain*; by engaging, and attempting, to ſubvert our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment.

II. I will now ſay a Word or two about the Poſſeſſions of *Great Britain* within the *Spaniſh* Dominions; and how They muſt be affected by this *new Alliance*. Theſe are *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mahon*; won by our Arms in lawful War; aſcertained to us as our Property by all the Parties concerned in that War; and ſecured to us by all the Solemnity of Alliances, and Treaties, and particularly by this preſent *King* of *Spain* himſelf, in two expreſs Articles of the *Treaty* of *Peace* ſigned at *Utrecht*, 1713. For, of the great *Importance* eſpecially of *One* of *them* (I mean *Gibraltar*) I would not be thought to ſpeak as any the leaſt *Motive* to a juſt and brave People to value and preſerve it, were not the Poſſeſſion of it founded upon the ſtricteſt Right and the moſt undeniable Maxims of Political and National Juſtice. But when that *Importance*, to which *Spain* gives teſtimony by the Eagerneſs diſcovered to wreſt it out of our Hands, is added to the *Right* of *Poſſeſſion*: No one amongſt us, who is a true Lover of his Country, can be eaſy under the Proſpect of an *Alliance*, which opened itſelf to *Great Britain*, with the Civil Compliment from *Spain* of demanding *Gibraltar* immediately, as the Condition of the Continuance of a Friendſhip, which cannot be violated without the Breach of all Faith and Truſt in *Treaties*; and with the *Emperor's Obligation*, to uſe His kind Help to bring *Britain* to a Compliance with that *Demand*. I have already ſpoke of this *Demand*, and this *Obligation*, as certain Evidences of a *ſecret Offenſive Alliance* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*. I now ſpeak of this *mutual Engagement* between theſe two Powers, for the Recovery of *Gibraltar*, as *one* of the unjuſt and pernicious Conditions of their new Alliance. And, after I have before ſo plainly proved, That this *Engagement* makes one main part of it; not only from *Ripperda's* repeated Affirmation both at *Vienna* and at *Madrid*; but from the peremptory Language uſed at *Madrid* after this *Alliance* at *Vienna*; and from the Teſtimony from *Vienna* added to This, that there was an *Expreſs Article* containing the Emperor's Stipulation upon this Head; and this *Teſtimony* given at *London*, by order of the Imperial Court, in a very remarkable manner. After the Proof of this Fact, I need ſay no more than that, if the Deſigns of this *Alliance* be not vigorouſly oppoſed and effectually broke, the firſt unwelcome Evil to *Great Britain* muſt be, To ſee a place of the utmoſt Importance to us, if we will truſt the Confeſſion both of *Friends* and *Enemies*, wreſted from us by *Force* (if it be poſſible) unleſs we will baſely yield it up to the importunity of Thoſe who aſk it; and a Place, which is our Honour, and our Strength abroad; a great *Defence* and *Advantage* to our extended *Navigation*; and a *Convenience* to our Ships of all ſorts, not to be equalled by any other Place, that can be offered by that *Crown*, which would deprive us of it.

III. But indeed this *Place*, could it be preſerved to us by all our Strength and Prudence, would be of no Importance to us hereafter; if the *other* Schemes of This *new Alliance* ſtand good. It will be a ſmall Comfort to *Great Britain*, and little better than a *Ridicule*, to have in poſſeſſion ſo great a Convenience to *Shipping* and *Trade*, as *Gibraltar* is; if we are to be ſtripped of that *Trade* itſelf, and to be reduced to the Condition of having little or no Occaſion for any *Shipping* at all. And yet, This I think muſt be the Caſe with us, if the *Projects* of this *new Union* are ſuffered quietly to ſucceed. For our *Trade* itſelf, that Ornament and Support of *Great Britain*, muſt by Degrees be ſo affected, in almoſt every Branch of it, that it cannot but naturally Leſſen, Flag, and Dye, juſt in Proportion as this *new Alliance* gains Strength and flouriſhes. There can be little Hope, if this Conjunction proceeds much farther, of obtaining any Redreſs for the many Injuries in Commerce, already received; or of preventing many more, from the Side of *Spain*: and much leſs, if poſſible, of keeping the Deſigns at *Oſtend* from having Effect; which, taken with all their extended ill conſequences towards almoſt all the Branches of our *Trade*, are enough to awaken all *Britons*, who have been uſed to eſteem their *Commerce*, as their darling Good:—a Good, to the ſupport and increaſe of which, all their *Treaties* and *Alliances* have for many Years paſt ſolely tended; and in Compariſon of which they have deſpiſed, and left to Others the *Acquiſition* of *Tracts* of Land, and *Territories* to enlarge Dominion and Power. Hitherto, We have always ſhewed ourſelves ſenſible that *Trade* was our proper Life; and the Encouragement of this, upon an honourable Bottom, the proper Nouriſhment of that Life. Every Inſtance of Conduct in any in Power at Home, which has but ſeemed to ſhake it a little, or to touch it, at a Diſtance, in an unkindly Manner, has been found to be ſo reſented, as to diſunite the greateſt Friends; and at once to unite thoſe of different Views amongſt us, in a vigorous Oppoſition to it. And every Step, in order to defend and promote it, has been received with univerſal Applauſe; and reconciled and enlarged the Affections of Men to ſuch Benefactors. And with regard to *Foreign Nations*; every hurt, any of them do to our *Commerce*; every Breach in to the Fences and Privileges with which that is guarded and enriched; every Shadow of a Tendency this way; has always been viewed here, as the higheſt of all Injuries to this Nation, and the natural Subject for the genuine and juſt Reſentment of every true *Briton*. And if we are not dead to all this Senſe; if we ſtill retain the proper Life and Vigor of *Britons*; that is, of a Nation adorned and ſupported by the moſt extended Commerce that can be boaſted of by any People: What can we think of an Alliance between two powerful Princes, formed, againſt the plain Stipulations of *Treaties*, in order to deprive us of our Glory, our Riches, our Strength, which depend all upon our *Trade*; and afterwards, to defend and preſerve Themſelves in their Acquiſitions of our Rights?

Theſe are not Words without a Meaning; nor Fears merely of Imagination ſet on Work by preſent Reſentment: But real, Subſtantial, and undeniable. For, if the Union of theſe two Powers proceeds upon the preſent Foot; and be not thoroughly broken in its terrible Parts; let any one ſay, what hope can remain of any Bounds to be ſet to the Injuries our Trade has felt, and muſt feel? Will thoſe *Depredations* and *Hoſtilities*, committed in the *Weſt Indies* by the *Spaniards*, under pretence of their Right to guard againſt *Clandeſtine* Trade; Thoſe Violences, by which the whole Commerce of *Jamaica* has been well nigh deſtroyed, and the Trade of that Iſland reduced to a miſerable Condition, be now redreſſed? Or, will the Remonſtrances of theſe Grievances, which have had no Effect *before* the Treaties *of Vienna*; now, *after* ſuch *Treaties* are made, meet with any better Reception at *Madrid*; and procure Us a more favourable Anſwer? Will any Complaints, or Repreſentations, in ſupport of the acknowledged Rights of the *South-Sea-Company*, obtain now ſo much as a Hearing at the Court of *Spain*; when the Strength of ſuch an *Alliance* is added to the former Diſinclination towards any Redreſs; and is ſuffered by the other Powers of *Europe* to exert itſelf? Or, will They, who have been hitherto unmoved by *Right* and *Juſtice*, at length *voluntarily* liſten to their Voices? Or, will the Court of *Vienna*, which has ſtood out, *before* this Alliance, againſt all Sollicitations, relinquiſh the *Pretenſions* at *Oſtend*, and act agreeably to *former Treaties* in the Affair of *Commerce*; now *after* the Riches of *Spain* are to come in, to the Aid of former Reſolutions?

So far from this, that it is an expreſs *Article*, ſtipulated in this *New Alliance*, that, as the *Emperor* is to aſſiſt *Spain* in the re-gaining of *Gibraltar*; ſo is *Spain* obliged to ſupport the *Emperor* in his *Oſtend Company*, and his *Commerce.*

This Article, relating to the *Oſtend Company*, as part of a *Secret Offenſive Alliance*, (as I have before ſhewn) was more than once not only acknowledged, but boaſted of, to the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters at *Madrid*, by *Ripperda*, when he was Prime Miniſter in *Spain*. But we have not only this Evidence. For, as in the Affair of *Gibraltar*, the *Emperor* himſelf, by producing an *Article* of a Treaty, gave Teſtimony to his having entered into *Engagements* relating to that Place; ſo, his *Catholick Majeſty* has not ſcrupled to give his own Teſtimony, that, by this *New Alliance*, He has entered into Engagements to ſupport the *Emperor* in his Eſtabliſhment of the *Oſtend Company*; not only by the Language of his Court at *Madrid*; but by what he wrote himſelf, and ordered his *Mini-*

ſter at the *Hague*, to denounce, by way of Threatning, to the *States General*, upon this Subject: of which I have given an Account before. And beſides all this, it is enough to look upon the *Publick Treaty* of Commerce ſigned at *Vienna May* 1ſt, 1725, to be ſatisfied, that ſuch Privileges in *Commerce* are granted, by *Spain*, to the *Emperor's* Subjects, as are contrary to many former *Treaties*, and to the moſt manifeſt *Rights* of *other Nations* founded upon thoſe Treaties.

I ſhall not enter minutely into all the Particulars which are of *Importance*, upon this Head. The *Subject* has been ſo plainly ſtated, and even exhauſted, before the World already, that there can be no need of any Thing farther, than to refer thoſe, who have not yet looked into the Depth of this Affair, to the ſeveral *Memorials* of the *States General*, and of thoſe commiſſioned by Them, upon this Occaſion; particularly thoſe which were printed here, in the *Daily Courants* of *Dec.* 16, 1725. *Jan.* 19, 25, *Feb.* 5, 8, 12, and 14, $172\frac{5}{6}$, in which all the Pretences of their Enemies are compleatly and plainly anſwered; and the *Matter* placed in the moſt evident Light. I will only juſt ſtate the *Dates* and *Intent* of the Treaties, relating to the *Commerce* moſt immediately affected by the new *Oſtend Company*; and add a Word or two about the farther Conſequences of it.

So long ago as the Year 1609, the *King* of *Spain*, by the Truce then made with the *United Provinces*, granted them their firſt Privileges of *Trade* in the *Eaſt Indies*; by which the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company has been from that time in Poſſeſſion of their Commerce in thoſe Parts. But theſe Privileges wanted *Confirmation:* and this they fully obtained from the Crown of *Spain*, after long and mature deliberation, at the *Treaty* of *Munſter* in the Year 1648, by which, the Crown of *Spain* not only granted the *Hollanders* theſe Privileges; but engaged *itſelf*, to *maintain and protect them, in the Enjoyment of theſe Privileges.* In this *Treaty* the Bounds were ſet to the ſeveral Pretenſions of the *Dutch* and *Caſtillans* in the *Eaſt Indies*; and the *Limits* of their diſtinct *Navigation* and *Commerce* there, exactly fixed: and not only all other Subjects of *Spain* were totally excluded from the *Eaſt Indies*; but the *Caſtillans* themſelves were for ever *excluded* from all *Commerce* and *Navigation* within the *Limits* of the *Hollanders*; as *Theſe* were likewiſe prohibited from entring into thoſe of the *Caſtillans.*

And, before this, the abſolute *excluſion* of all the Inhabitants of the *Netherlands*, from all Trade or Commerce in the *Eaſt* or *Weſt Indies*, was in the Year 1598, made an expreſs *Article* in the Act of *Ceſſion* of the *Low-countries* by *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, upon the Marriage of his Daughter *Iſabella* to the *Arch-duke Albert:* The *Eighth* Article of which *Ceſſion* is this, That "The *Arch-duke* "and *Arch-dutcheſs* themſelves, and their Succeſſors, ſhall not exerciſe any Na-"vigation, and Commerce in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, under the Penalty of "being deprived of thoſe Provinces; and if any of their *Subjects* ſhall act con-"trary to this, they ſhall be puniſhed with Rigour, in ſome Caſes even with "Death itſelf, *&c.*" Neither was *this* at that time at all *complained* of, by the States of thoſe *Low-countries*, even when ſeveral other *Conditions* of the Reception of thoſe new *Governours* were remonſtrated againſt, as ſo many Grievances upon the People of thoſe Provinces. Neither was there afterward any *Proteſt* made by any Perſons concerned, againſt this *Excluſion*, whilſt the King of *Spain* was concluding the Treaty of *Munſter* with the *United Provinces*. This ſhews that the preſent Complaint of the Hardſhip of ſuch *Excluſion* is *new* and *artificial*; and comes many Years too late, as it comes after *ſolemn Treaties* made, and renewed, in expreſs Confirmation of this *Excluſion.*

To proceed; After the *Treaty* of *Munſter*, an Accident happened, which plainly ſhewed how the *Fifth* Article of that *Treaty* was underſtood, not only by the *Dutch*, but by *Spain* alſo. One *Baſtien Brower*, a Subject of *Spain*, either of *Brabant*, or of *Flanders*, had obtained a *Permiſſion* from the *King* of *Spain*, to go to the *Coaſts* of *China*, where he carried on a very profitable Trade. When this came to the Knowledge of the *High-council* in *India*, belonging to the *Dutch-Eaſt-India* Company, they made a ſolemn *Reſolution* immediately, and ſent it as an Order to the Commanders of all their Ships, and to all their Subjects, *to take this Man Priſoner*; and if he defended himſelf, to uſe *force* againſt him. This had its effect. The Man never appeared any more to give them farther Trouble. Other *Subjects* of *Spain* deſiſted from all ſuch Voyages. The Crown of *Spain* never *complained* of this *Conduct*; and by this Silence plainly gave Teſtimony to the Juſtice of that *Reſolution*, as founded upon the *Treaty* of *Munſter*.

In the Year 1667, by a Treaty between *Britain* and *Spain*, all Privileges of *Commerce* and *Navigation* in both the *Indies*, were granted to his *Britannick* Majeſty's Subjects, in as full and ample Manner as they were granted to the *Hollanders* in the Treaty of *Munſter*. And in the Year 1713, a Treaty of *Commerce* was concluded at *Utrecht* between the *Queen* of *Great-Britain*, and this preſent *King* of *Spain*: by the *Firſt Article* of which it is declared, That, "the Treaty of Peace, Commerce, and Alliance concluded at *Madrid*, in 1667, is ratified and confirmed by this Treaty;" and it is added, that, "for the greater Strengthening and Confirmation of the ſame, it has been thought proper to inſert it Word for Word in this Place." Then follows that former Treaty thus ratified and confirmed.

In the Year 1724, but one Year before this *New Alliance* at *Vienna*, this ſame *King* of *Spain* was ſo ſenſible of his *Obligations*, lying upon him from the Treaty of *Munſter* alone, that he preſented, by his Ambaſſador at *London*, a Memorial againſt the *Emperor's* Attempts upon *Trade* from *Oſtend*; in which he inſiſted that the Affair of the *Oſtend Company* ſhould be brought before the *Congreſs* at *Cambray*, in order to have the ſaid Company aboliſhed, before he could in Conſcience think of confirming the Ceſſion of the *Netherlands* to the *Emperor*: and urges, that, if this *Confirmation* ſhould be made by *Spain*, "without reſerving expeſſly to itſelf the excluſive Right on the Navigation to the *Indies*, in general, and without Exception; the *States-general* would be rightly entitled to demand Satisfaction of *Spain*, for having thereby made a great Infraction of the *Treaty* of *Munſter*, and would be diſengaged from the reciprocal Obligation to abſtain from the Navigation of the *Spaniſh Indies*." That is, in other Words, that if he, the *King* of *Spain*, ſhould not ſupport the *Dutch* (and conſequently the *Engliſh* alſo) againſt the *Emperor's* new Eſtabliſhment at *Oſtend*; *that then*, I ſay, he himſelf ſhould be juſtly charged with a moſt *diſhonourable Breach* of *Faith*, and Violation of ſolemn Treaties. Thus ſtand the Engagements of *Spain*, with regard to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, in the Affair of their *Trade* to the *Indies*, and of the *Emperor's* new Attempts at *Oſtend*. Let us now conſider the *Obligations* and Engagements of the *Emperor* himſelf.

The *Grand Alliance*, 1701, between the *Emperor Leopold*, *King William*, and the *States-general*, is built upon this very Foundation of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Trade to the *Indies*, as upon a *main Ground* of that Alliance. It opens itſelf with reciting, that, upon the *Death* of *Charles* II. *King* of *Spain*, without Iſſue, the *Emperor* claimed the Right of Succeſſion to his Countries, as belonging to the *Auſtrian Family*; and, after other Particulars, it follows, "ſo that without ſome Remedy applied, the *Emperor* will loſe his Pretenſions; the Empire loſe its

“ *Fiefs* in *Italy*; and the ENGLISH and UNITED PROVINCES be deprived of the
“ *free Uſe* of their NAVIGATION and COMMERCE in the INDIES, and other
“ Places,” *&c.*

Hence it appears, 1. That the *Emperor's* Family claiming by *Hereditary Right* theſe *Provinces*, could not *rightfully* claim any *Powers*, but what were veſted and remained in *Charles* II. the King of *Spain*, to whom they were to ſucceed; nor poſſeſs *them*, but upon the *Conditions*, upon which the deceaſed *King* himſelf had poſſeſſed them: And that the Emperor neither could, nor did, claim any thing that his Predeceſſors, Kings of *Spain*, had parted with by ſolemn Treaties; and therefore neither could, nor did, claim thoſe Countries, but upon the ſame Terms and Conditions of Trade, on which King *Charles* II. of *Spain* had enjoyed them, agreeably to ſolemn Treaties with other Powers. 2. That the Preſervation of the Trade in the *Indies*, to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, upon the Foot they enjoyed it, and in the Manner it was carried on, to the Death of King *Charles* II. of *Spain*, was one ground, and a main one, of the *Grand Alliance*; and that the Emperor's Pretenſions to the Low-countries were ſupported by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, upon this, amongſt other Conditions, that the Emperor ſhould reciprocally ſupport their Trade to the *Indies*, on the Foot they had conſtantly enjoyed it. 3. It having been already proved, that *Holland* ever ſince the Treaty of *Munſter* in 1648, and *England* ever ſince the Treaty of *Madrid* in 1667, have carried on their Trade to the *Eaſt Indies*, to the Excluſion of the Subjects of the *Netherlands*, by Virtue of thoſe Treaties; it follows, That, in conſequence of this, and by Virtue of this *grand Alliance* itſelf (by which the *Emperor's* Claim to theſe Countries is allowed, and the *Claim* of the Allies to their *Commerce* alſo inſiſted on) the Emperor did in Effect oblige himſelf and his *Family*, whenever in Poſſeſſion of theſe *Countries*, to take upon themſelves all the Obligations which the *Kings* of *Spain*, to whom they ſucceeded, were under, to *England* and *Holland*, by former *Treaties*; and to ſupport this *main End* of the *grand Alliance*, relating to the Commerce of the Allies, (expreſſly mentioned in it,) as well as *their own* Pretenſions; and, inſtead of invading them themſelves, to defend them againſt all *Invaders*, according to the Obligations of thoſe *former Treaties*. Nay, it was likewiſe expreſſly ſtipulated, in this *grand Alliance*, ſuppoſing it to end ſucceſsfully; That the *Spaniſh Netherlands* ſhould be (not the *Property* of the *Emperor* abſolutely, and without any Conditions; but) a Barrier to the *United Provinces*. So that we ſee, the *Emperor*, in the *grand Alliance* itſelf, conſidered his own Right to the *Netherlands*, with a View to the Trade of his *Allies*; and that the *Spaniſh Low-countries* were eſtabliſhed in that *Alliance*, as a *Defenſe* and *Guard* to thoſe *Allies*, whoſe Trade is now going to be ruined from them.

But theſe *Obligations* are not only the real Intent and *Conſequence* of the *grand Alliance*: But it is declared in expreſs Words, in the Barrier *Treaty* concluded at *Antwerp*, in 1715, between his preſent *Britannick Majeſty*, this preſent *Emperor*, and the *States General*, Art. 1. “ That the *Emperor* (this preſent Emperor) ſhould
“ enjoy the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, as they were enjoyed, or ought to have been
“ enjoyed, by the late King *Charles* II. conformably to the Treaty of *Ryſwick*.”
That is, with the *ſame Privileges*, and the ſame *Obligations*, neither greater nor leſs.

After all theſe ſolemn Stipulations and Treaties here recited, is it conceivable, what has now been done in the Face of the World?—That *Emperor*, who was under all his Father's Obligations: Who could not ſucceed, even by his Title of Hereditary Right, to theſe *Low-countries*, but under the ſame *Engagements* with thoſe *Kings* of *Spain* to whom he ſucceeds: Who himſelf, in his own Perſon, has declared, in a ſolemn Treaty, that He enjoys theſe Countries no otherwiſe, than as they were enjoyed by the late King of *Spain*; that is, under the ſame Reſtrictions and Obligations to which that *King* was engaged: That ſame Emperor, inſtead of protecting the Commerce of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* from the Invaſions of others, himſelf openly invades it; inſtead of puniſhing any of his Subjects in the *Netherlands* for *Attempts* of *Trade* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, or reſtraining them, as he is ſtrictly obliged to do, He has himſelf *erected* a *Company*, and endowed it with *great Privileges*, on Purpoſe to trade thither; and, inſtead of yielding to the juſt Remonſtrances of his injured Neighbours, he has ſet them at Defiance, and ſtrengthened himſelf with a *new Acceſſion* of the Power and Riches of *Spain*, to back this unjuſtifiable Seizure of thoſe Rights of *Commerce*, which are the *eſtabliſhed* and peculiar Privileges of other Countries. Such has been the Conduct of the *Emperor*.

And the part which *Spain* has acted, with regard to *Oſtend*, and the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, is, if poſſible, ſtill more extraordinary; and more out of the *common Road* of dealing with *Treaties* and *Alliances*. For thus it is,—That *King* of *Spain*, who enjoys his Kingdom under the *Stipulations* of the *Treaties* made by his *Predeceſſors*:—who has confirmed them all *himſelf*, in his own Perſon:—*He*, who in *one* Year declared it would be a Breach of his Treaties, for Him ever to acquieſce in the Eſtabliſhment of the *Oſtend Eaſt-India* Company: That ſame King, the next Year, does much more than this. He undertakes, by this *new Alliance*, to *ſupport* the *Emperor* in this very Eſtabliſhment. Not only this: but he grants to theſe very *Oſtenders*, and all other Subjects of the *Emperor* in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, what he had no Right to grant to them, had they remained his own Subjects; nay, he grants them *Privileges* of his *Ports* and Places in the *Indies*, greater than are allowed to the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* themſelves: And this, not only with reſpect to the *Eaſt-Indies*, but the *Weſt-Indies* alſo. For by the 2d and 3d Articles of the *Vienna Treaty* of *Commerce*, a Liberty is granted to them, to frequent, and Trade in, the Ports of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*: Or, ſuppoſing this not directly granted, in expreſs Words, yet they are at leaſt permitted to *enter* into thoſe Ports for victualling or repairing their Ships: which will come to the ſame Thing. For if they may enter into, and remain in thoſe Ports, till they have provided themſelves with all Neceſſaries, the *Nature* of the *Bullion* Trade is of that ſort, that no Precaution can prevent that Commerce.

I am ſenſible it may be objected here, that the Liberty granted to the Emperor's Subjects, by the Treaty of *Vienna*, to enter into the Ports of *Spain* in the *Weſt-Indies*, in caſe of Diſtreſs of Weather, or for refreſhing themſelves, &c. is no more than what was formerly granted to his Majeſty's Subjects, by the Treaty of *Madrid*, concluded in 1670. But it is well known, that the Liberty granted by that Treaty, has ceaſed for many Years; and that, in order to prevent the Abuſes that might be committed from ſuch a Permiſſion, and that one Nation might not be more favoured than another on any Pretext whatſoever in the Trade to the *Weſt-Indies*, ſufficient Care was taken of that Matter in the 8th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, by which it is expreſly ſtipulated, and declared in the following Words: *Whereas among other Conditions of the general Peace, it is by common Conſent eſtabliſhed, as a chief and fundamental Rule, that the Exerciſe of Navigation and Commerce to the* Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, *ſhould remain in the ſame State it was in the Time of King* Charles II. *of* Spain, *and that therefore this Rule may hereafter be obſerved with inviolable Faith, and in a Manner never to be broken, and thereby all Cauſes of Diſtruſt and Suſpicion concerning that Matter may be prevented and removed; it is eſpecially agreed and concluded, that no Licence, or* *any Permiſſion at all, ſhall at any Time be given to the* French, *or any other Nation whatever, in any Name, or under any Pretence, directly, or indirectly, to* SAIL, *Traffick,* &c. *to the Dominions ſubject to the Crown of* Spain *in* America; *except what may be agreed by the Treaty, or Treaties of Commerce,* (there referred to,) *and the Rights and Privileges granted in a certain Convention called,* El Aſſiento de Negros. And the *ſame Condition* is likewiſe ſtipulated in the 34th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, between the King of *Spain* and the States. And there needs no other Argument to prove, that it was always underſtood by the Court of *Spain* itſelf, in the Senſe of not ſuffering any Ship to enter into any Port of *Spain* in the *Weſt-Indies*, on any Pretext whatever, but to obſerve, That the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* are never permitted, though under the greateſt Diſtreſs of Weather, or want of Proviſions, to put into any of thoſe Ports; but their Ships if they come in, are conſtantly confiſcated: and upon this very Account, that, if once Entrance were permitted, the Traffick could not but follow. Yet, notwithſtanding that this is a fundamental Rule of the Treaties of *Utrecht*, and an Article of the general Peace, which is ſtrictly obſerved with regard to all other Nations; it is notoriouſly violated, in Favour and Preference of the Emperor's Subjects.

It is further to be obſerved, that with regard to the Articles of Commerce between *Spain*, *England*, and *Holland*, the *Liberty* to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* of entring into the *Spaniſh Ports*, was always expreſſly reſtrained to the *Ports* of *Europe*. But no ſuch *Reſtriction* is once mentioned in the late *Treaty* of *Vienna*, with regard to the *Emperor's* Subjects. Nay, *all* the *Privileges* allowed to *Britain*, are in expreſs Words allowed to *theſe*; without ſo much as an Exception to the *South-Sea-Ship*, and the *Aſſiento Contract*: Whereas in the Treaty of *Utrecht* with the *Dutch*, that Exception was expreſsly made. Thus has the King of *Spain* granted *all* our Privileges, and greater, to the *Subjects* of the *Emperor*; and, inſtead of *protecting Great Britain*, and the *United Provinces*, in their *Rights* of *Commerce*, according to former Treaties, he has now declared himſelf to be obliged and determined to protect, by Force, the *Emperor* and his *Subjects*, in their *Invaſion* of thoſe Rights. And, from all this put together, it muſt be as evident, as *Words* and *Facts* compared can make any thing, That the *two Courts* of *Vienna* and *Madrid* have founded their *new Alliance*, as far as it reſpects *Trade*, on the Deſtruction of all publick *Faith*, the *Infraction* of Treaties, and the *Violation* of all that can hold together *Nations* in Peace, and mutual Benevolence.

After ſo plain a Proof of the great *Injuſtice* of the Attempt of the *Imperial Court* upon *Trade*, from the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and of the King of *Spain's* determined Encouragement of it: It would not be improper here to conſider at ſome length the *Importance* and *Conſequence* of this Conduct to *ourſelves*; were it not that This has been ſet in ſo ſtrong a Light already, as to make it much leſs neceſſary; and particularly, in a *ſhort Treatiſe*, Intitled, *The Importance of the Oſtend Company conſidered*. Yet, before I paſs from this Subject, I muſt mention ſome few particular Conſequences of this new Eſtabliſhment at *Oſtend*, and of the *new Treaty of Commerce* (by which ſo large Privileges are granted to the Subjects of the *Netherlands*) with regard to our *Trade*; and in the end to our *Liberties*, and our *Religion*, themſelves.

The *United Provinces*, it is plain from their whole Conduct, eſteem themſelves undone in their main Concern, if this *Company* be ſupported. And if *They* are undone in *their Trade*; it is well known to all, who are acquainted with the *Track* of *Merchandize*, that the Gain of their Loſs in Trade will not accrue to *England*, but fly to thoſe Countries where this Evil began. As to the *Eaſt-India Trade* particularly; the ſame *Rival*, which ruines That in *Holland*, muſt by the ſame Methods inevitably ruine it in *England*. Nay, it muſt ruine it ſooner and more effectually here: not only becauſe *Holland* has the ſole Property of the *Spice* Trade, beſides other Advantages; but becauſe the *Dutch Merchandizes* are free from the Burthen of *Cuſtoms*; whilſt our *Cuſtoms* give the greateſt Encouragement to the *Oſtenders* to run, and put off, a Multitude of their Goods in *England*. The Damage and Ruine muſt be the ſame, as to our *Weſt-India* Trade, from the *Privilege* granted by the *Vienna Treaty* of *Commerce* to the Emperor's Subjects: the *Privileges* of *entring* into the *Spaniſh* Ports in the *Weſt-Indies*, and, by unavoidable Conſequence, of trading there, where neither *Engliſh* or *Dutch* are ever permitted to enter upon any *pretence*; and the *comprehenſive Privilege* of enjoying all Rights which *Britain* enjoys, without any *Exception*; and, by conſequence, of interfering with, and hurting, not only our *Aſſiento Contract*, but *every Inſtance* of *Commerce* with *Spain*, which we have a Right to by repeated *Treaties*.

Nor can the Evil ſtop here, but muſt of Neceſſity inſinuate itſelf into many other of the moſt important Branches of our *Trade*, which have a mutual and indiſſolvible Connexion one with another. The convenient Situation of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* between the *North* and the *South* of *Europe*, for all the Purpoſes of an extended Trade:—The Advantage of the Ports of *Oſtend* and *Newport*, which, though none of the *beſt*, yet may vie with thoſe of *Holland*; and will be as convenient Harbours for *Privateers*, as ever *Dunkirk* itſelf was, when the time ſhall come for an avowed and forcible Interruption to *Our* Trade and that of *Holland*: The Goodneſs of their *Rivers* for communicating all *Merchandizes*, at the moſt eaſy Rates, from *Town* to *Town*; and the later Addition of ſeveral large *Canals* and *Cauſeways*, where the Rivers are wanting:—The Fruitfulneſs of the Country, and the eaſy Price of all Proviſions, very advantagious to all Manufacturers:—The *Liberties* and *Privileges* of the *Towns*, which ſtill ſubſiſt; very inviting to the ſame *Manufacturer*:—The *Genius* of the *People*, very well fitted for all the *Improvements* of *Trade* and Manufactures:—and, to animate them, the Experience and Hiſtory of paſt Times, which will ſhew them, that they have formerly, with a little Encouragement from their Governours, flouriſhed in *Manufactures* both *Woollen* and *Linnen* (beſides thoſe many which they ſtill retain;) the *Woollen* now again reviving to a Degree of Goodneſs at *Limburgh*, ſo as already to under-ſell the *Dutch* themſelves; and the *Linen* more eaſily revived by the Advantage of the great Quantity of *Flax* growing in theſe Countries:—And this Experience of former Days pointing out to them likewiſe the Poſſibility and Probability of their carrying their *Navigation* to a great Pitch, in the *Number* and *Strength* of their *Shipping*, increaſing by Degrees, as it always does, in Proportion to *Manufactures* and *Fiſheries*; and the faſter, as theſe Countries lie nearer and more convenient for enticing *Fiſhermen* and *Sailors*, as well as *Manufacturers* themſelves, from hence, upon all Occaſions; and alſo for the clandeſtine *Importation* of *Wool* from *England* and *Ireland*, to carry on their Deſigns. Theſe, and many more Particulars ſhew, that, as one Branch of *Trade* leads to *another*, and one Trial encourages *another*, and as all *Commerce* is of a ſpreading and communicative Nature, where it meets with proper *Materials*, and proper *Encouragement*; ſo this muſt probably be the Caſe, if the *Beginnings* of *Evil* be not looked after: That not only our own *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Trade, and that of the *Dutch*, will be ruined by the *Oſtend* Company, which will be the immediate *Effect* of it; (or rather is ſo *already* in a great Degree;) but alſo, that the *Contagion* will ſpread to many other *Branches* of the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Trade;

and convey along with it the *Riches*, the *Strength*, and the *Naval* Power, to the ſame *Spaniſh Netherlands*.

But were it ſo, that *Holland* alone would be the Sufferer by the *Oſtend* Trade (which is far from being the Caſe;) yet the Ruine of *Holland* muſt carry along with it, in the end, the Ruine, of *Britain*. For, as theſe two Nations remaining United, are indeed the *Turn* of the Balance of *Europe*, whenever they join themſelves to any other great Power of *Europe*; and *Both* of them together, but barely ſufficient for this Purpoſe: Whatever Ruines the *Trade*, that is, the Riches and Strength of *theſe*, deſtroys at the ſame time the Evenneſs of that Balance, which alone can keep *Europe* in any tolerable Order. And whatever Ruines any *One* of theſe *Powers*, does as truly deſtroy the ſufficiency of that *Strength*, by which alone that *Balance* is preſerved. And what then muſt be the Conſequence? *Where* the *Trade* and *Riches* of theſe, or of either of theſe, ſetle, *there* ſetles the *Power* with them; and that *Power* removed from *them*, muſt be the *Deſtruction* of the *Balance*; and the Deſtruction of that *Balance* muſt be the *loſs* of the *Liberties* of the *reſt* of *Europe*, and particularly, as Occaſion ſhall offer, of the Liberties of *Great Britain*.

And I need not add, that the ſame *Popiſh Power*, which will gain all this *Strength*, (for it is in a *Popiſh Power* that all this muſt Centre,) will have the ſame *Strength*, and a greater *Will*, to extirpate every Appearance of *Proteſtantiſm*, of what Denomination ſoever, out of *Europe*; without Exception to any one Church above another: only with the fatal *Exception* of a more ſure and quick Blow *to that Church*, a great Part of whoſe Revenues, as well as the Riches of a Multitude of its *Members*, ariſe from the *Diſſolution* of *Monaſteries*, and the *Alienation* of *Abbey-lands*; and whoſe unpardonable *Crime* it will be, to have been the great Support of the *Reformation*, and the *Bulwark* of the *Proteſtant* Cauſe againſt *Popery*. For, where can that *Church*, or where can the *Proteſtant Religion*, hope, I will not ſay, for *Countenance*, but for *Sufferance*; when the whole *Proteſtant Power* in *Europe*, which, in its preſent Condition, is little better than a Creature with Pain and Difficulty ſtruggling for Life, ſhall be broken to Pieces by Acquiſitions, made by other Powers, of Riches and Force: Acquiſitions, which will be a double Strength againſt it, as they are taken from Thoſe who alone have a Will to protect it, and added to Thoſe who have a Zeal to hurt and oppreſs it. And that *this* muſt be the *End* of ſuch *Beginnings*, ſuffered to proceed with Succeſs, and gathering Strength every Step they go, is as plain, and as true, as, That *proper Food* will give *Strength* gradually to the *weakeſt Man*, capable of receiving it; too great to be reſiſted at laſt by the *ſtrongeſt Man*, who ſuffers it to be taken from *himſelf*; and who by that Loſs of *Nouriſhment* grows *weaker* and *weaker*, as well as by the Strength added by it to the *other*.

I will now ſay a Word more peculiarly relating to *Great Britain*; and the *Concern* this Nation has, in its preſent Circumſtances, in the *Fate* of its *Trade*, or of *any* of the Branches of it. The two laſt *Wars* abroad, upon which not only our own Safety, but that of the *Liberties* of all *Europe*, depended, and by which they were preſerved; together with the continual Attempts of our Enemies, ſince the general Peace, to load us with the Chains of *Popery* and the *Pretender*, have run *Great Britain* into a vaſt *Expence:* and this Expence has left behind it an immenſe *Debt*; and this *Debt*, ſo juſtly due to the *Creditors* of the *Publick*, muſt be paid, both out of ſtrict Duty, if there be any ſuch thing as *publick Juſtice*, and out of *Intereſt*, if we have a Mind ever again, in any *Extremity*, to be truſted. This lies as a great and heavy Burthen upon the Minds of all true Lovers of their Country: And, I know, that for the ſake of this ſingle Point, and from their earneſt deſire of ſeeing ſo great a Good accompliſhed, without any interruptions, Many of the beſt Friends to the *Publick* are ready to regret any Oppoſition made to the Deſigns of this *New Alliance*, as the firſt Step to a *War*; and to aſk, How much better, to bear the Inconveniencies mentioned; to ſubmit to the Loſs of *Gibraltar*; to be contented with all the Conſequences of the *Oſtend-trade*; to connive at all the Deſigns of ſuch Powers united; than to put any Stop to our Proſpect of a gradual Payment of our Debts?—Our main Buſineſs, they argue, is to free ourſelves from that Load. The *Sinking Fund* is a good Beginning; and, if not hindred by Quarrels with Powers abroad, muſt go on to diminiſh our Debt. This Payment of our Debt, we ſhould look after, as our Strength in future Times, and our greateſt Force againſt our *Enemies*; and not ſhew ourſelves ſo concerned about the Points juſt now mentioned.

On the other Side, I cannot help entirely differing from all this. Nay, I cannot forbear to urge this very *Oppoſition* to the *New Alliance*, as the only certain Method of taking any one Step farther towards this Great Good; as ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that *without it*, there is an End of all Hope of it. And I contend for the moſt *vigorous Oppoſition* to the Deſigns of this *New Alliance*, for this very Reaſon, becauſe we are in Debt; and muſt be for ever in Debt; and ſhall never probably have it in our Power to pay any *Part* more of that *Debt*; if thoſe Deſigns go on unoppoſed and unreſiſted.

For in the firſt Place, They who argue againſt it, from this Conſideration, leave out a *main Point*; and a Point which comprehends all other Evils in it; and that is, the *continued Attempts* of putting the *Pretender* upon us: which muſt ſucceed unleſs we ſhew ourſelves determined to oppoſe any *Power* engaged in Support of ſuch Deſigns. And if this *one thing* ſucceeds; it is of ſmall Importance to our *Debt*, what our Trade will be after this is effected. Every one can ſee that a Debt, contracted in order to keep out *Him* and his *Family* for ever, will never be paid, but by *one Univerſal Blot* ſpread over the Face of the whole Accompt; if *He* ſhould ever be ſetled here, againſt whom this *Debt* has raiſed Armies, and manned Fleets, and fought many ſucceſsful Battles. What Good therefore, towards the Payment of our Debt, will a ſupine Negligence do? or what Account can the *Creditors* of the *Publick* hope to find, from not oppoſing an Alliance which may otherwiſe too probably end in the eſtabliſhing a *King* here, under whom the leaſt Evil will be this, That the Creditors of the Publick will be ſure of loſing at once their whole juſt *Debt*, and the *Intereſt* of it?

But, putting the *Pretender* wholly out of the *Queſtion*, as a Perſon not in Being; Or, ſuppoſing ourſelves ſecure from every future Attempt in his Favour: yet, the *Caſe* with Reſpect to the Payment of the *Debt*, muſt very ſoon be the ſame; (however it may happily differ *in many* other Particulars) if the Conditions of theſe *New Treaties* at *Vienna*, both *Publick* and *Private*, are, through our ſupine Negligence, ſuffered to be fulfilled. For, what is the *Sinking Fund* from which we hope for Relief? It is the *Surplus* of the *Produce* of the *Cuſtoms* and *Exciſes*, after the Payment of the *Civil Liſt*, and of the *Intereſt* of the *National Debt*. Theſe *Cuſtoms* are the *Appurtenances* to *Trade* and *Commerce*. Take away *any* Part of this *Trade*, or diminiſh it in any Branch; juſt ſo much in Proportion you diminiſh or take away from theſe *Cuſtoms*. The firſt thing therefore, that muſt feel the *Diminution* of our *Trade*, is the Produce of our *Cuſtoms*; and the firſt thing that muſt feel the Diminution of our *Cuſtoms*, is the *Sinking Fund*: becauſe the *Civil Liſt* and the *Intereſt* of the *National Debt* muſt firſt be paid, before *any Surplus* at all can be laid apart for the Payment of the *Principal*. Let therefore your Trade decay; permit the *New Company* at *Oſtend*, to make your own *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Trade utterly impracticable; and ſuffer your own *Commerce* to be by Degrees tranſplanted, and to flouriſh, in the *Netherlands*, under the Advantages and Encouragements in thoſe Parts juſt now mentioned; beſides the *Prohibitions* upon your own *Manufactures* every Day increaſing upon you: and this alone will immediately prevent any ſuch *Surpluſage* from remaining. For what Need of Words? As *Cuſtoms* are the *Appendages* of *Trade*, they muſt decay with it: As the *Sinking Fund* depends entirely on the Abundance of *Cuſtoms*, this muſt *firſt* vaniſh upon their Decreaſe. What then muſt immediately become of the *principal Debt?* And indeed, very ſoon after this, what muſt become even of the *Intereſt* of it: when the *Cuſtoms*, which are the *Fund* for the Yearly Payment of that *Intereſt*, are themſelves vaniſhed away? And I will add, never after *this* to be recalled again.

For here is the real Difference between the *two Methods* of proceeding, now under our Conſideration. *Firſt*, As to that of vigorous Oppoſition to the Meaſures of the *New Alliance*; if we ſhould allow to Thoſe who thus argue againſt it, that it may poſſibly bring on, in its natural Courſe, an *Interruption* to Trade, and a *Diminution* of Cuſtoms; and conſequently a Stop to that Payment of the *National Debt* which depends upon the abundance of theſe *Cuſtoms:* Yet, this is but a *Temporary Stop*. If theſe vigorous Meaſures meet with Succeſs, and the Bleſſing of Providence attend upon them, the Courſe of Trade opens itſelf again with Vigour; and, the Cuſtoms reviving in Proportion, the *Sinking Fund* muſt of Neceſſity do ſo too. And if this Method of *Vigorous Oppoſition* ſhould not be ſucceſsful; the Caſe could not be worſe than it muſt be without it. For in the other *Method*; That of Supine Negligence, and of yielding to all Demands without the Attempt of any Relief; our Conduct has but *one certain Event* poſſible, as to the Point now before us. The *Sinking Fund* muſt, with the Decreaſe of the *Cuſtoms*, vaniſh immediately: and ſo muſt, ſoon after it, the Annual Intereſt of our Debt. And then, the *longer* the *Oſtend* Company continues its Commerce, the *ſtronger* and more extended muſt it grow; and the more extended that is, the more confined muſt our *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Commerce be, in all their Branches, till they dwindle into nothing; and the more the *Sweets* of *Trade* are taſted in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and the *Auſtrian* Countries too, the more improbable or rather impoſſible it will be, ever to recall it into theſe Parts, upon any ſuch *Terms* as can make the *Cuſtoms*, once ruined, revive in *England*. In a Word, in *one* Way, the Diminution of the National *Debt* may be interrupted by a vigorous *Oppoſition* to the Meaſures abroad: but then will revive again, and go on in its proper Channel. In the *other* Way, the ſame *Diminution*, and Loſs of the Means of paying the *Debt*, and even the *Intereſt* of it, will be the Fate of this Nation: and that, with this *unhappy* Aggravation; that, if the Loſs comes *this Way*, it is never to be retrieved; nor any Hope left of that Payment for the future.

As others therefore are moved by a Regard to this great Good to the Nation, to be averſe to all Methods of *vigorous* Oppoſition; I cannot help being moved by the ſame Regard, the very contrary Way: and what They *fear*, becauſe we have ſuch a *Debt* upon us, which ought to be paid; that I *wiſh*, for the ſame Reaſon, becauſe we are in Debt; and that *Debt* ought to be paid; and that Debt cannot be paid without ſuch an *Oppoſition* as may preſerve our Commerce upon a *Foundation* granted to it by the moſt ſolemn *Treaties*, the only *Purchaſe* of the *Toil* and *Expence* of *Britain*; and ſuch a *Foundation*, as alone can enable us to go on in a gradual Juſtice to the *Creditors* of the Publick.

And in ſuch a Method of proceeding, This ought to be our great Support and Confidence, that it is not an arbitrary Contention againſt the Rights of any other

Nation in the World; nor a Conteſt for our Trade, merely as our great Advantage, or as the Inſtrument of paying the National *Debt*, and ſecuring the National Happineſs; but really and truly a Contention for our ſtrict Right and Due, invaded with an high Hand by other Powers, againſt the *Faith* of *Treaties*, as well as the Force of the higheſt Obligations. Nor can we conceive a more abject Servility of Conduct, than for a *People* ſo long famed for *Commerce* and *Bravery*, to ſee their *Darling Good*, and their peculiar Glory; the Pledge of their *Liberty*, and Life of all their Property, juſt going to be forcibly and unrighteouſly torn from them; and tamely to look on without *one Struggle* for ſo great a Bleſſing, or one hearty Effort againſt the Invaders of it. What can we become, if we give our Conſent to ſuch Ruine by our own ſupine Indolence and Inſenſibility; and ſuffer ourſelves to be ſtripped of our boaſted Strength and Ornament at once; but a Nation, the moſt deſpicable of all Nations under Heaven; expoſed to the Contempt and Inſults of the World about us here *below*, and rendered utterly unworthy, by our own Conduct, of the Care of Providence *above* us?

IV. After all this ſaid upon the Conſequences of this *New Alliance*, with a particular Reſpect to the *Proteſtant* Eſtabliſhment, the *Poſſeſſions*, and the *Commerce*, of *Great-Britain*; it will be very proper now to touch upon another *Article* of the *Secret* Part of *it*, in which, not only *Britain*, but all *Europe* in general, is extremely concerned: I mean the *Marriages* agreed upon, between the *Emperor* and *Spain*; which, added to the *comprehenſive* and *extended Trade* now likely to be tranſplanted into the *Netherlands*, muſt conſtitute a Power in *one Family* beyond all that we have known, Formidable and Irreſiſtible. The *Marriages* I ſpeak of, are *thoſe* of the two *Arch-dutcheſſes*, *Daughters* to the preſent *Emperor*, with the two *Infants* of *Spain*, Sons to the *King* by his preſent *Queen*. And that *theſe* are agreed upon, as a main and eſſential Point in this *New Alliance*, We have the following Proofs.

1. Immediately after the Signing the *Publick Treaty* of *Peace* at *Vienna*, *Ripperda* very freely talked of the *Marriage* of *Don Carlos*, the *eldeſt* Son of the preſent Queen of *Spain*, with the *eldeſt Arch-dutcheſs*, as a fixt Matter; and that the *Prince* of *Aſturias* was diſregarded in this *Alliance*, becauſe of his ill Health, as he pretended at that Time: and a little while after, he ſpake as openly and poſitively about the *Marriages*, both of *Don Carlos* and his *Brother*. One of his Converſations was very Remarkable, and full of ſuch *Circumſtances* as will not let Us doubt of the *Truth* of the Subject of it. 'The King's *Miniſters* in *Spain*, and 'the whole *Spaniſh* Nation, (*ſays He*) are bitter againſt me: but I laugh at all 'that. The *Queen* will protect me. I have done *her* ſuch Services that *ſhe* 'cannot abandon me: for thus the Matter ſtands. The *Propoſals* of the *Imperial* '*Court* were of a *Marriage* with the *Prince* of *Aſturias*, and my firſt *Inſtructions* 'from *Spain* were for the *Prince* of *Aſturias*; but it was I, who got that Deſti-'nation changed. I wrote to the *Queen* to engage the *Prince* of *Aſturias*, with-'out Delay, to a Daughter of *Portugal*, that he might not ſtand in the Way 'of *Don Carlos*: And it was I that found the Way of turning all this Affair to 'the Advantage of her *two Sons*. And do you think I have much to Fear after 'ſuch Services?"

2. This agrees exactly with the Language of the Court of *Madrid*: Where, after the *Treaty* of *Peace* was known to be Signed at *Vienna*, this Alliance with the *Emperor* was freely ſpoke of, as the *Queen's* own *Tranſaction* entirely; entered

into, and conducted by *herſelf*; and the *Marriage* of *Don Carlos* ſpoke of, at firſt, without reſerve or Appearance of Secrecy, as a Matter agreed upon. Nor did any *one* Perſon, who frequented the Court of *Spain*, make the leaſt Doubt of it.

3. This will help us to Account for other Parts of the *Conduct* of *Spain*: which, without this, will be wholly unaccountable, and out of the Road of all Policy. For inſtance, Suppoſe only theſe *Marriages*, or That alone of *Don Carlos* with the *eldeſt Arch-dutcheſs*; and this will ſhew us, Why that Court could be brought to diſcard the *Neutral Garriſons*, and all other *Securities* furniſhed by the *Quadruple* Alliance for the *Eſtabliſhing* her Son, that ſame *Don Carlos*, in *Italy*; and to truſt to the *Emperor's* naked Word in ſo great a Point: *viz.* Becauſe by this *Marriage* it would come about, that the *Emperor*, by ſecuring thoſe *Dominions* in *Italy* for *Don Carlos*, would ſecure them, at the ſame Time, for the *Iſſue* of his own *Daughter*; and ſo muſt of Neceſſity, for the Sake of his own Intereſt, and the aggrandizing his own Family, be ſincere and zealous in this Affair. On the other Side, the ſame Suppoſition of this *Marriage* gives a reaſonable Solution, Why the Court of *Spain* has conſented to, what the *Spaniſh Miniſters* at the *Congreſs* would not hear of, the *Guaranty* of the *Succeſſion* in *Germany*, as lately eſtabliſhed in the Houſe of *Auſtria*: *viz.* Becauſe it comes about by this Marriage, that being *Guarantee* to the *Emperor's Succeſſion* in his *Auſtrian Dominions*, is no more than being *Guarantee* for the Queen's own Son *Don Carlos*, the future Huſband of the *eldeſt Arch-dutcheſs*; and that *Self-intereſt* muſt make *Spain*, under its preſent Adminiſtration, ſincere in this *Guaranty*. And upon any other Bottom, we may ſafely defy the World to give a Solution of *theſe*, and *ſeveral* other Appearances, in this New Alliance.

I need not go farther, and appeal to any Words that may have been dropped in Confidence, at the Court of *Vienna* itſelf, upon the Subject of theſe Marriages; and that, with a particular Pleaſure and Satisfaction expreſſed in them: Since we have ſo much, and ſo ſtrong, Evidence of the Reality of it, from the Mouth of *Ripperda*, who made the Treaty; and from the Language of the *Court* of *Spain* itſelf; as well as from the utter Inconſiſtency and Unaccountableneſs of the Proceedings of that Court without this Suppoſition.

I acknowledge indeed, That at *Vienna*, when it began to appear that what had been ſaid upon this Head had alarmed *Europe*; and when, in particular, the great Aim was to keep the *Dutch* from acceding to the *Treaty* of *Hanover*; which might be haſtened by ſo terrible an Appearance: Then, the whole Affair of theſe *Marriages* was utterly diſowned; nay, in order to deny theſe *Marriages*, it was abſolutely denied that there was any ſuch Thing in Being as a *ſecret Treaty* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*. I am not afraid of relating *this*, after all the Proofs before given of the *Reality* of a *ſecret Treaty*, and of this *Article* in it; nor at all unwilling that it ſhould work as much as it can, and have all the Weight it ought to have. For I am confident, that, as this Conduct convinced no one Perſon at *Vienna*; and made not the leaſt *Impreſſion* upon the *Dutch Miniſter*, or his *Maſters*; ſo it will make no Impreſſion upon Any who have read what I have before laid down, unleſs it be this, That they who can act an unjuſtifiable Part, can, without Scruple, and with the ſame Eaſe, bring themſelves to a peremptory and abſolute Denial of it, till the proper Time comes for their open Avowal of it.

But as this *Article* of theſe *Marriages* muſt remain undoubted; we cannot help ſpending a few Thoughts upon the *Conſequences* of them, or of the Firſt of *them* only.

only. There is but *one* Life, that of the *Prince* of *Aſturias*, between *Don Carlos* and the Crown of *Spain*, after the Death of the preſent *King*. There is only the ſame Life between *Don Carlos* and the Crown of *France*; ſhould the preſent King there die without *Iſſue Male*; and the late *Renunciations* not take Place: both which Events may happen.

And as to the vaſt Hereditary Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, *Don Carlos* will come to them by Right of his Wife. And as Experience has ſhewn us, for many Ages, that whoever is Maſter of theſe Dominions, and the Power that attends them, has been and muſt be Emperor, notwithſtanding its being an Elective Crown: *Don Carlos*, by marrying the *eldeſt Arch-dutcheſs*, cannot fail of being *Emperor*. So that *Don Carlos* may poſſibly be at once, *Emperor*, King of *France*, and King of *Spain*: and have the vaſt Strength and Riches of all theſe Powers united and centered in him.

I have thus ſufficiently ſhewn the many and complicated *Evils* of this *New Alliance* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*; and the juſt *Apprehenſions*, and well-grounded *Fears*, which the Court of *Great Britain* could not but entertain, from all Appearances and all Advices, about the *Nature* and *Tendency* of it, with Regard to the preſent *Eſtabliſhment* of the *Crown* of *Great Britain*; to our *Poſſeſſions*; our *Commerce*; our *Religion*; our *Liberties*, and thoſe of all *Europe*; and, in a Word, to every *Thing* that ought to be Dear to Us. And now, Let any Perſons amongſt us, who know how to prize theſe *ineſtimable Goods*, which alone make *Life* itſelf valuable, ſurvey this *New Alliance* in every Part of it: and judge, ‘Whether ever hitherto *any one Scheme* has appeared in *Europe*, of a Deſtruction ſo univerſal, and of a Ruine ſo extended, as *This* (taking the whole together) appears plainly to be.’

It is time now for us to enquire, What has been the Conduct of the Court of *Great Britain*, upon the View of all theſe Evils.

1. The firſt ſtep they took was to renew, by a Treaty, the Defenſive Engagements ſubſiſting between *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Pruſſia*. But this Treaty was not ſet on foot till ſome Months after the *New Alliance* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*; and after the beſt Intelligences, and moſt mature Conſideration, of the *Tendency* of that *Alliance*. And as this *Treaty*, made at *Hanover*, has long been publick in the World; I need not obſerve that it is a *Treaty* entirely *Defenſive* between *Britain*, *France*, and *Pruſſia*, for the mutual ſupport of each other, againſt Injuries; and not at all for the invading, or injuring, any Nation under Heaven.

2. Particular Regard was ſhewn to the *States General*, in the framing of the Treaty of *Hanover*: to which they have ſince acceded. The next care was to invite the Crown of *Sweden* into this Alliance; that Kingdom having ſo often and ſo ſucceſsfully appeared in the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Liberties of *Europe*. And the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, whoſe Family has done ſuch ſignal Service to the Proteſtant Cauſe, readily offered a good Body of Troops, in ſupport of this Alliance.

Theſe are the Steps which the Court of *Great Britain* thought fit to take as ſoon as poſſible, after the Danger we were in appeared evident beyond all contradiction.

3. As the Parliament of *Great Britain* found their Country immediately threatned in its greateſt Concerns from theſe Treaties of *Vienna*; Both Houſes gave his *Majeſty* all *Aſſurance* of ſupport in whatever He ſhould think fit to do in the preſent critical Conjuncture. And accordingly it was neceſſary now to conſider in earneſt, what was moſt proper to be done. The

Court of *Great Britain* had evident Proof that nothing could influence the *Two New Allies* to Terms of Reaſon, but to ſhew a *vigorous Spirit* againſt every pernicious or ſuſpicious part of ſuch an Alliance. And as all Appearances, in all Parts, convinced them, That nothing could ſo effectually guard againſt approaching Evils, as the diſpatching ſufficient *Squadrons* of *Ships* to ſeveral Places; and as they were ſenſible that our *Fleet*, now the beſt in the World, could never be of any Account, either towards our *Glory* or our *Safety*, but upon ſuch an Occaſion; They did, with all poſſible Diligence, fit out *Three Squadrons* of *Men of War*: One for the *Weſt-Indies*, One for the Coaſts of *Spain*, and One for the *Baltick*.

It will now be aſked, as it has been indeed already, What beneficial *Effect* has this *Method* had? What Good have we gained, or what Evil have we prevented, by theſe Grand Appearances of our *Fleets* abroad? And if an Anſwer may be reaſonably expected, by Thoſe who aſk theſe and the like *Queſtions*; ſo is it alſo a juſt Expectation, That They ſhould be as ready to receive a Reaſonable Anſwer to them, as they are to aſk them.

As to the Treaty of *Hanover*; I will ſuppoſe, no *Apology* can be expected for *That*, after ſuch a ſurprizing and *formidable* Conjunction of the *Two Powers* of the *Emperour* and *Spain*; the Deſign, and the *Articles* of which *Conjunction* appeared every Day more and more terrible to their *Neighbours*. The Contracting Parties in the *Hanover* Treaty muſt have been taxed with *Infatuation* and *Inſenſibility*, beyond the common Pitch of *Thoſe Evils*, if They had not entered into a *ſtrict* and *hearty* Concert for their own *Self-defence*, in ſuch circumſtances, of preſent Invaſion of the *Trade* of *ſome* of them; and of Forebodings of *future* Evil to them All.

But as the Queſtion here at home, chiefly, if not ſolely, refers to our Naval *Armaments* from *England*; What have They produced, or, For what Reaſons were They ſent? The Anſwer is very plain. As to the Squadron ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*; I believe there is no one who has an Eſtate in thoſe Parts, or is concerned in any Trade thither, who did not think it highly neceſſary to have a Strong Squadron in thoſe Seas, for ſecuring our Commerce; which muſt otherwiſe have been inevitably ruined, by the Depredations and Violences committed by the *Spaniards* for ſeveral Years paſt without Redreſs. And if the ſending of the ſaid Squadron has prevented the Return of the Galleons; no Man who is in the leaſt converſant in the Affairs of *Europe*, can make any doubt but that this Incident has been the only Thing that has hitherto prevented a War in *Europe*, by depriving the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* of the means of putting in execution the dangerous Schemes they had projected.

The *Squadron* ſent to the Coaſts of *Spain*, was ſent to prevent any Attempt from that Country, to diſturb Us at Home: The Court of *Great Britain* being aſſured, beyond all doubt, as I have before particularly related, that an *Offenſive Treaty* was concluded at *Vienna*; and that an Attempt was deſigned from *Spain*, and Preparations making for it, at that Time, in Favour of the *Pretender*.

And the *Squadron* ſent to the *Baltick* was ſent to prevent very great Evils in thoſe Parts; there being no room to doubt, that the *Czarina's* real View was to go with a Fleet directly to *Stockholm*, and under a Pretence of demanding the Uſe of the Ports, and the Aſſiſtance of *Sweden* for the Recovery of *Sleſwick* to the Duke of *Holſtein*, actually to dethrone the preſent King of *Sweden*, and make that Nation abſolutely dependent on *Muſcovy*. It was therefore, judged of the utmoſt Importance to prevent this, by ſending a ſtrong Squadron into the *Baltick*; not only as it was the preſerving a Friendly *Power*, and a *Power*

Neceſſary to the *Balance* of the *North*: but particularly, becauſe *Sweden* could not but be conſidered in the Nature of a Frontier and Barrier to *Britain* itſelf; to ſuch a Degree, that if that *Kingdom* were once either made ſubject to *Ruſſia*, or Dependent upon it, *Britain* itſelf muſt be in Apprehenſion of Attempts from the *Ruſſian Ravagers*, coming with their Fleet from *Gottenburg* to our *Northern* Coaſts: an Evil not to be guarded againſt, after the Subjection of *Sweden*; but by the *Expence*, either of a conſtant *Fleet* upon thoſe *Coaſts*, or an *armed Force* in thoſe Parts of our Country, which lie moſt open to ſuch Attempts.

The Deſigns and Views in ſending out theſe *Squadrons* being ſo unexceptionably Good; ſuppoſing that, through the *Diſpoſitions* of *Providence*, and the Oppoſition of Winds and Weather, Succeſs had not attended upon any *One* of theſe Squadrons; nay, that *Great* and *Extraordinary* Misfortunes had followed them all: yet, *They* who are not ſo weak as to argue from *Succeſs* alone; They who know the Uncertainty of *Seas*, and *Winds*, and *Weather*, and have too much Underſtanding to think the *Event* only to be the true *Criterion* of Judging about the *Wiſdom* of any Project; all Perſons, I mean, of good Senſe, ſhould, methinks, have been ready, even in ſuch a Caſe, to have applauded what was done upon ſo good Grounds, and with Views ſo much for the Honour and Safety of their Country. But, *God* be thanked, this is not the Caſe. Every one of the Armaments has had Succeſs equal to the Goodneſs of the Errand, they were all ſent upon; and even, beyond Expectation. For, as to the Squadron in the *Weſt-Indies*; it has not only protected the Trade of His Majeſty's Subjects in thoſe Parts from the Depredations of the *Spaniards*; but alſo the *Galeons* with their Stores of Money, the *Strength* of the *New Alliance*, and the *Life* of all the *Projects* concerted in it, are kept back: and thoſe *Attempts* diſappointed which would have been made, and perhaps ſucceeded, had ſuch *Riches* come to their Aid. The Execution of the Schemes laid in *Spain* for an Invaſion of *Great-Britain*, in Favour of the *Pretender*, was, at that Time, prevented by the Appearance of a *Britiſh* Fleet upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſts: and all the Evils and Diſorders, as well as Expence, avoided, which an Attack of that Sort muſt have occaſioned, even ſuppoſing it repulſed from hence; and the utter Ruin and Deſtruction, that muſt have enſued, had it ſucceeded. And by the Squadron in the *Baltick*, the *Czarina's* whole Force of Ships and Galleys was kept in, within the Bounds of Safety to *themſelves* and their *Neighbours*; Her deſtructive Deſigns againſt *Sweden*, with all their ill Conſequences to *Britain* and to other Countries of *Europe*, prevented from *Execution* in every Inſtance: and, after all the boaſted Strength of the *Ships* and *Seamen* in the Service of that *Crown*, *Ruſſia* itſelf, and all *Europe* convinced, that *twenty Britiſh* Men of *War* can, upon any Occaſion, make them diſappear as if they were not, and ſhelter themſelves in their own Ports as if they had no Views but thoſe of Quiet and Security.

But here is the great Advantage to *Thoſe* who make ſuch *Enquiries* as theſe we have been now conſidering, without a Diſpoſition to be ſatisfied: That *Evils* prevented, go for no *Evils*; and becauſe they were not viſibly perceived by our Eyes, nor ſenſibly felt by our Nerves, before we find them at a greater Diſtance from us, therefore, They who are in the Diſpoſition of *Satyr* (ſo much eaſier than *Praiſe*) will propably think themſelves at *Liberty* to deny this *Freedom* from ſuch *Evils* to be at all the Effect of the Meaſures taken; and to perſiſt in it, that no ſuch Evils would have come, or could have been juſtly feared, if theſe Methods had not been taken. And in this Manner, I own, They may talk for ever againſt all poſſible Light; if the whole *Scene* which I have, in the former Part of theſe Papers, laid before them, be not of Force enough to work another Perſwaſion in them. Yet, *one* Thing, I will affirm, " That we, and " other Nations are, at preſent, actually free from the *Evils* and *Attempts* I " have mentioned, *ſince* theſe *vigorous Meaſures* have ſhewed themſelves in the " View of *Europe*; and that They themſelves cannot ſay it was *certain*, (as " others will not ſay, it was in the leaſt *probable)* that We ſhould have been free " from thoſe Evils and thoſe Attempts, had *not* theſe *Meaſures* been taken."

Thus therefore, ſtands the Affair of theſe *three Squadrons*. They were ſent upon Deſigns of the laſt Conſequence, and exceedingly Honourable, to *Great Britain:* And they have had the Succeſs of fully anſwering the Ends propoſed.

It was not, we ſee, to aſſert the *Sovereignty* of the *Seas*, merely by ſhewing themſelves in ſeveral Parts of the World in a *Form* ſuperior to that of other Nations, that theſe *Armaments* were fitted out. The aſſerting our *Sovereignty* of the *Seas*, as a *Point* of mere *Speculation*, at a great Expence, and without any other View, may, perhaps, be a Subject fit for Men of Wit to be pleaſant with, and to entertain themſelves and their Friends upon. But to aſſert the *Sovereignty* of the *Seas*, as a *Point* of *Action*, upon a juſt Occaſion:—To ſhew this *Sovereignty* in the Sight of thoſe Nations, who are making their own Strength at *Sea* the Inſtrument of Ruine to their Neighbours:—To ſhew it, in Oppoſition to thoſe *Nations* who are contriving to convey Miſchief to ourſelves, and Aſſiſtance to our Enemies, by the Sea itſelf:—If *this* be not the proper Buſineſs, and the peculiar Glory of *Britain*, as the *greateſt Maritime Power* now in *Europe*; then our *Navy* is itſelf a *Ridicule* upon ourſelves; an Oſtentation only, kept up at a vaſt Expence; and a Piece of *Vanity*, unworthy of a *Grave* and *Wiſe* Nation. But no more upon this Part of the Subject.

Another *Queſtion* will be aſked, What has been, and muſt be, *our Expence* upon this Occaſion? And it will be added, Are *we* alone to bear ſuch Burthens, without a Proportion of *Expence* from thoſe who are our *Allies:* whilſt *Thoſe* whom we are oppoſing, ſeem to be at little, or none at all? To the firſt Branch of this *Queſtion, What is our Expence?* It is certainly enough to anſwer in General, Let it be what it will; if it be neceſſary for *our own* Security, and that of *Europe*; if it be incurred for the preventing the greateſt *Evils*, and as the *only Means* of procuring a better State of Things: it may juſtly be ſaid, to be not at all comparable to the Neceſſity for it; not to be put in the *Balance* againſt the *Miſchiefs* which might have ariſen from the Want of it; and very much beneath the *Good* which has and will come from it. The whole Point to every *true Briton* is, Whether it was neceſſary, fitting, and reaſonable:—They that think it *certainly* ſo, and They that think it *probably* ſo, muſt be pleaſed with it. They that think it a mere Piece of *Gaiety* in Thoſe who preſide; or an haſty Blunder in the Dark; will have other Reſentments about it: But they muſt firſt *think* them *mere Mad-men*, or *mere Idiots*, before they can come to this. In the mean Time, till ſomething of this Sort appears, we cannot but think, That, if the attempting to guard ourſelves and our Neighbours from very great and comprehenſive *Evils*, be laudable; and if the preventing the Beginnings of thoſe *Evils* can make an *Expence* neceſſary, fitting, and reaſonable; then the *Expence* upon the preſent Occaſion is certainly ſo.

But as this in general is Satisfaction enough, of whatever Sort or Degree the Expence is; provided it be a *leſſer Evil* than what it has hitherto kept off: ſo it will not be diſagreeable to remark, That the *Expence* upon theſe *Naval Armaments* is of ſuch a Nature, and accompanied with ſuch *Circumſtances*, as to make it much the more tolerable in the Eyes of every *Briton.* The Expence is chiefly an Expence amongſt ourſelves; and ſuch as only circulates Money from one Hand to another. The Victualling ſo many Ships is the Advantage of our own *Farmers* and *Graziers.* The Rigging out and equipping them, gives Money to our own Builders and Workmen. The putting them into Motion when they are ſo repaired, is known to be of Service to the Ships themſelves: which otherwiſe lie ſtill, and often receive ſuch Damage, as at the End it coſts more to rectify. The Employing ſo many Seamen is ſtill employing *our own* Subjects; and giving our Money to our own Countrymen: beſides the great future Benefit ariſing from this Neceſſity itſelf; as they are kept in Action by it, and inured to the Service of their *Country*, and the more fit to defend it upon all Occaſions to come. So that the *Expence* of our Naval *Defence*, which is the true and natural *Defence* of *Britain*; though it, indeed, muſt be a *Burthen* to *thoſe* who pay towards it, as *all Payments are:* yet it is a Burthen with this Advantage to the *Publick*, that it ſends not *our Money* abroad; it loſes it not to the *Nation*; it removes it indeed out of *one* Pocket into *another*, but it is ſtill *our* Money, and remains among *ourſelves.* The *Community* and *Body* of *Subjects* taken together are not the *Poorer* for it; though the *Perſons* paying it to others, are ſo: and if it be for their own *neceſſary Defence*, and for the Safety of all the Reſt of their Poſſeſſions, All honeſt Men among them will be glad, They are ſo.

But then our Expence, though great, is not alone. The Diſpoſitions made by *France*, ever ſince the Signing of the Treaty of *Hanover*, have more than kept pace with us, in the largeneſs of the *Expence.* The firſt Step taken by the moſt *Chriſtian King* was, to augment his regular Troops with *Twenty-five Thouſand Men*; and this in ſuch a Manner, that they were preſently ready for Action upon any Occaſion. At the ſame Time he ordered a Levy of the *Militia*, to the Number of *Sixty Thouſand Men:* and appointed theſe to be commanded by the *Ancient Officers reformed* of his old *Troops*; not to mention *Twelve Thouſand Invalids*, put into good Order, and *double Officered*, for the Defence of ſuch of his *Citadels* and *Forts* as they are proper for. Theſe, and other Diſpoſitions, which have been made to put *France* into a Condition to ſupport a War, if it ſhould be neceſſary, amounted, for the laſt Year, by a certain Calculation, to fifteen hundred and ſixty thouſand Pounds Sterling; and if the *Militia* ſhould be obliged to march out of their Provinces to the Frontiers, it will amount to a far greater Sum. And by this Method it comes to paſs, That theſe ſixty thouſand *Militia*, and twelve thouſand *Invalids*, remaining in *Garriſons* and fortified Places, as the Service ſhall require; That *King* can ſend into the Field, without Inconvenience, 165,000 Men of his *Regular Troops.* Such has been for ſome Time the *Diſpoſition* there, in order to ſhew the *New* Allies, that *France* is not only in earneſt, but in a well-diſpoſed Condition of diſputing any *Attempts* againſt *itſelf*, or its *Allies.*

The *United Provinces* indeed, came but lately into the *Alliance*, from the Frame of their *Conſtitution*, naturally begetting *Delays* and prolonging their *Debates*; and not from any Want of the Senſe of their Dangers, and the Neceſſity of their acceding to the *Treaty* of *Hanover.* For from the Time of their *Acceſſion* to that *Treaty*, they have ſhewn a Warmth and Vigour worthy of the Occaſion. They have agreed unanimouſly upon ſuch Augmentations of their Land Forces, as by next Spring will make them above 50,000 effective Men: And the neceſſary Meaſures are taking for their having a Fleet at Sea of Twenty Men of War. Beſides which *Expence*, relating to theſe *Augmentations*, They have been at a very great Charge in providing their Magazines, and putting their *Barrier* and *Frontier* Places into a good Poſture of *Defence*. But whoever reads the late *Reſolutions* and *Repreſentations* of the *States General*; and ſees with how deep a Concern, and in how pathetical a Manner, they ſpeak of the *Calamities* now threatning themſelves, and the reſt of *Europe*; declaring their Ruine muſt lie at their own Door, if all *the Provinces* do not, in a Caſe of ſuch Neceſſity, conſent to act the Part of Men in a vigorous Defence of themſelves, and readily concur in "*What*, in the Opinion "of their *High Mightineſſes*, is *indiſpenſably neceſſary* to the common Safety and "Preſervation: and without which the *Well-being*, *Liberty* and *Religion* of the "*whole Republick*, will be put to the Venture." Whoever reads this, and much more ſaid and inculcated by Them with a particular Vehemence, will not think, that They are not determined to defend themſelves by all neceſſary Meaſures againſt the Dangers now hanging over their Heads.

At the ſame Time, thoſe *Powers*, which have raiſed this *Alarm*, and occaſioned this *defenſive Expence* to their *Neighbours*, cannot ſtir one Step in their own *offenſive Deſigns*, without a very conſiderable one to themſelves. His *Imperial Majeſty*, beſides the many Promiſes of another Sort, which He has beſtowed around Him, has entered into *real Obligations* which cannot be performed but at a very great Expence. To the *Elector* of *Cologne* he has engaged to pay 600,000 *German* Florins a Year, for two Years; to the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, the ſame; to the *Elector Palatine* and of *Treves* the ſame; and to the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle* 200,000 Florins; beſides what is ſtipulated to others. Add to theſe his own great *Expences*, in recruiting and in refitting his whole Army, and preparing every thing of all Sorts, neceſſary for *Action*: An *Expence* in the whole ſo great! that nothing but the vaſt Advantages it is to receive from his new Alliance, and the Expectation of *Remittances* from *Spain*, could have induced him to think of it. And what then muſt the Expence of *Spain* be; which has not only its own *Army* to put in Order and augment; not only its own Towns and Coaſts to guard; but the Emperor's Demands to anſwer? And what a *State* of things muſt the Neceſſities of *Spain* itſelf, together with the *Demands* of the *Emperor*, bring that *King* and his *Country* into; even if his *Flota* with its uſual *Cargo* of *Money* ſhould come Home ſafe: when it is well known, that, *before* theſe *new Expences*, (the Effect of the *New Alliance)* all the *Civil* and *Military* Officers belonging to that *Crown*, and their whole Army, were in great *Arrears*; and all the *Royal* Revenues anticipated for a Year and a Half; and that the *whole Nation* was in a State of very great Poverty and Diſtreſs? And if ſuch immenſe *Expences* can be run into with *Zeal*, for the Injury and Oppreſſion of other Countries: ſurely, an Expence, much ſmaller in itſelf; and directed ſolely to the Defence and *Preſervation* of *ourſelves* in the *Rights* and *Properties* we are juſtly in Poſſeſſion of, cannot be thought unworthy of the *Britiſh Nation*; nor unjuſtifiable in Thoſe who have already begun it, only becauſe they thought it abſolutely *neceſſary*. But ſtill *other Queſtions* ariſe upon this Subject.

It may be aſked, Could not the Court of *Great Britain* all this while have tried *other Methods*, than alarming *Europe* with *Fleets*? The Methods of a friendly *Congreſs*, or Propoſals of a more peaceable and amicable Nature? Was there no Way of proceeding, but demanding of the *Emperor*, the ſole Propriety of *Trade*; and engroſſing it to *Britain* and *Holland*: as if *other Nations* had no Right to the *World*, beſides ourſelves? In which Way of talking there is ſomething very right, and ſomething very wrong. For certainly it muſt be granted, that we ought to prepare ourſelves with Vigour to oppoſe *Injury*; as well as to be ready to propoſe, or receive, any reaſonable Methods of Accommodation. To do the *firſt*, without a Diſpoſition ſhewn to the *latter*, I acknowledge, would have been unjuſtifiable. To do the *latter* without the *firſt*, had been Weakneſs and Folly: and could have proceeded from *nothing* but a *Total Ignorance* of the plaineſt *Rules* of political Conduct; which have long ago eſtabliſhed It as a certain *Maxim*, that the beſt Way to *Peace* upon ſuch Occaſions, is with the *Sword* prepared for the Day of Neceſſity; and that thoſe *Powers*, who can ſuffer themſelves to invade or demand the *Rights* of *others*, will laugh at all Accommodations offered, when they ſee them unaccompanied with ſuch *Appearances* as ſhew the *Reſolution* of Thoſe others to defend their *Rights* by *Force*, if Reaſon cannot prevail.

I anſwer therefore, to *theſe* and the like *Queſtions*. 1. It never could have been juſtified, in the Court of *Great-Britain*, to have made *Propoſals* of *Accommodation*, without the moſt *vigorous* Meaſures taken, which alone could make them effectual. 2. In ſome of the *Pretences* and *Demands* of this *new Alliance*, no Equivalent, no Accommodation, could be propoſed. In the *Caſe* of the Demand of *Gibraltar*; whilſt the *Nation* ſeems univerſally to concur, that no Sum of Money, nor any other Place of Strength abroad, can be any *Equivalent* to it: what could be propoſed, but a *Reſolution* to defend the *Nation* in its juſt *Poſſeſſion* of it; eſpecially, ſince the whole preſent Conduct of *Spain* may aſſure us, by a freſh Evidence, that it is of the utmoſt Importance; and that, if that Place were once gone out of our Hands, we ſhould have ſtill leſs Hope of ſeeing Treaties obſerved, or of hindering ourſelves from being more and more injured, on that ſide, in our *Commerce*? 3. In the *other* great Caſe, that of the *Emperor's* new Eſtabliſhment at *Oſtend*, the Court of *Great Britain* never went upon ſuch an arbitrary Maxim as, That *other Nations* ought not to be permitted to begin and extend their *Commerce* wherever they *rightfully* could, as well as *ourſelves*; or that *we* had any Right to oppoſe ſuch Attempts: But upon theſe undoubted Maxims of *Truth* and *Right*, —That *Treaties* are to be obſerved;—That, when any Country is excluded by Treaties from any particular Branch of Commerce, it is not to be authorized and ſupported in carrying on the ſaid Branches of Commerce in violation of the ſaid Treaties; and—That *thoſe Powers* which have, by repeated *Engagements*, obliged themſelves to defend and ſupport the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Trade, are juſtly to be oppoſed when they themſelves come to be the *Invaders* and *Deſtroyers* of it. Agreeably to all this, 4. As the *Court* of *Great-Britain* has taken ſuch *vigorous Meaſures* as ſhew the *Reſolution* of *Self-defence*: ſo, has it never been wanting either to propoſe, or to receive, any reaſonable Method for the Accommodation of this Matter, to the *Emperor's* Satisfaction; if He could be ſatisfied with any thing, but a *Trade* in open Contradiction to all Treaties.

In particular, It was ſufficiently intimated to the Court of *Vienna*, that the *Britiſh Court* pretended to nothing in this Affair, but to defend the *Right* of *Trade* belonging to *Britain* by *Treaties*; far from aſſuming to themſelves any Right of controlling the *Emperor*, or his Subjects, in any Attempts, not contrary to thoſe Treaties: That therefore, if the *Emperor* would remove this *Company*, and the Seat of *Trade*, now at *Oſtend*, to *Trieſte*, or any other Place in his *Dominions*, which did not heretofore belong to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; *Britain* was ready quietly to acquieſce. And the ſame was offered to the Court of *Madrid*, in the form of a *Propoſal*, when his *Catholick Majeſty* had juſt begun to eſpouſe the *Emperor's Intereſt*, in this Affair of *Oſtend*.

But though the *Court* of *Spain* not only acknowledged the Reaſonableneſs of the *Propoſal*; but made great Profeſſions of Hope that it would be accepted: yet, at the ſame Time, it was declared, That *Spain* was under Engagements to ſtand by the *Emperor*, even ſuppoſing his *unreaſonable* Refuſal of it. And at *Vienna*, the Intimation made no *Impreſſion* at all: The Reſolution there, by this appearing plainly to be, The Support of the *Oſtend Company*, and *Trade* from the *Netherlands*, againſt all *Stipulations*.

But however this ended at *Vienna* and *Madrid*; It muſt have this Effect at *London*, to convince all Perſons, that, as *no one*, either real or pretended, *Provocation* from *Britain*, gave the firſt *Occaſion* for this *new Alliance*; (one End of which was the Eſtabliſhment of the Emperor's new and unwarrantable Deſigns in *Trade*:) So, the *Court* of *Great Britain*, in the midſt of all Preparations for the *Defence* of this *Nation's* Rights, has not neglected to try *other Methods* of a *peaceable* and *amicable* Nature; but ſhewn a readineſs to do any thing, even for preſent Peace, except to give up the *Advantages*, *Rights* and *Privileges* of *Britain*, of more Importance than preſent Peace: and theſe *Advantages* founded upon Treaties; which therefore, They who preſide are obliged to guard and defend, as a ſacred *Depoſitum*, not only out of Love to their *Country* common to Them with all others, but out of *peculiar Duty* and Obligation; as they are intruſted with this *Guardianſhip* and Defence, by the *Publick*; and as an Account of this Truſt may juſtly be demanded of them.

If then, nothing reaſonable, in the Way of *Accommodation*, has been wanting on their Part; They will not eaſily be blamed, (it is to be hoped rather, they will be highly commended) for This, that They have not permitted themſelves to be miſled by any ſmooth Words without Meaning; or to be hindred from taking all neceſſary Precautions, by any *Amuſements* of *Congreſſes*, or *Embaſſies*, or *Negotiations*, only thrown in their Way to gain *Time* to others, and to loſe it to themſelves: Since it is evident, that *irreparable* and *irretrievable* Evils might have come from the not taking theſe neceſſary and timely Precautions. And were it ſo, that They had ſpent their whole Time in ſending and receiving fruitleſs Meſſages backwards and forwards, in ſuch a critical Conjuncture; we may venture to ſay, we know the Perſons who would have been the *firſt* to charge, (and very deſervedly too) the Ruine of this *Nation* upon them; and to have demanded Juſtice againſt them for ſuch a Conduct, in ſuch a Time of Danger to their Country.

And indeed, ſuppoſing this to have been the Caſe; ſuppoſing the Court of *Great Britain*, in ſuch a Situation; with ſuch repeated Advices from all Parts; with ſuch Demonſtrations of Danger from abroad, as put out of all Doubt the true Nature and Deſigns of ſo formidable an *Alliance* as that of the *Emperor* and *Spain*: I ſays ſuppoſing this Court, ſurrounded with all theſe Evidences, to have entered into *no* Meaſures of Defence with any neighbouring *States* and *Princes*; to have taken *no* Steps towards preventing the Miſchief threatened; to have ſent out *no Naval Armaments*, either to preſerve any *friendly* Powers, or to quaſh any Attempts of *others*; Who would not riſe up, and demand an Account of ſuch a Conduct from Thoſe who alone are to anſwer for it? Who would not join in ſaying, ‘Is this the *Uſage* fit to be given to a *brave* and conſidering People? Is ‘this the watchfulneſs of *Thoſe*, whoſe Duty it is to attend to every diſtant View ‘of Danger? Or, do They think ſo meanly of *us* and the *whole Nation*, that we ‘can *ſee* nothing but what we *feel*; and that we have a Senſe of *no Evil*, but what ‘is *preſent*: Or, that we are ſo made, that a *little Expence* would affright us from ‘preſerving our *all*; or, reduced to ſo *low* a Condition of Poverty, that we can‘not purchaſe or furniſh out even *Self-defence* to ourſelves? Were not other ‘*Princes* and *States* threatened by the ſame Danger; and ready to unite with us? ‘Muſt our *Fleet*, the Glory (as it is called) of this Land, lie ſtill and decay,

‘ rather than be made our Bulwark? Our *Fleet*, falſly called our *Glory*, but *indeed* ‘ our Shame, whilſt it is laid aſide as uſeleſs, at a Time when That alone ‘ might make us look too formidable in *Europe*, to be inſulted or affronted? Or, ‘ does even this *Expence*, which circulates chiefly amongſt ourſelves, appear too ‘ formidable to a *Nation* which thoſe around it *envy*, as the *Centre* of *Riches* and ‘ *Plenty?* But why do we ſpeak of *Expence?* It is this Method of *Indolence* and ‘ *Inactivity* upon ſuch an Occaſion, which muſt bring after it an *Expence* much ‘ *greater* in itſelf; and much more hazardous in its Effect; as Time ſhall add ‘ *Strength* to the *Danger* threatened: an *Expence*, which muſt *increaſe* our Debt, ‘ and at the ſame Time *diminiſh* the Hope of paying it. What Account can we ‘ give of ſuch a *Treatment* of this Nation? As we can find *none* in all the known ‘ Meaſures of *Political Prudence*; we muſt ſearch for it ſomewhere elſe.—There ‘ muſt be *ſecret Reaſons* for ſuch a Conduct; and perhaps *theſe* may lie in the ‘ *Riches* of *Spain*, ſuffered to come ſafely home, to ſtrengthen and conſolidate ‘ the moſt dangerous *Conjunction* that ever yet appeared in *Europe*.’—This and much more might juſtly be urged, upon the Suppoſition of a *negligent* and *unactive* Conduct in this *Criſis* of *Danger*. And what Reply to make to it, I profeſs I think it utterly impoſſible to tell.

But this is not the Caſe. The *Court* of *Great Britain* has acted quite another Part; and entered into *that* Method of *vigorous Self-defence*, by which alone, in all human Wiſdom, there can be the leaſt Hope of preventing or repulſing any dangerous Attempts againſt all our higheſt Concerns: and a *Method*, to which No other Principle could poſſibly have directed Thoſe who have choſen it, but *That* of an *honeſt Regard* to the *Poſſeſſions*, the *Trade*, the *Rights*, the *Well-being*, and the *Being* itſelf, of this now happy and envied Nation.

A DEFENCE OF THE ENQUIRY INTO THE REASONS of the CONDUCT of GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

Occaſioned by the PAPER publiſhed in the COUNTRY-JOURNAL or CRAFTSMAN on *Saturday*, *January* 4, 172$\frac{8}{9}$.

ABOUT two Years ago, I laid before the World *an Enquiry into the* Reaſons *of the* Conduct *of* Great Britain, with relation to the State of Affairs then in *Europe*. In writing this, I had the ſtricteſt Regard to Truth and Decency. I had no Motive to engage me in ſuch a Work, but the Importance of the Subject to my Native Country; and in the Proſecution of it, I can truly ſay, I did not ſtir one Step without being thoroughly ſatisfied of the Truth of what I aſſerted. If I have miſtaken, or miſrepreſented, any one ſingle Point, through the Whole; it muſt have proceeded from an Inadvertency or Weakneſs not always to be guarded againſt: Becauſe I am as ſure, as I am that I am now alive, that it could not procede from any wilful Deſign, or Inclination, to put any falſe Colours upon a Cauſe in which the whole Nation was ſo deeply intereſted. I could not think it unbecoming any Member of a Society, let his peculiar Profeſſion be what it will, to be ſollicitous to have Satisfaction Himſelf about the Deareſt Intereſts of that Society; or, afterwards, to lay before Others what He ſincerely thought He had found to be the *State* of their Caſe. If this be a Crime, I own myſelf guilty; and to have deſerved the Uſage I have met with.

In the *Manner* of repreſenting to the World what appeared plain to me, I pleaſed myſelf with the thought that I had preſerved a Temper which at leaſt could not offend any *Engliſh Gentleman*, how different ſoever his Sentiments might be from mine. I entered not into paſt Scenes of Action; I reproached no One of Thoſe who ever had Power in this Nation at any Period of Time heretofore. I reviled no *Dead* Miniſters; nor flattered any *Living*. To do the *One* I eſteemed inglorious; and the *Other*, baſe and ſervile. Let their *Deeds* only, *praiſe* or *diſpraiſe* Them; is, as I think, the Right Rule to go by.

What then is it I have done? To expreſs it in a very few Words—I ſhewed that the *Vienna Treaties* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, were entered into for Purpoſes of the Worſt Conſequence to Ourſelves and other Nations of *Europe*: That ſuch a *Conjunction*, to ſuch Purpoſes, ought to be guarded againſt; and that the Meaſures *Great Britain* had *then* taken; the Alliances *then* entered into; the ſending out Fleets, and preparing Forces to act in Conſequence of ſuch *Alliances*; were juſt and prudent upon this Occaſion. Could it poſſibly be imagined that this Attempt ſhould meet with the Returns it has, from ſome Perſons? But ſo it is. The perſonal Severities upon the *Author*, were preſently ſuch, as I believe, can hardly be equalled. I willingly paſs them over. The Manner of Writing, and the Style, were the Subject of much Wit and Pleaſantry. This too is of ſmall Importance. Nor ſhall I attempt to leſſen the Satisfaction any Perſons may have, in their own *better* Manner of writing, or their mean Opinion of mine. My Buſineſs was, in a plain Way, to convey to the Underſtanding of others, what was Evident to my own. If I did this, I had my End. I eaſily leave it to *Others*, to write better. It never hurts me at all; but always gives me a ſenſible Pleaſure. This therefore, I am little concerned about. Let the Book be *Dull* and *Languid:* Yet, in Fact, it awakened Multitudes out of a Dull and Languid State, into Life and Vigour. Let it be Heavy, as *Sleep* itſelf: Yet, it was not found to *procure Slumbers* either to thoſe who liked it, or to thoſe who diſliked it. Let it be as *mean* and *deſpicable*, as it has been pronounced: yet, more than once, the ſame Mouths that pronounced it ſo, have expreſſed in Print their earneſt Deſire that ſome *able Hand* would Anſwer it. But too much of this.

The only Points of Importance are, Whether the *Facts* I have alledged *there*, are *True*, or not: And, whether my *Reaſonings* from Them are juſt and concluſive; or not. With Regard to *Facts*; if I were ſenſible that I had in any one Inſtance affirmed what is *Not True*; I ſhould eſteem myſelf obliged to be the Firſt to undeceive Any of Thoſe whom I had unwillingly led into a Miſtake. With regard to *Reaſonings*; There will often be a Difference amongſt Perſons who honeſtly mean the ſame Good to their Country. On one Side or the other, in ſuch Caſes, there muſt be an Error. And in all intricate Caſes; and particularly in all *Political* Tranſactions, which are ever capable of various Turns in the Minds of Men, no wiſe or Good-natured Man will wonder at ſuch Difference of Opinion; and no Honeſt Man can do any thing more, but receive Light when it offers itſelf to his Eyes; and alter his Opinion, upon ſufficient new Evidence laid before him.

I have long waited for ſomething of this Sort relating to the *Great Points* in the *Enquiry*; reſolved hitherto, to be ſilent under *perſonal*, or *little* Imputations; but thinking it my Duty to anſwer, when the *main Facts* or *Reaſonings* in that Treatiſe ſhould be attaqued with any Appearance of Strength. At length, I find a very elaborate Piece, printed in one of the *Weekly Papers*, on *Saturday* Jan. 4, 172$\frac{8}{9}$, in which We may expect the Strength of what can be ſaid. It comes from a Perſon, who appears Not to be a Stranger to the Conteſts and Intereſts of the *Princes* of *Europe*. And I like it much the better for this; becauſe I am now ſure, as far as I am concerned, I ſhall be inſtructed in ſo maſterly a Manner, as to leave me inexcuſable, if I do not yield myſelf captive to ſuch Inſtruction; or give the ſtrongeſt Reaſons, why I do not. But before I begin to examine, I muſt beg Leave to premiſe, that I ſhall take Notice of Nothing in this Piece but what is of Weight, and what concerns *Myſelf*, and the Cauſe in which I appeared before.

In the Proſecution of my Deſign, I will, agreeably to what this Gentleman directs, go no farther back than to the King of *Spain's Acceſſion* to the *Quadruple Alliance*. I will juſt ſtate the Caſe, as I did in the *Enquiry:* And the rather, becauſe many Perſons ſeem to have forgot the principal Facts and Reaſonings, upon which the Strength of all that can be ſaid muſt be founded. I will take a ſhort Notice of what has followed ſince the Date of that Book. I will then faithfully repreſent and conſider what this *Gentleman* has advanced, either againſt any thing in which I can be ſuppoſed to be concerned; or upon any *Subject* of *Debate* which appears to me to be of Importance.

The King of *Spain* acceded to the *Quadruple Alliance*, Jan. 20, *N. S.* 1720, into which the *Emperour* had before entered. By an expreſs Article of that Alliance, theſe two Powers had engaged themſelves to refer their remaining Differences to a *Congreſs*, under the *Mediation* of *Great Britain* and *France*. In the Midſt of this Congreſs, and whilſt ſome Differences were very hotly agitated between theſe two Princes, relating to the Pretenſions of the Duke of *Parma*, which the Mediators were attempting with all their Skill and Temper to make up; Without the leaſt Provocation, on the Part of the *Mediators*, the King of *Spain* ſent a Miniſter clandeſtinely to *Vienna*; who there entered into, and perfected, Treaties of Peace and Commerce with the Emperor, in Violation of the *Quadruple Alliance*, and of the Honour of the Mediating Powers.

This juſtly alarmed the two Courts of *Great Britain* and *France*. They preſently diſcovered the Nature and pernicious Conſequences of this *Peace* thus concluded; and of a *Treaty* of *Commerce* plainly founded upon the Violation of former Treaties of Commerce, and threatning Ruine to the Trade of *Great Britain* to the *Indies*, hitherto enjoyed excluſively of the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, under all the Sanctions that Princes and States can give to one another. And they were not long unapprized of Other, more ſecret, Engagements between the two Powers of *Germany* and *Spain*.

The Courts of *Britain* and *France* therefore, upon this ſudden and unexpected Turn of Affairs, renewed their former Treaties with one another; entered into freſh Engagements for their mutual Defence; and thought it Time to provide ſeriouſly for their own Preſervation, by a *New Alliance*, which was ſigned in Form at *Hanover*, September 3*d*, 1725. They then invited other Powers into this Alliance. The *United Provinces* evidently ſaw the Ruine of their whole Trade, and of their whole Republick (which depends upon that Trade) to be inevitable, if the new Treaty of *Commerce* entered into at *Vienna*, ſhould be put in Execution. And accordingly, They acceded to the *Hanover Alliance*: [As afterwards the Kingdom of *Sweden* did.] In Proſecution of the Great End of this *Alliance*, Squadrons of Ships were ſent out to ſeveral Parts of the World: New Levies of Soldiers were made: and every thing prepared for open War; if reaſonable Propoſitions of Accommodation ſhould not be liſtened to by Thoſe who had broke in upon the Rights of their Neighbours, eſtabliſhed by repeated Conventions and Treaties. This was thought a more prudent Method, than to come immediately to the laſt Extremities: Which, it would afterwards be ſaid, might have been prevented, had a little Patience been applied to the Evil; and a little Time allowed to the Allies of *Vienna* to conſider the Conſequences of Things. Thus Things ſtood at the Time the *Enquiry* was publiſhed.

As theſe Preparations went on, it ſoon appeared plainly to the World, what the Nature of the *Vienna-alliance* was. For, though the Right of *Great Britain* to *Gibraltar* was founded upon Treaties ſigned by his *Catholick* Majeſty himſelf; Yet, in Defiance of ſuch Obligations, This was made the firſt Handle for an open Rupture; and *Gibraltar* was in Form beſieged. It became neceſſary therefore, to ſend a ſufficient Supply of Troops, and all Warlike Stores, for the Defence of a Place thus violently attacked; and a ſtrong Fleet to act, as Occaſion ſhould require, in thoſe Parts.

Upon theſe undiſguiſed Proceedings of *Spain*, which were owing to the *Vienna-alliance*, the Allies of *Hanover* found themſelves obliged to think more in Earneſt of every thing neceſſary to their mutual Defence. But at the ſame Time they did not abate of their ſincere Efforts for a Reaſonable Accommodation. Plans were formed for this Purpoſe; and *Preliminary Articles* drawn up, agreeably to the

the Sentiments of *Great Britain*, *France*, the *Emperor*, and the *States-General*: *Spain* ſtill ſhewing a Backwardneſs to comply with what ſeemed ſatisfactory to all the other Powers concerned; and continuing to act the Part of an *Enemy*. The *Meaſures* therefore entered into, did not produce ſo much Good, nor ſo ſoon, as might reaſonably have been expected: And all Men muſt judge to whoſe Account this is to be charged. But then, We muſt not forget, what their immediate good Effects were. Their preventing the Execution of the worſt Deſigns againſt Ourſelves; The Protection and Encouragement given by them to thoſe Powers abroad, whoſe Preſervation nearly touches our own National Intereſt: And the like. But at length, they operated farther; and produced what was the main Thing aimed at by them, *viz.* a ſufficient *Baſis* for a *General Pacification*; and what muſt and would in Fact have proved ſo before this Time, had not the Conduct of *Spain*, which could not be foreſeen, prevented the natural and effectual Operation of Things. I mean that theſe Meaſures, after ſome Delays, produced and effected the *ſigning* of ſuch *Preliminaries*, as in their plain literal Senſe, and in that Senſe of which alone they are capable, contain in them the principal Points aimed at by *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Holland*, with Regard to their *Intereſts*, *Trade*, and *Poſſeſſions*; and conſequently, a ſolid and juſt Foundation for the reſetling the Peace of *Europe*, as it ſtood before theſe laſt Quarrels began.

Theſe *Preliminary* Articles for a general *Pacification*, were ſigned *May* $\frac{10}{30}$, 1727, at *Paris*, by the Miniſters of *Great Britain*, *France*, the *Emperor*, and the *States General*; as they were ſoon afterwards at *Vienna* by the Miniſter of *Spain*. And they were in due Time, ratified by the *Emperor*, the Kings of *Great Britain* and *France*; and by the *States General*. But, on the Part of the King of *Spain*, Difficulties began ſoon to be ſtarted; and ſuch Interpretations to be put upon the Words of theſe Articles, as utterly deſtroyed the real Intent and Deſign of them.

The *Two Points* inſiſted on, by the King of *Spain*, were, "That the Preliminary Articles, ſigned by his Miniſters, did not oblige him to raiſe the Siege "of *Gibraltar* intirely: And, that the South-Sea Ship, with her *Cargo*, could "not of Right be now demanded upon the Foot of theſe Articles." And with relation to theſe *Two* Points, it being declared, That his *Catholick Majeſty* inſiſted upon his own Explications; it became impoſſible for the King of *Great Britain* to accept of a *Ratification* founded upon ſuch an Interpretation, as would turn the *Articles* ſigned into *Articles* of Advantage only to thoſe who had attacked the Trade and Poſſeſſions of his Subjects; but of very great and ſenſible Damage to his own People.

Here then once more we ſee a Stop was put to the happy Procedure of Affairs, by the *Court* of *Spain*. It took up ſome Time to get rid of this Difficulty. But in the mean while, effectual Care was taken that our Fleet ſhould not leave *Porto-Bello*, till the *Preliminaries* ſhould be ratified by the *King* of *Spain*, in their true and full Meaning. Finding therefore no Hopes of the Return of the *Galleons*, upon any other Foot than the plain Execution of his Part in the *Preliminary Articles*; He at length conſented that, according to the plain Meaning of the *fifth Article* of the *Preliminaries*, *all Hoſtilities of whatſoever ſort*, ſhould ceaſe; and that in Conſequence of the third *Article*, which reſtores *Commerce* upon the Foot of Treaties antecedent to the Year 1725, the Ship *Prince Frederick*, and its Effects, ſhould be reſtored according to the *Aſſiento-treaty*. Accordingly, He ratified the *Articles*; He put an End to all hoſtile Appearances before *Gibraltar*; He ſent Orders to the *Weſt-Indies* for the Reſtitution of the *South-Sea Ship*, with her *Cargo*:

And, in Conſequence of the ſame *Articles*, Orders were diſpatched from hence for the *Britiſh Fleet* to leave thoſe Parts, and return Home. Thus far, by Degrees, the *Meaſures* taken by *Great Britain*, had brought Affairs, at the Beginning of this Year 1728. All Appearances of War, by univerſal Conſent, were removed: The *Oſtend-trade* renounced by the Emperor for ſeven Years: Every *Right* and *Poſſeſſion* belonging to any of the Powers concerned, put upon the ſame Foot upon which Things ſtood according to the *Treaties* in force before this Rupture: And a *Congreſs* agreed to, not to diſpute Points ſetled in theſe *Preliminaries*; but to adjuſt Diſputes, and Matters of leſſer Conſideration; and to proceed ſtill farther in the eſtabliſhing of the *Peace* of *Europe.* Certainly, this is ſomething. Here are *Preliminary Articles*, ſigned and *ratified*, which muſt be of Force for *ſome Years*; unleſs any of the Powers concerned, againſt their own *Stipulations*, break into them; or refuſe to let them have their natural and propoſed Effect. And in Conſequence of theſe *Preliminary Articles*, a Congreſs was appointed: And in this Congreſs, a *Proviſional Treaty*, for ſecuring and extending a *General Pacification* was drawn up; of which a Copy was ſoon printed in one of our *News-papers*; and ſince that, reprinted in a *Treatiſe* entitled *Obſervations* upon the *Conduct* of *Great Britain*, &c. which gives a full Account of it: And this *Treaty* now waits the *Reſolution* of the *Courts* of *Vienna* and *Spain.* This is the preſent State of the *Affair*, conducted thus far by the *Patience* of *Some* bearing with the *Delays* of *Others*; not without Inconveniencies (it muſt be owned) attending ſuch a State of Uncertainty, and naturally creating Uneaſineſs in the Breaſts of an Active and Brave Nation. Theſe Inconveniencies being preſent and felt, make many apt to think that *another* and better Method might have been choſen; of which not feeling the *Effects* at preſent, they judge the more favourably. But however They may judge of What They do not feel; This is Evident, That the *Meaſures* entered into by *Great Britain*, have hitherto put a Stop to the Effect of the *Vienna Alliance*, in its Deſign very deſtructive to our Poſſeſſions; and to *our Trade*, as well as that of the *Dutch*; have prevented the Return of the *Galleons*, till ſuch *Preliminary Articles* were ſigned and ratified, as put Affairs into their former Condition; and have in Conſequence of them procured a *Congreſs*, in which a *Proviſional Treaty* has been drawn up for a *General Pacification.*

Having juſt recapitulated what I had before ſaid, and brought our Affairs down to their preſent State; I muſt now conſider what has been advanced on the contrary Side, and particularly in the *Paper* I have now mentioned.

The firſt Thing I muſt take Notice of, is the Turn this *Writer* has given to the very Beginning of this whole Scene; I mean the *Vienna Alliance.* In the *Enquiry*, p. 401, an Argument is formed, not from Surmiſes, or mere Imagination, but from *Dates* and *Facts*; that the ſending back the *Infanta* from *France*, and the *King* of *Great Britain's* Refuſal of the *ſole Mediation* at *Cambray*, could not poſſibly be the Grounds of that Tranſaction. Upon this Subject, I think, this Writer has produced every thing that could be ſaid. The Sum of it, in his own Words, is, "That from the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*, and about "a *Year* at leaſt before the *Vienna-treaty* was concluded, the *Spaniſh Miniſters* "were full of FEARS and JEALOUSIES about the compleating the *Infanta's* Marriage with the *King* of *France.*" And again, as poſitively as if he had known it to be ſo, "The *Spaniards* began to treat at *Vienna*, that They "might prepare for the worſt: And they delayed concluding their Treaty, till "what they feared happened." And again, "As ſending back the *Infanta*

" was the certain and immediate Cauſe of throwing *Spain* into the Arms of the " *Emperor*; ſo, our Refuſal of the ſole Mediation, may juſtly be deemed an " *Acceſſary* Cauſe of it." And upon this *Article* of the *Mediation*, we are entertained with a Variety of Suppoſitions, and are let to underſtand, how good a Game *Britain* might have played at *Madrid*, had this *ſole Mediation* been accepted: And all urged with great Earneſtneſs. But let us now Anſwer, or yield.

It would be a full and ſufficient Reply to all this, to frame a *Scheme* on the other Side; and to oppoſe *Suppoſition* to *Suppoſition*; and *one* arbitrary Interpretation of Appearances to *another*. I will ſay then, (deny it who can) that *France* and *Great Britain* knew of *Ripperda's* leaving *Madrid*, to go to *Vienna* in order to treat; that they knew the very Time of his Arrival there; the clandeſtine Manner of his acting; the feigned Name he went by; the Reſolution taken by the *Court* of *Spain* to enter into Meaſures with the *Emperor*, and to act there without the Mediation of *France* and *Britain*, or of either of them: That this was the greateſt Affront which could be put upon the Crown of *France*, as well as of *Great-Britain*. I will go on, and from my own Invention, will add that, Moved by this *Affront*, which preceded, in Time, the Reſolution about the *Infanta*; the *Court* of *France* could not think fit to ſubmit to the Inconveniencies of the *Spaniſh* Match, for the Sake of a *Court*, which was now deeply engaged in a Project of a greater and ſtricter Alliance with the powerful and inveterate Enemy of *France*: And upon this I will affirm, that the Reſolution of ſending back the *Infanta* from *France*, was occaſioned by the certain Knowledge of the *Tranſactions* between the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna*, which were in great Forwardneſs, before this Reſolution of *France* was ſent to *Madrid*. I will uſe the ſame Sort of Expreſſion I have now quoted. " The *French* delayed giving a " poſitive Anſwer about the *Fiançailles*, till they could be certain, the *Negocia-* " *tions* at *Vienna* were going on in Earneſt. As ſoon as they knew that, they " ſent their Reſolution about the *Infanta* to *Madrid*." And what End of *Debates*; or what *Volumes* may we not write, if *Fancy* be indulged in this Manner? But would not any Man of Senſe think it more than ſufficient to anſwer to all this, that though It may ſeem plauſible, yet it is plainly groundleſs, becauſe the *Court* of *France* never once hinted at *this Affront* of a *Negociation* ſet on foot at *Vienna*, as the leaſt Inducement to that Step of ſending back the *Infanta*, when there was moſt Occaſion for ſome Excuſe to ſoften the Court of *Spain*. ' It is *Reaſon of State*, in his own Words, and not *Paſſion*, which governs in ' theſe Caſes.'

In the *Caſe* of the *ſole Mediation* indeed, It might *ſeriouſly* be ſaid, that the certain Knowledge of the Negotiations going on at *Vienna*, furniſhed one juſt Reaſon to the King of *Great Britain* to decline an *Offer* which he could not but know from thence, was a mere Piece of Mockery; at beſt only contrived to divide *Him* from *France*, whilſt *Spain* was making ſure of the *Emperor*. And without this, a Due Regard to his Alliance with *France*, and particularly to the *Quadruple Alliance*, by which he was conſtituted Joint-mediator with th emoſt *Chriſtian King*; will ever be thought Juſt Reaſons againſt accepting the *ſole Mediation*, by All who do not think the *Breach* of *Faith*, and the Violation of Treaties, Matters of no Concern. And this Writer himſelf ſeems ſenſible of this, by his attempting to ſhew, that the Acceptance of this *ſole Mediation* by *Britain*, could not but be extreamly acceptable to *France* itſelf; againſt the moſt publick Facts, and the plaineſt Appearances. To all which it is enough to anſwer, that as *France* knew better than He can, what was, or was not, at that

Time agreeable to *France:* So *Spain* knew better than *He* can, what were, and what were not, the real Motives to *Spain* for entering into ſuch Negotiations at *Vienna*.

I now therefore go on, and obſerve that the *Court* of *Spain* never, in any *Memorial* ſent to our Court, or in any *Audience* given to our *Embaſſador* at *Madrid*, ſo much as mentioned this *Affront* from *France*, as any Inducement to the Tranſaction at *Vienna*; or any the leaſt Excuſe for it. And how indeed could it have been done, at all Conſiſtently with Other Declarations made to Mr. *Stanhope* at *Madrid*, and with thoſe made at *London*; *viz.* “ That Nothing had “ been done at *Vienna*, but upon the Foot of the *Quadruple Alliance*; Nothing “ againſt any former Treaties; Nothing that could juſtly offend any of the “ Allies; Nothing in ſhort that wanted any Excuſe.” Violent Paſſions indeed were ſtirred up at *Madrid*, and exerted themſelves openly, at the coming of the Reſolution from *France*. This ſhews that it was not ſo certainly expected there, as this *Gentleman* thinks. But at the ſame Time there was too much Senſe mixed with this Anger, to ſuffer ſuch an Inconſiſtency to come out, as the making This the *Motive* to what had been long before ſet on Foot. And then, as to the King of *Great Britain's* Refuſal of the *ſole Mediation*, the King of *Spain* did not only not once complain of this; or lay any Part of his Proceedings upon it; but declared to Mr. *Stanhope* that there was Reaſon in what was urged for His Majeſty's *declining it*; and that it ſhould never make the leaſt Alteration in his Regards to *Great Britain*. So that here we have on one Hand, effectual Proof from the Court of *Spain* itſelf, that they did not look upon the *Affront* from *France*, ſo much as fit to be mentioned as an Excuſe or Pretence for their Tranſaction at *Vienna*; or upon the King of *Great Britain's* Refuſal of the *ſole Mediation*, as having any Part in it: And on the other Hand, the luxuriant Fancy of a *Gentleman*, furniſhing Motives and Reaſons for *Spain*, which *Spain* itſelf was always aſhamed to make uſe of.

Beſides, ſo great a Maſter in *Politicks*, as this Writer, muſt know, that *Princes* do not enter ſo heartily into ſuch clandeſtine *Negociations* as this, upon mere *Suſpicion* or *Fear* that ſomething *may* be done by another Power: which may afterwards ſerve for an Excuſe for it. Yet the Light this Writer has placed the *Vienna-alliance* in, is this. It was *feared* that ſomething would one Day be done, which the *Spaniards* could make an Apology for their Proceedings. Therefore, they agreed with the *Emperor* upon every Thing they had in view: but did not (ſays he) execute their Agreements *till what they feared happened*. Now, it appears that, as the Treaty of Peace was *agreed to*, at *Vienna*, *before what Spain* feared from *France* was known at *Vienna* to have happened; ſo, it was *ſigned* before the *Refuſal* of *Britain* could be known there. True, he ſays, “ *Not known* “ at *Vienna*, *in Form*, at that Time: But, the *Certain Knowledge* of the *Refuſal* “ of the *Mediation* might be arrived there by that Time; nay, the *Treaty* might “ be ſigned upon this Knowledge, by virtue of Inſtructions given with this “ *Contingency* ſpecified in them.” It *might be* ſo, He ſays. And therefore, I think it evident, He means the *Reader* ſhould conclude, *It was* ſo. For, though He carries it not ſo far, in this Paſſage; yet, He afterwards makes an *Apology* for *Spain*, from this *Refuſal*, which, according to his own Notions of the Affair, cannot be an *Apology*, unleſs He himſelf believes, and would lead others to conclude, that the *Certain Knowledge* of this *Refuſal* actually came to *Vienna*, BEFORE the *ſigning* of the Treaty; and that the *Inſtructions* by which the *Spaniſh Miniſter* was then to act, *had* this *Contingency* ſpecified in them: Of the *Certainty* or *Probability* of which, there is *no Proof*; but the *Bare Poſſibility* here inſiſted on.

If this be the Strength of the *Apology*; I think it enough to ſay, That, according to all the Rules of judging in ſuch Caſes, it is plain, That if the *Refuſal* of the *ſole Mediation* had been One of the Cauſes of this *Tranſaction*, and to be owned as ſuch; the *Miniſter* of *Spain* would have been inſtructed to deferr *ſigning* at *Vienna*, till the *Intelligence* of this *Fact* ſhould come to Him, by *Authority* and in *Form*. The Delay of a *very few* Days would have been compenſated by ſome little *Grace* this would have added to the *Apology*.

I will now go farther, and ſuppoſe much more than this *Gentleman* himſelf has ſuppoſed: That the *ſending back* the *Infanta*, and the *Reſolution* not to accept the *ſole Mediation*, had both in *form* arrived at *Madrid*, before *Ripperda* was ſent from thence. And I ſay, even upon this large Suppoſition, theſe two Facts could not really have been, and would not have been pretended to have been, the Motives of what was afterwards done at *Vienna*. I grant that the *Former* of theſe might have raiſed a preſent *Reſentment* againſt *France*. I grant that the *latter* might have yielded a Pretence for ſaying that *Spain* was left without any Friend at *Cambray*; if it had been reſolved by *Spain* to break with *France*, upon that *Affront*. But in the Light in which the Court of *Spain* itſelf ſaw this *Refuſal*, of the *ſole Mediation*, when it did come; it never was pretended to be an *Affront*, or *Injury*, but indeed acknowledged to be a reaſonable Proceeding. This being ſuppoſed the Caſe; what follows? The Court of *Spain*, I will not deny, might, by ſuch Circumſtances, be induced to try what honourable Terms the *Emperor* would come to; without hurting the Intereſts of thoſe who never had hurt them. But let us ſee what an excellent Argument *this* would be for *Spain* to uſe. "*France* has affronted us: Therefore, we will enter into a Treaty with the "*Emperor*, not to hurt *France* principally, but to hurt *Holland*, which has "never offended us, in the moſt important Branches of Trade; and to injure "*Britain*, from which we have received no Affront or Offence, both in its *Trade*, "and *Poſſeſſions*." Much more, let us obſerve how this Argument would become the *Emperor*, without whoſe Concurrence *Spain* could have done nothing at *Vienna*. "*France* has affronted *Spain*: Therefore, the *Emperor*, who is not "affronted, enters into a *Treaty* with *Spain*, to the great Prejudice of the *Dutch*, "and *Engliſh*, who had no part in this Affront to *Spain*, and *never* injured the "*Emperor*." But it ſeems, not a Word is to be ſaid for his *Imperial Majeſty*: And yet the *Vienna-treaty* can never be juſtified, or excuſed; unleſs the *Emperor*, as well as the *King* of *Spain*, can be juſtified, or excuſed. In ſhort, my Intent in the Suppoſition I have made, was to ſhew, That putting the Caſe of the *Infanta* as high as poſſible, on the Side of *Spain*; it could not have been the *Motive*, nor would ever have been alledged as the *Motive*, to the entring into Treaties, to the great Detriment of *other Nations*, which had no Part in that Affront. Much leſs, therefore, will the *bare Suſpicion* of an Affront *to be* given ſome time or other, be of any ſuch weight: Which is all that is now under Conſideration. Let it be tried—"The *King* of *Spain* ſuſpects that *France* will "hereafter diſpleaſe and affront him by ſending back the *Infanta*: And therefore, "four Months before this appears, ſends a *Miniſter* to *Vienna*, to enter into and "finiſh Treaties, which ſhall hurt *other Nations*, who can have no Part in this "Affront, in their deareſt Intereſts." But this Juſtice I muſt do to the *Court* of *Spain*, that this Apology never came with any Shadow of Authority from thence: And though at firſt it was a little whiſpered about by ſome of their Agents; it was never afterwards owned by them; but immediately ſhamed into ſilence, in which it remained, till this Gentleman has put it again into the Mouths of Men, with his own Embelliſhments about it.

Nor can I, upon this Gentleman's own Notions in this Paper, at all account for the *King* of *Spain's* reſolute flying from the *Mediatorſhip* of *France*; and carrying all his Affairs to *Vienna*, upon this Provocation. For he himſelf obſerves how very eaſy and ſpeedy a Matter, a *Reconciliation* between *France* and *Spain* was, after this Affront. *Never Reſentment ran higher*, ſays he: *and yet one or two Sacrifices, a little Addreſs, and a little Management pacified all*; *united the two Courts*; *and reſtored to the French, in a ſhort Time, ſuch an Influence over Spain*, &c. that, it ſeems, many more Marks of Favour were ſoon beſtowed upon *France* which had given this Affront to *Spain*, than upon *Britain* which had had no Part in it. And indeed, to prove that this *Affront* was not the *Cauſe* of ſuch a Proceeding at *Vienna*, He himſelf furniſhes a very good Maxim in this Paper, “ That *Reaſon of State* will determine the Conduct of Princes; not *Old*, *Stale*, “ *Reſentments*:” I only add, exactly upon the ſame Grounds, “ Nor *New*, *Freſh*, “ *Reſentments*; eſpecially ſuch as the Princes in whom they are raiſed, know, “ can be eaſily, and preſently removed, in another and a better Way.”

I will ſay no more upon this Head, but that he is exceedingly miſtaken in thinking, (as one would imagine him to do, from many of his Arguments) that the *Court* of *Britain* did not very ſoon know, and very ſoon endeavour to guard againſt, the deſigned Alliance at *Vienna*. For, as the Beſt Intelligence gave them *Early Accounts* of what was doing, ſo no Meaſures were neglected, Except *Breach* of *Faith*, and Violation of that very *Alliance* by which *Britain* was made *Joint-mediator* with *France*. I thought myſelf obliged to conſider at ſome length, what this Writer has framed for the firſt Ground of the *Vienna-alliance*. I have found it, I think, and ſhewn it, to be utterly unſupported by *Fact*, as well as by that *Court* upon which he fixes it: And by this have ſufficiently vindicated the *Enquiry* for having rejected this Account of the Affair at firſt.

I will now try his Reaſonings and Imputations upon one or two *other Heads*, which are the Conſequences of the *Meaſures* defended in that *Book*.

The moſt *material Point*, as he often profeſſes, is that of *Gibraltar*: Concerning which, we know what Accuſations and Outcries were raiſed around us: And all to this Purpoſe; That it was to be given up, or to be artfully betrayed, into the *Spaniards* Hands: And all Profeſſions to the contrary were in vain. But now it has been ſeen how vigorous a Defence was made of it, againſt the *Spaniards*; and that *Preliminaries* have been ſigned, in which *Spain* was obliged to acknowledge the withdrawing all Hoſtilities from that Place to be included; and accordingly to withdraw all Appearances of them: What doth all this avail? This *Gentleman* declares now that the *Demand* of this Place is not put out of *Queſtion* by the *Preliminaries*; which *Demand* he founds very ſtrongly and poſitively thus: [and I will go no farther back than He does.] “ The “ *Spaniards*, (*ſays He*) ground their Expectations, and what they call their “ *Right*, on a *New Engagement* taken by us, as they ſay, ſince all the “ Tranſactions (mentioned by *Him*) were over; on a Private Article, in a “ Treaty made with them in 1721, ſtipulating the Contents of a LETTER “ to be written by the *Late King*; and on the *Letter* written in Purſuance “ of this *Article*, the *Original* of which they offer to produce; and which “ they pretend to be a *poſitive Engagement* to reſtore *Gibraltar* to them.” The *Writer* of this Paper is, I am confident, a Perſon of very great Intelligence. Years have now paſſed, in which He might have ſatisfied Himſelf of the *Certain Truth* or *Certain Falſhood* of what He here puts into the Mouth of *Spain*. There is no Excuſe for ſuch a Repreſentation as this is, made in the Face of the whole Nation, unleſs it appears at laſt to be True. It is not enough for a Man of Honour, to ſay, He took it from the Diſcourſe of ſome *Spaniards* ſomewhere or other. He knows many, I dare ſay, who have ſeen the very *Treaty*, here mentioned; and the Authentick Copy of that very *Letter* which alone can be here meant. They all know it to be *True*, that there is no ſuch *Article* belonging to the *Treaty* mentioned. I have myſelf read the *Treaty*: and find no one *Article* belonging to it, which has the leaſt Relation to this Subject. The *Treaty* is that of a *Defenſive* Alliance between *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, ſigned *June* 13, 1721, in which *Treaty* the very *contrary* indeed, to the preſent Suggeſtion, appears to the Eyes of all who read it, *viz.* That the Preſervation and Obſervation of the *Treaty* of *Utrecht* (which aſſerts the Right,) and of the *Treaty* of *London* (which confirms the Right of *Great Britain* to *Gibraltar*,) are particularly declared to be the *Principal Object* of this *Alliance*. And as there is no ſuch *Article*, in this *Treaty*, *ſtipulating* any *Letter* of any ſort; ſo neither is there any ſuch *Letter* in being, as That here repreſented to be a *Poſitive Engagement to reſtore* Gibraltar to *Spain*. I appeal to the *Loweſt* Obſerver of the World, as well as the *Higheſt*, whether it be credible, that if any *ſuch Article* were in being, or any *ſuch Letter*, *Spain* would not long ago have produced them. The *Spaniards are ready (it ſeems)* to produce the *Original* of ſuch a *Letter*. *Who*, or *what* has hindered them from doing it all this time? The real Impediment is, that they know there is no ſuch *Article* in any Treaty; and that therefore, this could not be made a *National* Concern to *Great Britain*: and that there is no *Letter* with ſuch a *poſitive Engagement*. The *Letter* referred to, was written in 1721. Many have ſeen the *Copy* of it, and muſt acknowledge that it would not have been of any Moment to the *Spaniards* to have produced it, and that This alone could be the Reaſon why they did not, even in the Life of the *late King*. For, whether a *Letter*, in the Tenor of which it is plainly implied, that the *Parliament* of *Britain* muſt judge of that Matter; and the utmoſt *Engagement* in which is, *To take a favourable Opportunity to regulate that Matter with the Conſent of His Parliament*, can be, with any Juſtice, a *poſitive Engagement* to reſtore that Place to *Spain*, I may leave to the meaneſt Judge of Language and Expreſſion.

To proceed, It was *After* the *Death* of the *late King*, that *Spain* ratified the *Preliminaries*; and in theſe *Preliminaries*, I ſay, the Right and Poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar* is aſcertained to *Great Britain*; and conſequently all Claim of *Spain* to it again extinguiſhed. This *Gentleman* denies this, and calls for the *Words* that contain this. I appeal to the *Second Article*, which ſays, in expreſs Words, "Rights, or thoſe things which are poſſeſſed by ANY of the Contracting "Powers, by Virtue of the Treaties of *Utrecht* and *Baden*, and the *Quadruple* "*Alliance*, &c. ſhall remain untouched." Now the Right to *Gibraltar* was fixed to *Great Britain* by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and confirmed by the *Quadruple Alliance*. Both the *Utrecht Treaty* and *Quadruple Alliance* are ſigned in effect, by ſigning this *Preliminary Article*. Therefore (it follows) *Spain*, which has ſigned and ratified this *Article*, has once more not only confirmed and allowed the *Right* to *Gibraltar* to be in *Britain*, but conſented that it ſhall remain *Untouched*. And as the *Poſſeſſion* of it could not be ſaid to be *Untouched*, as long as *Any Hoſtile* Appearances were about it; ſo the *Right* to it cannot be ſaid to be *Untouched*, whilſt any Demand of another Power upon it ſubſiſts. *Spain* therefore, having long ſince that *Letter*, ratified this *Article*, which declares that the *Right* to *Gibraltar* ſhall remain *Untouched*; has plainly given up all *Demand* upon it which could have accrued from ſuch a *Letter*, even if it had contained a *poſitive*,] abſolute Promiſe.

Whoever may not ſee the Force of this *Argument*, I am very ſure this *Gentleman* will ſee it and own it; becauſe he argues ſtrongly, in this very Paper, that, ſuppoſing *any Promiſe* made to the *Spaniards* of *reſtoring Gibraltar* to them, before the Acceſſion of *Spain* to the *Quadruple Alliance*, That *Acceſſion* effectually vacated the Promiſe. His Reaſoning is this. "*That* All Poſſeſſions are mu-
"tually confirmed by that *Treaty*, cannot be denied. The Poſſeſſion of *Gibral-*
"*tar* was therefore, again, confirmed to us by the King of *Spain* when he ac-
"ceded to that *Treaty*, unleſs he can ſhew that our *Poſſeſſion* of it was *excepted*,
"or can produce any *private Article*, or *Declaration*, which made a Reſervation
"of his Right to this Place, notwithſtanding the Ceſſion of it made at *Utrecht*.
"But nothing of this can be ſhewn, *&c.*" I deſire no more, but that This, which is certainly *Right Reaſoning*, may in all like Caſes be equally allowed and approved. I have ſhewn that there was no ſuch *private Article*, or *Promiſe*, as this Writer mentions, even *before* the *Preliminaries* were ratified by *Spain*. And ſuppoſing there had been (which is putting it with all the Advantage to himſelf) I have now ſpecified the very Words, in which *Spain* has again engaged that the *Right* to *Gibraltar* ſhall remain *Untouched*, by confirming the *Quadruple Alliance*; the Acceſſion to which at firſt, this Author rightly aſſures us, aſcertained that Fortreſs to *Britain*. Having done this, change but the Words *Quadruple Alliance*, in his Argument, into the *Second Preliminary Article*, and it muſt ſtand in full Force to prove that Care has been taken, as far, as the Words of *Treaties* can do it, to aſcertain this again to *Britain*, ſo that our Right to it ſhall remain UNTOUCHED; unleſs he can prove that either in this *Treaty* itſelf, or by any *proper Act* of *Authority* ſince the *Ratification* of theſe *Preliminaries*, any *Reſervation* has been made contrary to this *Article*.

And, as I have now anſwered *his Demand*, and ſhewed him, in the *Preliminaries*, an *Article* which is indeed as expreſs, and as effectual a Confirmation of our *Right* to *Gibraltar*, as if the Word *Gibraltar* had been put into it; and muſt be allowed by himſelf to be ſo, according to his own *Argument* about the *Quadruple Alliance*, *viz.* becauſe it confirms the Treaty of *Utrecht*, in which *Gibraltar* is named, and our *Right* eſtabliſhed; it lies upon him, either to give up this Part of his Charge, or, as he has undertaken, to ſhew thoſe *General Words*, in theſe *Preliminaries*, upon which any *Pretence* can be founded for the reviving any *Demand* of it, either at the preſent *Congreſs*, or any where elſe. I ſeriouſly profeſs, that after my utmoſt Search, I can find none. On the contrary, I will obſerve farther, that the *Latter Part* of this *Second Article*, greatly ſtrengthens the *Former*; and, being deſigned to *declare* expreſly what IS to be left to the *Congreſs*, effectually declares what is *Not* to be left to it. The Terms of it are theſe. "But if any Thing ſhall be found to have been
"ALTERED therein," [ſpeaking with Reſpect to the *Rights* and *Poſſeſſions* eſtabliſhed in thoſe *Treaties*;] "or any Thing NOT TO HAVE BEEN
"PUT IN EXECUTION; the ALTERATION Made, or The Thing
"NOT EXECUTED, ſhall, in the *Congreſs* to be held, be Diſcuſſed and
"DECIDED according to the TENOR of the SAID TREATIES and CONVENTIONS." Now, Nothing either as to the *Right* of *Great Britain* to *Gibraltar*, or to the Poſſeſſion of it, has been at all *altered*: Nor has there been any *Non-execution*, as to that *Right* and *Poſſeſſion*. *Great Britain* has a Right to it by Treaties, unconteſted: And has been long in Poſſeſſion of it; and that *Poſſeſſion*, though not quite unmoleſted, yet ſtill *unchanged*. Therefore

fore neither the *Right* to, nor the *Poſſeſſion* of, *Gibraltar*, can be poſſibly included in this Deſcription of ſuch *Points* as are left to be diſcuſſed in the *Congreſs*.

As I was obliged in the *Enquiry* to Mention the *Squadron* of Ships ſent to the *Weſt Indies*, in order to block up the *Galleons*, *&c.* this makes it almoſt unavoidable to me, to take a little Notice of what is ſaid upon that Matter, in the Paper now before us. As to this Writer's *Scheme* for the taking all their Riches at firſt, into our own Power, and becoming the Diſtributors of them to all their Proprietors; (which, by the Way, appears to have been impoſſible, by Admiral *Hoſier's* firſt Letter juſt now publiſhed;) it is enough to ſay to it, that ſuch an Order as *that*, given by the Court of *Great Britain*, at a Time when the *Allies* of *Hanover* profeſſed only to act upon the *Defenſive*, and before any open Hoſtilities had been committed on the part of *Spain*, muſt have put *Europe* into a Flame, by putting all the *Proprietors* of thoſe Riches, whether *French*, *Dutch*, or *Spaniſh*, into the greateſt Uneaſineſs. This Method indeed, if the *Galleons* with their Riches, had attempted by Force or Stealth, to come out, had been reaſonable; in order to prevent thoſe Riches falling into the Hands of *Spain*, and being made uſe of to proſecute the Deſigns projected by the Treaties of *Vienna*; and Juſtice muſt have been done in that Caſe to all concerned, as well as it could. And this was Part of the Admiral's Orders, upon that Suppoſition. The *Orders* given to the *Admirals* in thoſe Parts, are now printed; and an Account given of that whole Affair, in a Book entitled "*Obſervations* on the *Conduct* of *Great* "*Britain*, with regard to the *Negotiations* and other *Tranſactions* abroad;" to which I refer the Reader. But I will not neglect a very *material Queſtion*, aſked by this *Gentleman*, upon this Subject. "The Galleons, *ſays he*, were blocked "up for a great while, at our Expences and with the Loſs of many Lives. They "are now come or coming home. But has *Spain* renounced thoſe Deſigns "which our Fleet was ſent thither to prevent, by preventing the Supply of that "Treaſure?" Truly, I cannot tell, nor can any one in the World, who is not in the Secrets of the *Court* of *Spain*. But I ſee no good Argument in this. A Fleet is ordered to the *Weſt-Indies*, to prevent the coming away of ſo much Riches; which is a probable Method of preventing the carrying on the bad *Deſigns* we were in fear of. The unhappy Conſequence of this is, That *Ships* decay, and many lives are loſt, in that Climate; which is as much an *Argument* againſt any Equipment of this ſort, as againſt *this*. What is the Conſequence? *Spain* is brought by theſe Meaſures to ratify the *Preliminaries*: in conſequence of which he raiſes the Siege of *Gibraltar*; ſends Orders to reſtore the *South-Sea* Ship; and promiſes that the Effects of the Galleons, upon their Return Home, ſhall be delivered, as in Time of Freedom and full Peace. The Court of *Britain*, upon this, act the part which the *Law* of *Nations* requires, and honeſtly perform their Duty, by ordering away their *Fleet*, as they were ſtrictly obliged to do. The *Galleons*, as it was articled, are now come, or coming. But has the King of *Spain* renounced his Projects? Yes, undoubtedly, as far as *Articles* ratified by him can bind; and as far as any contracting Powers can be bound by *Treaty* to one another. But whether he will go on to act an open and honeſt part, to ſecure ſtill farther the Peace of *Europe*, and the Intereſts of *Great Britain*: Nay, whether the Riches of the *Galleons* will be diſtributed, as is expreſly ſtipulated; All this is juſt as *uncertain*, (neither more nor leſs) as it always was, and always will be, Whether any Treaty in the World will be obſerved by All concerned in it. This does not argue, that *Treaties* muſt not be made; or, when they are made, not *honeſtly* performed by us: Neither does it at all derogate from any *Articles*, or any *Treaty*, that there are Princes in the World who may break

through

through them, when they have obtained any End of their own by ſigning them.

I can think but of one thing more, in which I am concerned, and that is, the polite Triumph over the *Author* of the *Enquiry*, " That he has now the Mor- " tification to ſee himſelf given up in EVERY *material* Article, by *both Parties*, " even by Thoſe who ſet him to Work." How eaſy are ſuch Words as theſe! But how hard to ſupport them! All the *material Articles* of the *Enquiry*, take their Riſe from the Evils threatened by the *Vienna-alliance.* The Importance of *Gibraltar* is one of the *material* Articles. This *Gentleman* himſelf thinks it the *moſt material*, perhaps. And who of Thoſe he oppoſes, has declared againſt me in it? So that, inſtead of being *given up*, I am *ſupported* on *both Sides* in it. The *Oſtend-trade* is another; and I cannot think that he himſelf can be againſt me in *this*, unleſs in the Degree of the *Importance* of it. But *who* of thoſe he oppoſes, has declared againſt me in *this?* And as to the other two main Articles; This *Gentleman* does not contradict them; nor have Thoſe he oppoſes. Thus true it is, that in EVERY ONE of them, *I have been given up*. As to the *Oſtend-trade*, and the evil Conſequences in Time to ourſelves from it, it is not the leaſt Contradiction to what I have advanced, that it primarily affects the *Dutch*, and is therefore principally *their* Concern. This does not hinder but that the Ill Effect of it will as certainly *end* with *our Trade*, as it *begins* with *theirs*. Nor did I ever ſee the leaſt Anſwer to what I advanced upon *that Head*, chiefly from a Treatiſe upon that Subject, which, I acknowledged, then lay before me. But ſuppoſing any Perſon who writes his private Thoughts in *one* Paper, as this Gentleman writes his own Sentiments in *another*, had contradicted *every material Article* of the *Enquiry:* Is this, in Honour, to be laid upon *thoſe* who never ſaw, nor heard of the *Paper* before it appeared in the World? And, above All, ſhall even this ſuppoſed *Contradiction* to the *Enquiry*, paſs for an Argument that this very Paper was writ by the *Author* of the *Enquiry* himſelf, or by thoſe who approved of it?

I thought it a Point of Duty, once to *review* the *Enquiry*, after it has been long enough publiſhed to have the *Falſhoods* it contains, either in its *Facts* or *Reaſonings*, laid open. I could by no Means be willing to appear to the World under the Character ſome have pleaſed to give me upon this Occaſion. I ſay again, I had ſufficient Conviction of the *Facts* I have ſet forth. It was *this Conviction* that *ſet me to work*; and I aſſure this Gentleman, that nothing but *that*, was ever propoſed to me as a *Motive* to what I did; and that All that this World could propoſe to me, could not *have ſet me to work* without that Conviction. And, whatever has been done ſince the publiſhing of that *Book*, I have not hitherto ſtirred one Step beyond that Period of Time. I have now gone a little farther, and juſt mentioned what has followed upon the *Meaſures* laid before the World in that Book, and the preſent *State* in which the *Negociations* abroad are: Of which the *Obſervations* I have before cited, give the World a more particular Account.

I am not now going to ſet myſelf up for a Judge of the Fitneſs and Wiſdom of all the Steps that have been, or might have been taken, for the ſetling the Affairs of *Europe*. I think myſelf uncapable of ſuch a Province. The Judgement from the *Event* of Things merely, is not the Judgement of Reaſon; but it is that which is eaſieſt and moſt pleaſing to the Generality of Mankind. But the true Judgement can ariſe from nothing but a comprehenſive Knowledge of that Variety of Circumſtances which always ſurrounds an Affair of this Nature, in which the *Intereſts* of almoſt all the Nations of *Europe* are concerned. In the preſent Caſe, They who judge only by the *Event* of Things, muſt wait a little longer; or muſt judge partially by what they now feel of *Inconveniencies* from the preſent State of Things only, whilſt they cannot feel the *Inconveniencies* of what has not been tried. They may think the *State* of an *univerſal War* in *Europe*, ſhould have been ſome time ago choſen, before the *preſent* State. They who are at the Helm, it is evident, have thought otherwiſe. In this View, the *worſt* that can be ſaid of them is, That they have been *too* unwilling, and *too* backward, to bring all *Europe* into a *State*, which, even when abſolutely unavoidable, is in itſelf the moſt terrible, and in its Event the moſt uncertain of all States; and that they have rather choſe, for *too long* a Time, a *State* of ſome *Evils*, in order to try to prevent that *State* which would ſoon bring along with it Other and Greater Evils, as well as louder *Complaints* under them. But whether *worſe* than this might not have been ſaid, before now, had the *oppoſite Scheme* been followed; let thoſe conſider, who can, with Temper and Candor, ſit down and weigh all the probable Contingencies, all the good and bad Conſequences of each State.

I know myſelf to have as good Deſigns, as ſincere a Regard for my Country, and as uncorrupted and unbiaſſed a Reſolution of proſecuting the Good of it, as any one of Thoſe can have, who have been the moſt ſevere upon me. And, as I would abhor to treat the meaneſt of them in the Way in which I have been treated; ſo nothing of that Sort ſhall ever move me from an impartial Regard to what is offered as *Truth*, let it come to my Ears from what Mouth it will; and let it be accompanied with as much Bitterneſs as it will. But, if upon Examination, it does not appear to be *Truth*; I muſt be excuſed. And therefore, if I *ſtill* differ from this *Gentleman*, in all the Points before-mentioned; it is really becauſe they *ſtill* appear to *Me* in quite another Light than they do to *Him*. I have nothing to go by, but the *Evidence* that appears to *Myſelf:* Neither do I cenſure *Him*, or any *others* for not ſeeing as I ſee, or judging as I judge.

My *Views* in what I Firſt wrote upon this Subject, were not thoſe baſe and ignoble ones, which have been in ſo unkind, and unhandſome Manner, imputed to me; but were really ſuch as become a *Chriſtian*, and a *Briton*. And that I now vindicate ſuch Part of what I then publiſhed, as I think has been greatly miſtaken, or add one Word to it, is extorted from me by the Force of what ſeems *Truth* to me. I have no Attachment to *Miniſters*, but what I ſhould now be willing ſhould appear naked and open to every impartial Eye. And how ſhould I? I thank GOD, I *want* Nothing which the moſt *powerful* in this World can give me; and I appeal to GOD, I *ſeek after* nothing. I think myſelf obliged, on one hand, to like *them* better, than *Worſe*; and on the other hand, to be always ready to rejoice to ſee *much better* in their Places. The *Praiſe* which ariſes from any *Fact*, or *Conduct*, beneficial to their Country, is juſtly due to Them; This no Man need be aſhamed of offering.

Thoſe, who think fit to oppoſe Them, I have not provoked by any *perſonal Diſregard*. In what I have *agreed* with *them*, before the *Oppoſition* began, I truſt, they cannot condemn me. In what I have *differed* from them ſince, I am ſure I have preſerved all Decency of Reſpect; and have no *Crime* toward them, but the mere Differing from them. And for this alone, I have been treated in the manner the World has been Witneſs to.

The *Views* imputed to me I have ſaid as much to, as it is fitting for *me* to ſay. Whatever Fault there may be in my Head; I know my *Heart* to be *good*. But not only ſuch *Views* have been imputed to *me*, as have been at the ſame time declared to be the *Views* of the *Worſt* of *Men*: But *many Papers*, either in Matter,

on

or Manner, diſagreeable to ſome Perſons, have been poſitively laid upon *me*, and made the *Occaſion* of much *Wit*, and *Satyr*, and *Triumph*. This makes it neceſſary for me to ſpeak now plainly to the World, upon this Subject. I therefore declare, with all poſſible ſeriouſneſs, That I have not writ, or dictated, or adviſed; or, directly or indirectly, had the leaſt Part in the Writing or Publiſhing any *Paper* which has appeared in the World, in any Form, from the Time of Writing the *Enquiry*, and for ſome Time before that, to this Day, *January* 20, 172$\frac{8}{9}$: Unleſs I muſt except *One* or *Two* upon Subjects in which All are agreed, the preciſe time of my ſeeing which I cannot now recollect. This Declaration, and for that Space of time, I make particularly with a *View* to *Papers* printed in the *London-Journal*; in all which I have been utterly unconcerned either directly or indirectly. I think myſelf obliged, to do myſelf Juſtice particularly with regard to thoſe Papers in the *London-Journal* which concerned the *Liberty* of the *Preſs*, by declaring That I never either *ſaw* or *heard* of them, *before* Publication; or *read* them *ſince*, or any part of them, but what I found cited in *another Paper* which imputed them to me. And this I mention, not to cenſure what I have not read, unleſs as *Others* have repreſented it; but becauſe I would not willingly ſuffer in the Opinion of thoſe whoſe Rights and Liberties I have ſtudied through my Life to defend, as at laſt betraying them in a Point which ever appeared to me to be of the greateſt Importance to them. My *Principles* upon this Subject, are known both to the *Higheſt* and *Loweſt* of all I converſe with. I never had any Ground to think that there was *any Deſign* of making the leaſt Alteration in the Laws relating to this. Nay, I have had the Pleaſure to hear it utterly *diſowned*. And, as for myſelf; if there be a *Point* of Liberty more than all others, my favourite Point; it ſtill is, as it has been ever ſince I could think, *this* of the *Liberty* of the *Preſs*. I can never think it a *Reaſon* for laying any *Reſtraint*, that *Miniſters* are ill-treated or abuſed. They that will have Power, ought to be contented with *this Perquiſite*, which will always attend upon it. And ſhould I myſelf be the *Subject* of *Wit* and *Satyr* every *Saturday* throughout the Year, this ſhall never make any Alteration either in my *Judgement* or *Behaviour* with regard to this: But I will ſtill ſupport what hurts myſelf, becauſe I truly think it is the Support of the whole *Liberty* we enjoy; and that the *Fall* of this *one* particular Inſtance of *Liberty*, will ſoon be followed by the *Fall* of *Others*. If this be the Truth, as I know it to be; how ſurprizing muſt this be to thoſe who have been Witneſſes to the *Imputations* laid upon me, not only in publick Papers, but in the Converſation of Places of publick Reſort? And, after what I have now declared, how I ſhall be treated for the future, I muſt leave to the Conſciences of *Others*.

I have thus once more laid before the World, what I think reaſonable upon ſome *Important Subjects* which made part of the *Enquiry*. And I now ſubmit all that I have ſaid to the Judgement of every unprejudiced Lover of his Country.

VI.

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE, WRITINGS, and CHARACTER

OF

SAMUEL CLARKE, D. D.

RECTOR of St. JAMES'S Westminster.

Prefixed to all the Editions of Dr. CLARKE'S SERMONS.

AN ACCOUNT

OF

The LIFE, WRITINGS, and CHARACTER, of Dr. S. CLARKE.

DR. *SAMUEL CLARKE* was born at *Norwich*, *October* 11, *A. D.* 1675. His Father was *Edward Clarke*, Eſq; Alderman of That City, and One of the Repreſentatives of It, in Parliament, for ſeveral Years: A Perſon of an Excellent Natural Capacity, and of an untainted Reputation for Probity and all Virtue. His Mother was *Hannah*, the Daughter of Mr. *Samuel Parmeter*, Merchant, of the ſame City. He received the firſt Rudiments of Learning in the Free-ſchool at *Norwich*, from the Reverend Mr. *Burton*, under whoſe Care He made a very Uncommon Proficiency in the Learned Languages. In the Year 1691, He was removed to *Cambridge*, and placed at *Caius College*, under the Tuition of Mr. *Ellis*, afterwards Sir *John Ellis*. And here, His Impatient Thirſt after True Knowledge, and his Great Capacity both for diſcovering and improving it, preſently began to ſhew Themſelves.

The Philoſophy of *Des Cartes* was then the *Eſtabliſhed Philoſophy* of that *Univerſity*; and the Syſtem of Nature hardly allowed to be explained any otherwiſe than by *His* Principles: Which, at beſt, were evidently no more than the Inventions of a very Ingenious and Luxuriant Fancy; having no Foundation in the Reality of Things, nor any Correſpondency to the Certainty of Facts. His *Tutor* himſelf, though a Learned Man, and for ever to be honoured for his Conſcientious Care of All under Him, was a Zelot for this Philoſophy; and as He was Moſt Diligent in reading to his Pupils, without doubt gave Them the moſt favourable Impreſſions of what He had ſo cloſely embraced Himſelf; and but little Encouragement to ſtrike out Any Light in another way of thinking. The Great Sir *Iſaac Newton* had indeed then publiſhed his *Principia*. But this Book was but for The Few: both the Manner and Matter of it placing it out of the Reach of the Generality even of Learned Rearders; and ſtrong Prejudice, in favour of what had been received, working againſt It. But neither the Difficulty of the Taſk, nor the Reſpect He paid to the Director of his Studies; nor the Warmth and Prejudice of All around Him, had any Effect upon his Mind. Not at all ſatisfied, therefore, with *Hypotheſes* arbitrarily adapted to Appearances; He ſet himſelf immediately to the Study of what was Real and Subſtantial: And in This Study He made ſuch uncommon Advances, that He was preſently Maſter of the Chief parts of the *Newtonian Philoſophy*; and, in order to his Firſt *Degree*, performed a Publick Exerciſe in the Schools, upon a *Queſtion* taken from thence, which ſurprized the Whole Audience, both for the Accuracy of Knowledge, and Clearneſs of Expreſſion, that appeared through the Whole. Such an Example could not but be of great uſe, to animate All around Him. But He was not content with the Service He could do to *True Philoſophy*, by his Example only.

As ſoon as He had taken that firſt *Degree*, Young as He was, He made an Effort for the Service of the Students, which ought not to be forgotten. The Syſtem of *Natural Philoſophy* then generally taught in the *Univerſity*, was That written by Monſ. *Rohault*; entirely founded on the *Carteſian* Principles; and very ill tranſlated into *Latin*. He juſtly thought that Philoſophical Notions might be expreſſed in pure *Latin*: And if He had gone no farther than This, He would have merited of All Thoſe who were to draw their Knowledge out of that Book. But His Aim was much higher than the making a Better Tranſlation of it. He reſolved to add to It ſuch Notes, as might lead the Young Men inſenſibly, and by degrees, to other and Truer Notions than what could be found there. And this certainly, was a More Prudent Method of introducing Truth unknown before, than to attempt to throw aſide this Treatiſe entirely, and write a New one inſtead of it. The Succeſs anſwered exceedingly well to His Hopes: And He may be ſtiled a Great Benefactor to the *Univerſity*, in this Attempt. For, by this Means, the True Philoſophy has without any Noiſe prevailed: and to this Day, His *Tranſlation* of *Rohault* is, generally ſpeaking, the Standing Text for *Lectures*; and His *Notes* the firſt Direction to Thoſe who are willing to receive the Reality and Truth of Things in the place of Invention and Romance. And thus before He was much above Twenty Years old, He furniſhed the Students with a *Syſtem* of Knowledge, which has been ever ſince, and ſtill continues to be, a Publick Benefit to All who have the Happineſs of a Liberal and Learned Education in that *Univerſity*.

Immediately after this, His Thoughts were turned to *Divinity*; which he propoſed to make the peculiar Study and Profeſſion of his Life: For the proſecution of which Deſign He ſoon met with a very favourable Opportunity. Dr. *John Moore*, then Lord Biſhop of *Norwich*, the greateſt Patron of Learning and of Learned Men, that this Age has produced, had already fixed his Eyes upon Mr. *Clarke*, as a Young Man, of a Genius much exalted above the Common Rank, and promiſing Great Things to the World in his riper Years. He reſolved to make Him his *Chaplain*, as ſoon as He ſhould be Old Enough to take Orders. And when he did ſo, at the ſame time He received Him into his Familiarity and Friendſhip, to ſuch a remarkable degree, that He lived for near twelve Years in that Station, with All the decent Freedoms of a Brother and an Equal rather than an Inferior. The whole Family counted Themſelves happy in Him, as an Intimate Friend. The Biſhop's Value for Him increaſed every day, as his Knowledge of Him increaſed. There was no Mark of Confidence, as well as Eſteem, which that Prelate did not ſhew Him, as long as he lived: And at his death, the higheſt Mark of Confidence He could give Him, was the Leaving all the Concerns of his Family ſolely in His hands; a Truſt, which He executed with the moſt faithful Exactneſs, and to the Entire Satisfaction of Every Perſon concerned. To return,

His firſt Studies, in order to fit Himſelf for the Office he propoſed to undertake, were, The *Old Teſtament* in the Original *Hebrew*; The *New* in its Original *Greek*; and the *primitive* Chriſtian Writers. The *Firſt* of Theſe He then read with that Exactneſs of Judgment, which very Few have ſhewn after a much longer Application; and which furniſhed Him with Many Obſervations written at that time with his own hand in the *Margen*, relating to the Miſtakes of the Common *Tranſlation* of it. The *New Teſtament* he read with a true Critical Accuracy: And, with great Care, purſued his Deſign farther, through the Writers of the Earlieſt Ages, in order to diſcover, if poſſible, the Genuine Sentiments and Cuſtoms of Antiquity; as well as to ſupport the Authority and True Interpretation of the Sacred Books. The Reſult of all this Application appeared ſo early as the Year 1699, in *Two Treatiſes*. The one was deſigned for the promoting of the Practice of Religion, under the Title of *Three Practical Eſſays* upon *Baptiſm*, *Confirmation*, and *Repentance*. The other, without his Name, was en-

titled,

tiled, *Some Reflections* on (a Book called) *Amyntor*, relating to the *primitive Fathers*, and the *Canon* of the *New Teſtament.* I mention Them here, not to put them upon the level with his Other Performances; but only as having upon them the plain Marks of a Chriſtian Frame of mind; and as Proofs of his Knowledge in the Writings of thoſe Early Ages, even at firſt ſetting out into the World.

From theſe Attempts, he proceeded, without Intermiſſion, to Others of ſtill greater Importance: making Uſe of the Leiſure and Freedom He enjoyed in his Patron's Family, and of One of the Nobleſt Private Collection of Books which ever appeared in *England*, for the Purpoſe He had chiefly in his Eye; the Underſtanding the Phraſeology of the *Holy Scriptures*, and the Explaining the Meaning of them, ſo as to make Them uſeful to All who are concerned in them. The firſt *Eſſay*, in this Deſign, was His *Paraphraſe* upon St. *Matthew's* Goſpel, publiſhed in the Year 1701: and ſoon followed by *Paraphraſes* upon the *Goſpels* of St. *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John*. Theſe were written with a manly plainneſs and perſpicuity; and accompanied with a very few ſhort *Notes*, where Any Critical Explication was neceſſary. Of how great benefit Theſe have been, and always will be, to Thoſe *Engliſh* Readers, who have Senſe and Goodneſs enough to be pleaſed with a juſt Repreſentation of the True Meaning of what is recorded in the Goſpel; I need not ſay. Experience has already ſaid enough of the Uſefulneſs of ſuch a Manner of Interpretation, from ſo maſterly an Hand. It were highly to be wiſhed that He had purſued his Original Deſign, and completed the Work upon the Whole *New Teſtament*: in many Books of which, the Intricate *Connexion* of the Parts; the ſeeming Perplexity of the *Argument*; and the *Obſcurity* of the *Style* at this Diſtance of Time, particularly called for the Aſſiſtance of ſo Critical an Underſtanding, capable of finding out the True Ideas annexed to the old Words; and of diſcovering the hidden Force of Thoſe Reaſonings, which would otherwiſe eſcape the view of Common Readers. He had indeed, actually begun his *Paraphraſe* upon the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, immediately after the Others were publiſhed; and had certainly propoſed to Himſelf to go through all the remaining Books. But ſomething accidental interrupted the Execution: and it is now only to be lamented that Any thing firſt diverted Him from it; or that He did not afterwards prevail upon Himſelf to reſume and compleat ſo Excellent a Work; which his Friends often preſſed upon Him; and to which He would ſometimes anſwer, That it was made leſs neceſſary by the Labours of ſeveral Worthy and Learned Perſons, ſince the appearance of his Work upon the *Four Goſpels*.

Biſhop *Moore*, who was every day confirmed in the high Opinion of his Superior Talents, and Excellent Qualifications, very juſtly thought that there was No place ſo deſerving of ſuch a perſon, and ſo fit for ſuch Abilities to exert Themſelves in, for the good of Mankind, as the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom: And it very ſoon became his Setled Reſolution to make uſe of all his Intereſt, which at that time was very conſiderable amongſt the Greateſt Men of the Nation, in order to fix him in the moſt remarkable Scene of Action. But, in the mean while, He gave Him the Rectory of *Drayton* near *Norwich*, and procured for him a *Pariſh* in that *City*; both together of very inconſiderable value; and Theſe He ſerved himſelf in the Seaſon, when the *Biſhop* reſided at *Norwich*. His preaching at firſt was without Notes; and ſo continued till He was *Rector* of St. *James's*: A Method, in which He was peculiarly happy; not by truſting to his Memory entirely, and ſpeaking a Sermon compoſed before, in which ſome have excelled; nor by heating himſelf gradually into Any ſort of Paſſion, to which others have owed all their Fluency of Language; but by a Certain Strength and Coolneſs of Head, which could not eaſily be ſurprized or deceived; and a Certain Faculty of Expreſſion, which was hardly ever at a loſs for plain and proper words.

In the Year 1704, He was called forth to an Office worthy of ſuch an Underſtanding. It was to preach Mr. *Boyle's* Lecture, founded by that Honourable Gentleman, to aſſert and vindicate the Great Fundamentals of Natural and Revealed Religion. This was a Province, for which if ever Any one was peculiarly fitted by Natural Parts, and Learning; He was the Man. And He executed this Truſt in ſuch a Manner, that He at once ſurprized, and inſtructed, his moſt Underſtanding Hearers. He exceded the Expectations even of Thoſe who knew Him enough to expect Great Things from Him: and laid the Foundations of True Religion too deep and ſtrong to be ſhaken either by the Superſtition of Some, or the Infidelity of Others. The Subject of his Diſcourſes was, The Exiſtence of GOD, or of a Being of All poſſible Perfections. And in the Demonſtration of This, He choſe particularly to conſider the Arguings of *Spinoza* and *Hobbes*, the moſt plauſible Patrons of the Syſtem of *Fate* and *Neceſſity*; a *Syſtem*, which by deſtroying All true Freedom of Action in Any Intelligent Being, at the ſame time deſtroys All that can be ſtyled Virtue, or Praiſeworthy. This being a *Subject*, into which all the Subtilties and Querks of Metaphyſicks had entred, and thrown their uſual Obſcurity and Intricacy; the Difficulty lay in clearing away this Rubbiſh of Confuſion; in introducing a Language that could be underſtood; in clothing the cleareſt Ideas in this plain and Manly Language; and in concluding Nothing, but from ſuch Evidence as amounts to *Demonſtration*. And thus it was that the Maſterly hand appeared. He began with Self-evident *Propoſitions*. From them He advanced to Such as received their Proof from the Former. In theſe He took no Step till He had ſecured the Way before Him. Throughout the Whole, no Word is uſed, but what is Intelligible to All who are at all verſed in ſuch *Subjects*, and what expreſſes the Clear Idea in the Mind of Him who makes uſe of it: and All is one Regular Building, erected upon an Unmoveable Foundation; and riſing up, from One Stage to another, with equal Strength and Dignity.

His Labours ſucceded ſo well in This Great Attempt, that He was appointed to preach again, the next Year. And here He went on with the ſame Method, Clearneſs, and Strength, to deduce from What He had before proved, and to ſtrengthen with all proper Arguments, *The Evidences of* Natural *and* Reveled *Religion*. In theſe Diſcourſes He laid the Foundations of Morality deep, in the mutual Relations of Things and Perſons, one to Another; in the Unalterable Fitneſs of ſome Actions, and the Unfitneſs of Others: and in the Will of the Great Creator of All things, evident from his making Man capable of ſeeing theſe Relations, and this Fitneſs; of judging concerning Them; and of acting agreeably to that Judgment. He then proceded to demonſtrate the Chriſtian Religion to be worthy of God, from the *Internal* Evidence, taken from the perfect Agreeableneſs of Its Main Deſign to the Light of Nature; and to All the Moral Obligations of Eternal Reaſon; without which Agreeableneſs, All the Arguments in the World could never conclude in its favour: And after this, to prove It to be actually recommended to the World by GOD, from All the *External* Evidence, of Prophecy going before it, and Miraculous Works performed expreſſly for the honour and propagation of it. All which He executed with ſuch Maſterly Senſe, and perſpicuity of Expreſſion, as recommended both the Peacher and the Subject to All who heard Him. Theſe two Courſes of *Sermons* were ſoon printed in Two Continued *Treatiſes:* which was thought to be the moſt uſeful Way of publiſhing them to the World. Several *Editions* of them have already been printed; in every One of which the *Author* did not ſcruple to make ſuch Alterations and Additions, as ſeemed to Him neceſſary either for the preventing any Miſtakes, or the farther Clearing up the Important Subjects of Them. I ſhall ſay nothing farther about Them, but that Every Chriſtian in *this* Country, in which They firſt ſaw the Light, ought to eſteem Them as *His Treaſure*; as They contain the True Strength not only of *Natural*, but of *Reveled* Religion: Which, if ever it be removed from ſuch a Foundation; or ſeparated from ſuch an Alliance with Reaſon and Uncorrupted Nature, will not long ſubſiſt in the Belief of Underſtanding Perſons, after ſuch a ſeparation. And therefore *What God hath joined together, let no Man put aſunder.*

Soon after the preaching of theſe *Sermons*, Biſhop *Moore* found an Opportunity of bringing Him to Town; and procured for Him, by his Intereſt, the Rectory of St. *Bennet's Paul's-Wharf.* Many in that Pariſh ſtill remember how Inſtructive and Acceptable his Preaching was to All in it: And He himſelf never forgot, but frequently with pleaſure recounted, the very particular Civilities He received from the *Gentlemen* of *Doctors Commons*, who made the moſt conſiderable Part of his Audience.

About this time the Learned Mr. *Dodwell* publiſhed a very remarkable Diſcourſe; in which, in order to exalt the Powers and Dignity of the *Prieſthood*, in that *One Communion*, which He imagined to be the *Peculium* of GOD, and to which He had joined Himſelf, He endeavoured to prove, with his uſual perplexity of Learning, That the Doctrine of the Soul's *Natural Mortality* was the True and Original Doctrine; and that *Immortality* was only at *Baptiſm* conferred upon the Soul, by the Gift of GOD, through the hands of One Sett of regularly-ordained Clergy. The Miſchievous Tendency of theſe Doctrines, thus blended together, as it was backed by the Great Name of the Author in the *Learned* World, made it more neceſſary that an Anſwer ſhould be given to What might from Another hand perhaps have been received as a Deſigned Banter and Ridicule both upon Natural and Inſtituted Religion. Mr. *Clarke* was thought the moſt proper Perſon for this Work. And He did it in ſo excellent a Manner, both with regard to the *Philoſophical* part, and to the Opinions of ſome of the *Primitive Writers*, upon Whom theſe Doctrines were fixed; that It gave Univerſal Satiſfaction. Nor did He ſtop here. For, a very Ingenious *Gentleman*, having laid hold on this favorable opportunity of coming into this Controverſy, as a Second to Mr. *Dodwell*, went much farther into the *Philoſophy* of the Diſpute; and indeed ſeemed to produce All that could plauſibly be ſaid againſt the *Immateriality* of the *Soul*, as well as the *Liberty* of *Humane Actions*. This enlarged the Scene of the *Diſpute:* into which Mr. *Clarke* entered, and wrote with ſuch a Spirit of Clearneſs, and Demonſtration, as at once ſhewed Him greatly ſuperior to his Adverſaries in *Metaphyſical* and *Phyſical* Knowledge; and made Every Intelligent Reader rejoice that Such an Incident had happened, to provoke and extort from Him that Plenty of ſtrong Reaſoning, and Perſpicuity of Expreſſion, which were indeed very much wanted upon this Intricate and obſcure Subject. And I am perſuaded that, as What He has writ in this Controverſy, comprehends the Little that the Antients had ſaid well; and adds ſtill more Evidence than ever clearly appeared before; and all in Words that have a Meaning to them: It will remain the Standard of Good Senſe on That ſide of the Queſtion on which He ſpent ſo many of his Thoughts, as upon one of his Favorite-points.

About this time, His Worthy Patron brought him to *Court*, and procured Him to be made One of the *Chaplains* in *Ordinary* to Queen *ANNE*; to whoſe greater Favor His own Excellent Qualifications recommended Him ſo ſoon and ſo powerfully, that, upon the Vacancy of St. *James's Weſtminſter*, She immediately conſented to the Requeſt of the *Biſhop* and preſented Him to that *Rectory*. In this Station, which placed Him in the obſervation of Many of the *Nobleſt* part of our World, How He conducted Himſelf for above *Twenty Years*; What an Undiſturbed Unanimity there was between Him, and all his Pariſhioners, through the whole Time; What his Preaching, and What his Converſation were; how inſtructive *Both*, and how acceptable, to All of every Sort and Party into which We are diſtinguiſhed; Let *Them* teſtify who were Eye-witneſſes and Ear-witneſſes to Them: who all equally rejoiced in his Diſcourſes and in his Preſence whilſt He was alive; and equally lamented their own Loſs, at his Death. As ſoon as He was ſetled in this Pariſh, He left off his former Way of preaching without the aſſiſtance of Notes; and made it one of his chief Studies to compoſe, and write down, as accurate *Sermons* as He could. Not, as I believe, becauſe He could not proceed in the former Method, with a Copiouſneſs of Good Senſe and Clear Expreſſion, which the Nobleſt Audience might with pleaſure have attended to; but chiefly, becauſe from that Time It became his Reſolution to prepare his Sermons in ſuch a Manner, that They might hereafter be as Uſeful from the *Preſs*, as He wiſhed Them then to be from the *Pulpit*.

Upon his Advancement to ſuch a Station, it was eſteemed a Piece of Decency for Him to take the *Degree* of *Doctor* in *Divinity*, for which He was now of ſufficient Standing in the *Univerſity*. For this purpoſe, He went down to *Cambridge*, and propoſed his Two Queſtions; and performed a long *publick Exerciſe* upon Them; the Memory of which will, I believe, remain, and be delivered down from one Succeſſion of the *Learned* in that Univerſity to Another. The Queſtions were Theſe:

1. *Nullum Fidei Chriſtianæ Dogma, in S. Scripturis traditum, eſt Rectæ Rationi diſſentaneum.*

2. *Sine Actionum humanarum Libertate nulla poteſt eſſe Religio.*

1. *No Article of the Chriſtian Faith, delivered in the Holy Scriptures, is Diſagreeable to Right Reaſon.*

2. *Without the Liberty of Humane Actions there can be no Religion.* Two *Queſtions*, worthy of ſuch a Divine and ſuch a Philoſopher, to propoſe for *Publick Debate!*

The *Royal Profeſſor* of Divinity, Dr. *James*, who was a Learned, Ready, and very Acute Diſputer, exerted Himſelf, beyond what was his Common Practice, in order to oppoſe and try Him to the Utmoſt. By the help of a Great Memory, and Fluency of Words, and a certain Knack in the Art of Diſputing, He firſt went into a long *Examination* of Dr. *Clarke's Theſis*, (which was an Elaborate Diſcourſe upon the *Former* of theſe two *Queſtions*,) ſifting Every part of it with the ſtricteſt Nicety; and afterwards, preſſed Him with all the Force of *Syllogiſm*, in its various Forms, through the Courſe of the *Diſputation*. Here was an *Adverſary* worthy of ſuch a Reſpondent. To the *former* Dr. *Clarke* made an *Extempore* Reply, in a continued Diſcourſe for near half an hour; in which, without any heſitation either for Thoughts, or for Language, He took off the Force of All that the *Profeſſor* had ſaid, in ſuch a Manner, that Many of the Auditors declared Themſelves aſtoniſhed; and owned that, if They had not been within Sight of Him, They ſhould have ſuppoſed Him to have read Every word of this *Reply* out of a Paper. After this, through the Courſe of the *Syllogiſtical* Diſputation,

tation, He guarded ſo well againſt the Arts which the *Profeſſor* was Maſter of, in perfection; He replied ſo readily to the greateſt Difficulties that ſuch an *Objector* could propoſe; and preſſed upon the *Profeſſor* ſo cloſe and ſo hard with his Anſwers, clear and intelligible to All; that perhaps Never was ſuch a Conflict heard in thoſe *Schools*; never ſuch a Diſputation kept up for ſo long a time with ſuch Spirit; nor ever Any, which Ended with greater, if Equal honour, to the *Reſpondent*. The *Profeſſor* himſelf, who was a Man of *Humour* as well as *Learning*, ſaid to Him aloud towards the End of the Diſputation, (an Accidental Debate having ariſen, as I have been informed, about the meaning of the word *Exacuo*,) *Profecto, Me probè exacuiſti:* which I hardly know how to interpret to the *Engliſh Reader*, unleſs by a phraſe of a low kind, *In truth You have thoroughly rubbed me up*. Others think the word was *Exercuiſti*. They remember that the Profeſſor uſed often to ſpeak to a *Reſpondent*, after a long Diſputation, *Finem jam faciam*; *Nam* Te *probè* exercui; I *will now make an End*; *for I have ſufficiently* worked *You:* and ſay That He was going to uſe the ſame Expreſſion to Dr. *Clarke*; but after the word *Te*, ſtopped and corrected Himſelf, and ſaid,—*Nam* ME *probè* Exercuiſti.—*For You have* worked ME *thoroughly*. This was looked upon as a very high Compliment, in *His* humorous way of ſpeaking. And the Learned Members of that Body, who had with pleaſure attended to Every part of the whole *Diſputation*, went away diſcourſing to one another of the Unuſual Entertainment They had had in the Schools; not a little pleaſed with ſuch an Ornament to their own Univerſity: and admiring particularly, That, after an Abſence of ſo many Years, and a long courſe of Buſineſs of quite Another Nature, They heard Him now handling the Subjects He undertook, in ſuch a maſterly Manner, as if This ſort of Academical Exerciſe had been his Conſtant Employment: and with ſuch a Fluency and Purity of Expreſſion, as if he had been accuſtomed, through this whole Time, to no other Language in Converſation but *Latin*.

Soon after this, Another Scene opened. He had for a conſiderable time employed his Thoughts and Studies upon a Subject of a very high Nature, which had exerciſed the Pens of Many of the greateſt Divines; I mean, the Doctrine of the *Trinity:* and was now come to a ſetled Judgment about it. But, let Every Man of ſenſe be Judge with how much Wiſdom, and in how Chriſtian a Method, He proceeded to form his own Sentiments upon ſo Important a Point. He knew, and All men agreed, that it was a Matter of *Mere Revelation*. He did not therefore, retire into his Cloſet; and ſet himſelf to invent and forge a plauſible *Hypotheſis*, which might ſit eaſily upon his own Mind. He had not recourſe to Abſtract and *Metaphyſical* Reaſonings, to cover or patronize any *Syſtem* He might have embraced before. But, as a Chriſtian, He laid open the *New Teſtament* before Him, He ſearched out *Every Text*, in which Mention was made of the *Three Perſons*, or of any *One* of them. He accurately examined the Meaning of the Words uſed about Every one of Them: and by the beſt Rules of *Grammar* and *Critique*, and by his Skill in Language, He endeavored to fix plainly What was declared about Every Perſon; and What was Not. And what He thought He had diſcovered to be the *Truth*, He publiſhed, under the *Title* of The *Scripture-doctrine* of the *Trinity*.

I am far from taking upon Me to determine, in ſo difficult a Queſtion, between Him, and Thoſe who made Replies to Him. The Debate ſoon grew very warm: and in a little time ſeemed to reſt principally upon *Him*, and *One* particular Adverſary, very ſkilful in the Management of a Debate, and very

Learned and well-verſed in the Writings of the Antient Fathers. The *Controverſy* has been long before the World: and All who can read what has been alledged on both Sides, ought to judge for Themſelves. But This, I hope, I may be allowed to ſay, That Every Chriſtian Divine, and Layman, ought to pay his Thanks to Dr. *Clarke*, for the Method into which He brought this Diſpute; and for that Collection of *Texts* of the *New Teſtament*, by which it muſt at laſt be decided; on which ſide ſoever the Truth be ſuppoſed to lie. And let Me add this one word more, That, ſince Men of ſuch Thought and ſuch Learning, have ſhewn the World, in their own Example, how widely the moſt honeſt Enquirers after *Truth* may differ, upon ſuch Subjects: This methinks ſhould a little abate our Mutual Cenſures; and a little take off from our Poſitiveneſs, about the Neceſſity of explaining, in *this* or *that* one determinate Senſe, the Antient Paſſages relating to Points of ſo Sublime a Nature.

I paſs over the Complaint made, in Convocation, Againſt this Treatiſe concerning the *Scripture-doctrine* of the *Trinity*: becauſe it ſoon ended, upon the *Right Reverend*, the Members of the *Upper-Houſe*, having declared Themſelves ſatisfied with the Explanations which the *Author* delivered in to Them, upon the *Subject* of the *Complaint*.

One Matter of Fact I will add, That from the Time of his publiſhing this *Book*, to the Day of his *Death*, He found no reaſon, as far as He was able to judge, to alter the Notions which He had there profeſſed, concerning the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt*, towards Any of Thoſe *Schemes* which ſeemed to Him to derogate from the *Honour* of the *Father*, on one ſide; or from That of the *Son*, and *Spirit*, on the other. This I thought proper juſt to mention, as what All his Friends know to be the *Truth*. And indeed, nothing to the Contrary can be alledged, without contradicting many Expreſs Sentences, ſcattered through All his Works which have followed, or will follow, the forementioned *Treatiſe*; evidently ſetting forth, or implying, the ſame Doctrine.

From the Time of His taking poſſeſſion of St. *James's*, his Reſidence was where his Heart and his Employment were; in the *Rectory-houſe*, in the midſt of his Pariſhioners; ſeldom leaving the Place at all, unleſs for a few Weeks, in the *long Vacation*, when the Town was Empty: which he ſpent in viſiting his Friends at *Norwich*, and other places; and, towards the latter part of his Life, in doing his Duty as Maſter of *Wigſton's Hoſpital* at *Leiceſter*: a *Poſt* of no very great Profit, but made agreeable to Him by the handſome Manner in which the late Lord *Lechmere* invited Him into it; and by the Method of taking poſſeſſion of it, free from ſome of thoſe Circumſtances which by Law attend upon moſt other Preferments.

During the Time of his being *Rector* of St. *James's*, beſides the regular performance of all the other Offices of his Profeſſion, He followed the Cuſtom of his *Predeceſſors*, in reading *Lectures*, upon the *Church-catechiſm*, every *Thurſday* morning, for ſome months in the Year. In the latter part of his Time, He reviſed Theſe with great Care; and left Them under the *Title* of An *Expoſition* upon That *Catechiſm*, completely prepared for the *Preſs*. This *Expoſition* has been publiſhed, according to his own expreſs Deſire, ſince his Death. The *Remarks* of a *Learned* Man followed it, as ſoon as it could well be read in the World. An *Anſwer* has been made to theſe *Remarks*: And the World muſt judge on which ſide Truth and Light appear.

But though *Divinity*, and the Studies peculiar to his Profeſſion, were his great Employment; yet this did not hinder his Genius from ſhewing itſelf in Other ſorts of Learning, worthy of a Man, and of a Clergyman. The firſt

Specimen He gave the World of his Knowledge in the *Profane Authors*, was his Edition of *Cæſar's Commentaries*, 1712, in *Folio.* dedicated to his Grace the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, at a Time, when his Unequaled Victories and Succeſſes had raiſed his Glory to the higheſt pitch abroad, and leſſened his Intereſt and Favor at Home. Of this I ſhall only ſay, That there are few Books in the World, that excell It, either for Beauty or Correctneſs; and that the *Notes* added ſhew the *Accuracy* of their Author.

The laſt Inſtance of his *Critical* and *Claſſical* Learning was the Laſt Piece He publiſhed: The firſt *Twelve Books* of *Homer's Ilias*, with an almoſt New *Tranſlation*, and *Notes*. *Homer* was his Admired Author, even to a degree of Something like *Enthuſiaſm* hardly natural to his Temper. In this He went a little beyond the Bounds of *Horace's* Judgment: and was ſo unwilling to allow the *Favourite-poet* ever to *Nod*, that He has taken remarkable pains to find out and give a Reaſon for Every Paſſage, Word, and Tittle, that could create any ſuſpicion. The Tranſlation, with his Corrections, may now be ſtyled Accurate: and his *Notes*, as far as They go, are indeed a Treaſury of *Grammatical* and *Critical* Knowledge. He was called to this Taſk, by Royal Command: and He has performed it in ſuch a Manner, as to be Worthy of the *Young Prince*, for whoſe Uſe it was laboured. The Praiſes given to this Excellent Work, by the Writers abroad in their *Memoirs*; as well as by the Learned Maſters of the Three principal Schools of *England*; Thoſe of *Weſtminſter*, *Eaton*, and St. *Paul's*; and the Short Character, That the Performance was *Supra omnem invidiam*, beſtowed by One whom Dr. *Clarke* himſelf had long before ſtyled, *Criticos unus omnes longè longéque—antecellens*, and whom Every one will know by that Title without my naming Him, make it unneceſſary to add a Word upon this Subject.

In the midſt of his Other Labours, He found time alſo to ſhew His Regard to the *Mathematical* and *Phyſical* Studies; and his exact Knowledge and Skill in them. For *theſe* indeed, He had a ſort of a Natural Affection, and Capacity; which were greatly improved by the particular Friendſhip of the Incomparable Sir *Iſaac Newton*, whoſe Death only put an End to it; and by the Light communicated to Him from his Writings and Converſation. At Sir *Iſaac's* Requeſt, He tranſlated his Treatiſe of *Optics*, into that pure and intelligible *Latin*, which has ſent it all over *Europe* in a plainer and leſs ambiguous Style, than the *Engliſh Language* will ſometimes permit. And after the death of that Great Man, vindicated his Doctrine about the Proportion of *Velocity* and *Force* in *Bodies* in *Motion*, from the Objections of ſome late Mathematicians, in a ſhort, plain, and Maſterly Letter, printed in the Tranſactions of the Royal Society, N° 401, 1728, and in a manner ſufficient to ſhew the excellent Greatneſs of his *Genius* for theſe *Subjects* as well as Others.

I muſt not paſs by a very remarkable Controverſy, which laſted long, in a private manner, between Him and the learned Mr. *Leibnitz*; and afterwards was publiſhed, and inſcribed to Her preſent MAJESTY, who was pleaſed to have it paſs through Her hands: and was the Witneſs and Judge of every Step of it. It related chiefly to the Important and Difficult Subjects of *Liberty* and *Neceſſity*. This *Liberty*, or *Moral Agency*, was a *Darling Point* to Him. He excelled always, and ſhewed a Superiority to All, whenever it came into Private Diſcourſe, or Publick Debate. But He never more excelled, than when He was preſſed with the Strength this *Learned Adverſary* was Maſter of: which made Him exert All his Talents to ſet it once again in a Clear light; to guard it againſt the Evil of *Metaphyſical Obſcurities*; and to give the finiſhing Stroke to a *Subject*, which muſt ever be the *Foundation* of Morality in Man; and is the Sole Ground of the Accountableneſs of Intelligent Creatures for All their Actions. And as This was the laſt of Dr. *Clarke's* Works relating to a Subject which had been, by the Writings of Cloudy or Artful Men, rendered ſo intricate; I ſhall take the Liberty to ſay, with regard to All of the ſame Tendency, from his Firſt Diſcourſe about the Being of GOD, to theſe Letters; That what He has written to clear and illuſtrate this Cauſe, does now ſtand, and will for ever remain, before the World, a laſting Monument of a *Genius*, which could throw in Light where Darkneſs uſed to reign; and force Good Senſe and Plain Words, into what was almoſt the *Privileged place* of *Obſcurity*, and Unintelligible Sounds. For ſuch indeed, had the *Subject* before Us been, under the hands of Moſt who had written upon it; either through a *deſire* of darkening it by Words without Meaning, or through an *Inability* of diſcourſing clearly and conſiſtently about it.

Such was the Conduct, and ſuch was the Life of Dr. *Clarke*; full of Deſigns and Works, becoming a Truly Great Man, intimately concerned for his own Real Happineſs; and for That of All Intelligent Creatures and Moral Agents around Him. And, in the midſt of All theſe *Studies* and Labours, His Natural *Conſtitution* of *Body* was in appearance ſo good; and his Care of his health was ſo conſtantly and regularly prudent; that All the Friends to his Perſon, and to True Knowledge, promiſed Themſelves and the World a much longer Enjoyment of ſuch Uſeful Accompliſhments, than it pleaſed GOD to afford Them. He paſſed his Life, without any Indiſpoſition bad enough to confine Him, except That of the *Small-pox* in his Youth, till his laſt Illneſs: though, ſince his Death, many little Particulars, and Complaints have been called to mind, which ſeem to have been Evident *Symptoms* of ſome Weakneſs, or Somewhat wrong, which He uſed to feel within. On *Sunday*, *May* 11, 1729, He went out in the Morning, to preach before the *Judges* at *Serjeant's-Inn:* and there was ſeized with a *Pain* in his Side, which made it impoſſible for Him to perform the Office He was called to; and quickly became ſo violent that He was obliged to be carried home. He went to bed; and thought Himſelf ſo much better in the Afternoon, that He would not ſuffer Himſelf to be blouded: againſt which Remedy He had indeed entertained ſtrong prejudices. But the Pain returning very violently about Two the next Morning, made the Advice and Aſſiſtance of a very Able Phyſician abſolutely neceſſary: Who, after twice bleeding Him, and other applications, thought Him, as He alſo thought Himſelf, to be out of all Danger; and ſo continued to think, till the *Saturday* Morning following: When, to the inexpreſſible Surpriſe of All about Him, the *Pain* removed from his *Side* to his *Head*; and, after a very ſhort Complaint, took away his Senſes, ſo as that They never returned any more. He continued breathing till between ſeven and eight in the Evening of that Day, *May* 17, 1729, and then died: and by his Death (Let me be permitted to ſay it) left the World deſtitute of as Bright a *Light*, and as Maſterly a Teacher of *Truth* and *Virtue*, as ever yet appeared amongſt Us.

He married *Catharine*, the only Daughter of the Reverend Mr. *Lockwood*, Rector of *Little Maſſingham* in the County of *Norfolk*; in whoſe Good Senſe and Unblameable Behaviour He was happy to his Death. By Her, he had *Seven* Children; *Two* of which died before Him, and *One*, in a few weeks after Him.

He was a Perſon of a *Natural Genius*, excellent enough to have placed Him in the Superiour rank of Men, without the Acquirements of *Learning:* and of

Learning enough, to have rendered a much leſs Comprehenſive *Genius* very conſiderable in the Eyes of the World. But in *Him* They were both united, to ſuch a degree, that Thoſe who were of his intimate Acquaintance, knew not which to admire moſt. The Firſt Strokes of Knowledge, in ſome of its Branches, ſeemed to be little leſs than *Natural* to Him: For They appeared to lie right in His Mind, as ſoon as Any thing could appear; and to be the very ſame which afterwards grew up with Him, into perfection, as the Strength and Cultivation of his Mind increaſed. He had one Happineſs very rarely known amongſt the Greateſt Men, That his *Memory* was almoſt equal to his *Judgement:* which is as Great a Character as can well be given of it. It did not indeed, appear in Trifles; nor in Every part of Knowledge: But in Thoſe particularly which regarded the Claſſical and pureſt Writers of the Antients; or Any Part of Real and Experimental Philoſophy; as well as what can truly be called *Theology*, It was ſurprizingly excellent; and of wonderful Uſe to Him, through all his Studies, and all his Converſation.

In *Divinity*, it was his great Aim to ſetle beyond all Contradiction what muſt be the Support of True Religion; and then to ſhew the Evidences for what muſt rely upon that Support. The *neceſſary Exiſtence* of *One* only GOD, and the Impoſſibility of the *Exiſtence* of More Than One, He juſtly eſteemed as the *Foundation* of All. This neceſſary *Unity* of the Supreme Being appears throughout His Writings to have been ever uppermoſt in his Thoughts: a Subject, which, though often excellently handled, and made as Evident as any Arguments and Illuſtrations *à Poſteriori* could make it; yet had never, I think, before his Time, been attempted in the Way of *ſtrict Demonſtration à Priori:* which certainly is the Strongeſt, and therefore, the moſt deſirable of *All* Proofs, where it can be had. *He* undertook the Taſk: and Many of the Beſt Judges, after a great deal of Conſideration, have allowed that He has executed it in a Maſterly and Satisfactory Manner: with ſo much Evidence indeed, as generally to convince Thoſe who are capable of entring into this ſort of Queſtions. I ſay, *Generally*; becauſe I am ſenſible, There are ſome very Underſtanding Perſons who do not yet ſee this *Evidence* ſo clearly as Others do.

In *Morality*, It was His Great and Principal View to do laſting ſervice to the Eternal Obligations of *Virtue*; that is, of Every Inſtance of Practice and Conduct towards GOD, our Neighbour, and Ourſelves, which reſults from the Nature and Relations of Things: and this he has done in the plaineſt and moſt intelligible Manner.

In the Cauſe of *Chriſtianity* He laboured as ſincerely; and, with the ſame Clearneſs and Strength, produced and illuſtrated All the *Evidences* peculiar to It: not indeed, conſidering It, as it has been taught in the Schools or Diſcourſes of Modern Ages; but as it lies in the *New Teſtament* itſelf.

And throughout All this, As his *Firſt Principle* was the *Unity* of GOD, which he eſteemed the Only Guard againſt *Idolatry*, as well as the *Baſis* of All Moral Obedience; ſo, next to This, Nothing Seemed to be more ſtrong within Him, than his Inclination to ſetle the True Notions of *Neceſſity* and *Liberty* in what is called *Action.* This He has done in a very convincing Manner, and at the ſame time demonſtrated, beyond all reaſonable doubt, That Freedom of *Action* in *Man*, which only can make Him at all *Accountable* to his *Creator*, as a Judge of his Behaviour. Such was the Courſe He ran, in the Cauſe of That Religion, which alone can be ſtyled worthy of GOD to propoſe, or of *Man* to embrace!

In *Natural Philoſophy*, and the *Mathematical* Knowledge neceſſary to It, amidſt All his other Employments, He excelled, as if Theſe had been his *Darling Study*. Not that He could poſſibly find Time Himſelf to make all the proper *Experiments*, or neceſſary *Calculations*. But He had I know not what happineſs of Genius, by which he immediately comprehended what coſt Others a great deal of Pains; and ſuch a Faculty of judging of any New *Syſtems*, or *Propoſitions*, from what He knew certainly before; and theſe ſupported by a *Memory* which hardly ever failed Him upon theſe Subjects; That He was eſteemed, by the *Knowers*, to be One of the Beſt Judges, to apply to, for a Quick Determination about the Force or Failure of any Arguments, or appearing Demonſtrations, in theſe Studies.

His *Critical* Skill in the learned Languages was like the Gift of Nature; ſo ſtrong and ſo eaſy in Him, that it appeared plainly, to what a Wide Extent This would have gone, had not his Other Affairs and Studies put a neceſſary Stop to what He was ſo exquiſitely framed for. Great as the Impediments were; We See, His *Memory* and his Judgement in this part of Learning were ſo Strong and Powerful, that They ſhone through them all in a few Inſtances; and theſe, ſufficient to make All Men of Letters wiſh that He could have ſpent more of his Time this way. It is for his honour to obſerve, That he made this Critical Skill ſubſervient to the *Cauſe* of *Religion*, as well as *Polite Learning*; and gave a Noble Specimen of applying it to the diſcovery of the True Meaning of Words and Phraſes uſed in the *Sacred Writings:* without which, We do but wander in the dark, when We pretend to ſpeak upon many of the *Subjects* contained in thoſe Books.

As much as I have ſaid already of his Excellencies in Learning; There is ſtill *One* behind, which was (I had almoſt ſaid) ſtrictly peculiar to Him: I mean The manner of his handling Subjects of a *Metaphyſical* and *Abſtract* Nature. In this Skill, He had a Superiority ſo viſible; that, I think, the Greateſt Maſters of it ought to yield it up to Him. This Superiority appeared by his ſhewing that He had always clear and diſtinct Ideas; by clothing them with plain and Intelligible Words; by going no farther than theſe *Ideas* and *Words* could go together; and by arguing as cloſely upon the abſtruſeſt Points which He pretended to underſtand, as is uſual in *Mathematical* Deductions themſelves.

If in *Any One* of theſe Many Branches of *Knowledge* and *Learning* He had excelled only ſo much, as He did in *All*; This alone would have juſtly intitled Him to the Name of a *Great Man*. But there is ſomething ſo very extraordinary, that the ſame Perſon ſhould excel, not only in thoſe Parts of Knowledge which require the Strongeſt *Judgement*, but in Thoſe which want the help of the Strongeſt *Memory* alſo; and It is ſo ſeldom Seen, That One, who is a Great Maſter in *Theology*, is at the ſame time ſkilfully fond of all *Critical* and *Claſſical* Learning; or Excellent in the *Phyſical* and *Mathematical* Studies; or well framed for *Metaphyſical* and *Abſtract* Reaſonings: That it ought to be remarked, in how particular a Manner, and to how high a degree, *Divinity* and *Mathematicks*, *Experimental Philoſophy* and *Claſſical Learning*, *Metaphyſicks* and *Critical Skill*, All of them, (Various and different as They are amongſt Themſelves,) united in Dr. *Clarke*.

This way of ſpeaking of Him, with regard to All theſe, may Sound ſo high; that Many perhaps who were Strangers to Him, and to His Real Excellencies, may think, I have ſaid too much. But I am confident, (and this is my Satisfaction) That in All that I have ſaid upon theſe Subjects, I have the Conſent and Teſtimony of Many of the moſt Judicious and Learned Men, of All Denominations amongſt Us; as well Thoſe who did not come into All his Sentiments, as Thoſe who did.

His *Preaching* was what One would naturally expect from a Perſon of ſo Critical a *Genius*, and ſo ſedate a *Judgement*. The Deſign and Tendency of it was not to move the paſſions: nor had He any *Talent* this way. He wiſely never attempted it, becauſe He was ſenſible He ſhould not ſucceed if He did. And if This was a *Defect*; it was a *Defect* in his original Frame and Conſtitution. But then, His Sentiments and Expreſſion were ſo maſterly; His way of explaining the *Phraſeology* of *Scripture*, by collecting, and comparing together, all the Parallel Places truly relating to any Subject, was ſo Extraordinary and Convincing; that ſuch a Delight of Satisfaction went along with it, as more than made amends for the Want of the *Other*. And in this Method of Preaching, He was ſo univerſally acceptable, that perhaps there was not a *Pariſhioner* He had, of any Rank, (whatever might be his way of thinking in our divided World,) who was not always pleaſed at his coming into the Pulpit; or, who was ever weary of his Inſtructions from thence. *However We differ in Some matters, We deſire to See No other Perſon in the Pulpit*; was, I know, a Saying amongſt Them. And it is for their honour, that I mention it.

Theſe Accompliſhments of *Nature* and *Learning* not only made his *Preaching* thus Excellent; but rendered his *Converſation* amongſt his Friends in ſo high a degree Uſeful and Inſtructive, that It might be ſtyled An Eaſy Continuation of his own Studies, and a School of Knowledge to Thoſe who partook of it. Indeed, if I might be allowed to judge in What that peculiar Excellence lay, which moſt diſtinguiſhed Him from other Great Men; I would place it in That Readineſs of Thought, and Clearneſs of Expreſſion, which hardly ever failed Him, when His Opinion was aſked, upon All ſorts of Important and Trying Queſtions. The Pleaſure and Satisfaction which appeared where He converſed with any Freedom, could not but be very great; to hear Many of the Difficulties which had perplexed very Able Men in their ſeveral Profeſſions and Studies, though ſtarted all on a ſudden, vaniſhing almoſt as ſuddenly; leſſening continually as faſt as He ſpake, and generally ending with his Diſcourſe. *Here* indeed, it was That He triumphed without a Rival. They who fancied Themſelves in Doubts never to be ſatisfied, often found Light from Him, after having vainly tried to find it elſewhere: and They who did not ſee to the End of their Difficulties immediately, yet had This Comfort, That They always underſtood Him, as far as He went; and at leaſt that Satisfaction which is the next to finding out the Whole Truth, I mean The Satisfaction of being convinced that it was in vain to expect it. Thoſe who knew Him, have been daily Witneſſes to what I now ſay, in *Mathematical* and *Critical*, as well as *Theological* and *Metaphyſical* Subjects: Upon the laſt of which indeed, He was one of the *very Few*, who could, or would, always talk intelligibly. His Diſcourſe of this ſort was without one Word or Term, which He was not as ready to give a plain Senſe to, as He was to make uſe of it; and in a Style which He would take as great a pleaſure to adapt to the Underſtanding of All perſons of Senſe, as Many would do, to raiſe their Language even out of their own reach, as well as That of Others. For He judged, That as the Uſe of Language was to expreſs Thoughts; ſo *Thoſe ſounds* could not be juſtly called *Language*, which repreſented No Thoughts at all. Such was his *Converſation* amongſt his Friends: always far removed from *Pedantry*; and never ariſing from his own *affectation* of introducing *Learning* into it; but from the Enquiries of *Others*, or the *Occaſions* which naturally and unavoidably led to it.

What added a Force to his *Preaching* and Inſtructive *Diſcourſe*, was his own Unblameable Example, and Perſonal Conduct, in All the Duties of a Man, and a Chriſtian. His Piety was Manly and Unaffected; built upon the moſt ſolid Grounds, and free from all Pomp and Shew. The *Charity* of his Temper and Good-will was as Extenſive as the Whole Rational Creation of God. The *Charity* of his Aſſiſtance and Beneficence, as Extenſive as the Circumſtances of his Family would prudently admit. His Love of the Religious and Civil Liberties of Mankind, was a Ruling and Powerful Principle in His Heart and Practice. In a word, His Morals, from the firſt of his Days, to the laſt, were without Reproach. There was an Innocence and Inoffenſiveneſs remarkable through his whole Behaviour: And his *Life*, when He came into the View of the Great World, was an Ornament and Strength to that Religion which his *Pen* ſo well defended.

No wonder that a Perſon of ſuch a *Genius*, and ſuch *Acquirements* was ſought after by the Greateſt Lovers of Virtue and Knowledge. This was his Caſe, to ſuch a Degree, that, through his laſt Years, He could command but very little time for his own Studies, even in the *Morning*; and after the *Morning* was over, He was almoſt Every day invited and preſſed amongſt his Friends abroad; not only Thoſe of his own Pariſh, who were equally deſirous of his Company; but Many in all the other parts of the Town.

The *Chief Perſons* of the *Law* will forgive Me, If I cannot paſs over the Singular Regard They paid to this Great Man: which was ſo remarkable, that it ſeemed to be a ſort of Conteſt amongſt Them, who ſhould ſhew it moſt. The *Lord High Chancellor*, The *Maſter* of the *Rolls*, The Lord *Chief Baron*, and ſeveral of his Brethren the Learned *Judges*, (not to mention *Others*) will, I am confident, eſteem it their Honour to have it ſaid, ſince it can be ſaid with Truth, That there never yet appeared a Divine amongſt Us, (not related to *Them* by his Office,) who received ſuch continued and ſuch particular Marks of the higheſt Reſpect from ſo many Ornaments of that *Honourable Profeſſion*, as He did, from the Day of his being firſt known amongſt Them, to That day, on which Some of Them were Witneſſes to the approaches of his laſt Illneſs.

The Regards paid to him by the Beſt of the Powerful and Noble part of Our World, were as Conſtant and as Remarkable. Above all, It ought ever to be remembered, wherever the Name of Dr. *Clarke* is remembered, That her Preſent *MAJESTY*, from Her firſt Acquaintance with his Character to the Day of his Death, expreſſed the high Eſteem She had of his Comprehenſive Capacity, and Uſeful Learning, by very frequent Converſations with Him, upon Many of the moſt Important and Entertaining Points of True Philoſophy, and Real Knowledge. And ſeldom a Week paſſed in which SHE did not with pleaſure receive ſome proof of the Greatneſs of his Genius, and of the Force of his Superior Underſtanding.

If Any One ſhould aſk, as it is natural to do, How it came to paſs that this Great Man was never raiſed higher in the *Church*? I muſt anſwer, That it was neither for want of Merit, nor Intereſt, nor the Favour of Some in whoſe Power it was to have raiſed Him. But he had *Reaſons* within his own Breaſt, which hindered Him either from ſeeking after, or accepting any ſuch Promotion. Of Theſe He was the proper, and indeed the only Judge: and therefore I ſay no more of Them. He was happy in that Station, in which it had pleaſed GOD to fix Him before thoſe *Reaſons* took place: and He had not in Him, either the Deſire of Dignity, or Love of Riches, ſtrong enough to make Him uneaſy for Any thing more than what afforded Him and his Family a

Decent appearance and place in Life. And, agreeably to this Character, As He ſought after No promotion in the *Church*; ſo, He refuſed the offer of a very beneficial *Civil* Office *.

Thus adorned with the moſt Valuable of All Moral and Intellectual Accompliſhments, He lived in the Eſteem of the Wiſe and Good and Great; and died ſincerely lamented by Every Friend to Learning, Truth, and Virtue. ⁂

I have thus paid that laſt Duty to the Memory of this Excellent Man, which I could not but eſteem a Debt to ſuch a Benefactor to the Cauſe of *Religion* and *Learning* united. And, as Theſe Works of His muſt laſt as long as Any Language remains to convey them to future times; perhaps I may flatter Myſelf That this Faint and Imperfect Account of Him may be tranſmitted down with Them. And I hope, It will be thought a pardonable piece of Ambition, and Self-intereſtedneſs; if, being fearful leſt Every Thing elſe ſhould prove too weak to keep the Remembrance of Myſelf in being, I lay hold on *His* Fame, to prop and ſupport *My own*. I am ſure, As I have little Reaſon to expect that Any thing of mine, without ſuch an Aſſiſtance, can live: I ſhall think Myſelf greatly recompenſed for the want of Any other Memorial, if *My* Name may go down to Poſterity thus cloſely joined to *His*; and I myſelf be thought of, and ſpoken of, in Ages to come, under the Character of *The FRIEND* of Dr. *CLARKE*.

BENJ. *SARUM.*

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* Maſter of the Mint.

⁂ *As it has been reported that Dr.* Clarke *retracted his Principles a long time before his Death, and that on his Death-bed he ſaid that nothing grieved him ſo much as having publiſhed his Book on the Trinity, and that he wiſhed he could ſee all his Books on that Subject burning before him; and as this account has been ſaid to have been received from his Son: His Son, whoſe Name is here ſubſcribed, and at whoſe requeſt this note is here added, thinks it proper to aſſure the Reader he never knew any thing of his Father's having made ſuch a declaration, or of his having ever retracted any of his Sentiments. The falſhood of the Report, he thinks appears further evident from Dr.* Clarke's *own Preface to the third Edition of the above-mentioned Work; a Copy whereof was left by him at his Death, reviſed purpoſely for the Preſs; and afterwards, in the Year* 1732, *printed and publiſhed accordingly from that Copy.*

April 5, 1773.

SAMUEL CLARKE.

VII.

PRACTICAL DIVINITY.

I. THREE CHARGES:

1. Delivered to the Reverend the Clergy of the Dioceſe of *Saliſbury*, at the Biſhop's Primary Viſitation, 1726; and then printed.

2. Delivered to the Reverend the Clergy of the ſame Dioceſe, at his next Viſitation.

3. Delivered to the Reverend the Clergy of the Dioceſe of *Wincheſter*, at the Biſhop's Perſonal Viſitation, 1736.

   Theſe two never printed before.

   (It is obſervable, that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* never performs this Duty more than once, viſiting his Clergy *every Year* beſides by his Chancellor.)

II. SERMONS, publiſhed formerly in Three Volumes:

1. Several Diſcourſes on the Terms of Acceptance with God, *&c.* 1711.

2. Sixteen Sermons formerly printed, now collected into one Volume. To which are added Six Sermons upon Public Occaſions, &c. 1754.

   N. B. (Eleven of theſe are already printed in theſe Volumes. See Vol. I. p. 33—47. 152—179. Vol. II. p. 18—25. 103—125. 402—409.)

3. Twenty Sermons, the firſt Nine of them preached before the King in Lent, *&c.* 1755.

III. A plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, *&c.* 1735.

A CHARGE

DELIVERED TO

THE CLERGY,

AT THE

PRIMARY VISITATION OF THE DIOCESE OF SARUM,

In the YEAR MDCCXXVI.

YOU know, My BRETHREN, that the *Relation*, I now bear to You, makes it my Duty, upon the preſent Occaſion, to ſay ſomething to You. And, as this is the firſt time of our coming together for that Purpoſe: I think, I cannot better employ it, than by calling to your Minds, and my own, ſome of the moſt Important and *General Points*, which are of equal Concern to You and Me; and of the greateſt Weight to Us all in the Diſcharge of our ſeveral Duties. And, for this good End, nothing appears to me to be more proper than

I. To conſider ourſelves, not only as *Chriſtians*, but as *Miniſters* of *Chriſt*; and as having particularly devoted ourſelves to the Service of God, and of the Souls of Men, in the *Chriſtian* Church.

II. To conſider ourſelves as *Proteſtants*; and as *Miniſters* in a *Proteſtant Church*. And

III. To conſider ourſelves as *Miniſters* in the *Church* of *England*, peculiarly ſo called, as it is at preſent Eſtabliſhed amongſt Us.

The Diviſion of our Thoughts under theſe *Three Heads* will be of great Uſe to Us: as it will lead Us more diſtinctly to conſider the ſeveral *Adverſaries* We have to deal with, and the true Line and Meaſure of our Duty with reſpect to *Them*; as well as the Weight of our Office, and Our great Concern in the due Performance of it.

I. The *firſt* and great Point, is, often to conſider that We are not only *Chriſtians*; but *Miniſters* of *Chriſt*, who have voluntarily and deliberately taken upon ourſelves a *Sacred Office* in the *Chriſtian Church*; and have devoted ourſelves peculiarly to the Service of Thoſe Souls for which *Chriſt* died.

This is an awful and ſolemn Conſideration, which ought to govern our whole Conduct, and ſpread its influence over Every Part of our whole Behaviour. As We have choſen this Office, I truſt, upon ſuch good Grounds and Motives, as will juſtify Us, before God, in what We ſolemnly declared at the firſt Step We took towards it, *viz.* That We truſted We were *moved to it by the Holy Spirit of God*; it behoves Us, as much as We value the Favour of God, and our own Eternal Salvation, to take the greateſt Care that No One of Thoſe committed to Us, fall ſhort of the great Reward which all Chriſtians have in their Eye. If *We* be not wanting, on *our* Part, towards this; no Wickedneſs or Wilfulneſs of *Others* will be charged upon *Us*. But if there be any wilful Defect in *our* Care and Watchfulneſs; Thoſe who periſh will not periſh without *our* Guilt mixt with *their own:* and We muſt anſwer at the Great Tribunal for our Share in ſo unſpeakable an Evil.

But not only this. The frequent Conſideration of Ourſelves, as *Miniſters* of *Chriſt*, will be an infallible Rule of Judgement and Action to Us, in every Circumſtance of our Office. It will guide Us into the true Notion of the *Dignity* of it: And it will lead Us to keep up, in ſome degree, our whole Conduct to that *Dignity*. There is, without doubt, a great and highly valuable *Dignity* in our *Office*. But it is in vain, my Brethren, for *Us* to boaſt, or ſo much as to ſpeak, of it, unleſs We underſtand what it is; and, after We do underſtand it, unleſs We live and act, as if We ourſelves were ſenſible of it. We muſt firſt reverence Ourſelves, before We can expect that Others ſhould reverence Us: *Reverence ourſelves*;—Not by demanding outward Marks of Reſpect; but by ſuch a Behaviour, as will naturally command them, by attracting the Real Eſteem of thoſe around Us; and by ſuch a Conduct, as will convince all who are Witneſſes to it, that We are in earneſt, and know what We mean by the juſt Value We ſet upon our Office.

Our *Dignity* is our *nearer Relation* to Chriſt: And this *nearer Relation* is contracted by means of that particular *Function* which We have, under his Eye, and according to his Will, deliberately and ſeriouſly undertaken; the Office of helping forward and promoting, in the World, the great End which He propoſed in coming down from Heaven, and living and dying for Mankind. Now, all *Relations* to *Chriſt*, are either our Honour, or Reproach; our great Glory, or our great Shame; our higher Reward, or our deeper Condemnation; according as We ourſelves behave ourſelves in them. A wicked *Chriſtian* has indeed a worthy Name, *viz.* that of a *Chriſtian:* But He himſelf has no Dignity by taking upon Him that Name, whilſt He continues wicked. He reflects Shame upon the beſt *Name* in the World; and the *Name* He has aſſumed reflects Shame and Ignominy upon *Him*, whilſt He ſhews himſelf utterly unworthy of it. So it is, and ſo it muſt be, *my Brethren*, with Us. The *Office* We have undertaken, is a *Glorious* Office; I will ſay, a God-like Office,—to carry forward the Purpoſes of God himſelf, in the Direction of Mankind to his Favour and their own Eternal Happineſs. There is a *Dignity* and an Honour in it, conſidered in this View, not to be equalled by any of the higheſt Offices of this World, decked out with all their Pomp and Shew. But *We* can have no *Dignity* accrue to *Us* from this Office, if We be ſo unhappy as openly and plainly to oppoſe ourſelves to the main Deſign of it. The higher the Honour, the greater the Dignity of the Office, the more conſpicuous will it render every wilful Deviation of ours from it. In a Word, It is impoſſible *He* ſhould have Dignity *in* Himſelf, or conciliate Reſpect and Honour *to* himſelf; who, making the beſt and moſt glorious Profeſſion with his Mouth, is ſeen openly to contradict it in the Tenor of his Conduct. *He* only receives a *Dignity* from it, who adds ſome *Dignity* to it, in his proportion, by his excellent Life and Chriſtian Doctrine. And it is *He* only who cannot fail of procuring to Himſelf the *Reſpect* of All whoſe Reſpect is valuable, who ſhews that He reſpects himſelf; and, not in Words but in Deeds, looks upon himſelf as more nearly, than others, related to his great *Lord* and *Maſter*. This, I ſay, is *one* great Uſe of our conſidering ourſelves as the *Miniſters* of *Chriſt*; that it will lead Us to the true

Notion of the *Dignity* of *our Office*, in the imitation of *Him* whoſe *Miniſters* We have undertaken to be. And this Notion, thoroughly imbibed, and received into our Hearts, will ſpread itſelf over our whole Lives; and engage Us to frame and faſhion our whole Deportment in ſuch a manner, as that What is, in *itſelf*, the Higheſt *Glory*, may not, through *our own* Willfulneſs, become our Shame; and tend to our Indignity and Condemnation, when we ſhall come to appear before our Righteous Judge.

But there is another and very important Uſe to be ſtill made of this *firſt* and *principal* Point, *viz.* the Conſideration of Ourſelves as the *Miniſters* of *Jeſus Chriſt*: and that is, to be perſuaded, from thence, to take all our Directions; all our Maxims; all our Rules both of Life and Doctrine; from *Him* alone, whoſe *Miniſters* We profeſs ourſelves to be. From the firſt Moment of our devoting ourſelves to *his* Miniſtry, We become totally engaged to him. We are no longer under any other Guidance but *His*. This is implied in the thing itſelf. It is an Abſurdity, a direct Contradiction, to call or think ourſelves The *Miniſters* of *Chriſt*, unleſs We eſteem ourſelves under the ſtricteſt Obligation to conſult and follow Him alone as our ultimate Director and Guide. This is indeed, at once our *Honour*; our *Happineſs*; and our *Duty*. It is our *Honour*; becauſe it is our Adherence and Reſemblance to *Him*, to whom God *hath given a Name above Every Name*. It is our *Happineſs*; becauſe We may be ſure, We cannot err, or wander from the Truth, or from any thing neceſſary, ſo as to *hurt* ourſelves, whilſt We follow ſuch a Guide in the Uprightneſs and Sincerity of our Hearts. And it is our *Duty*; becauſe We have made ourſelves his Servants and *Miniſters*: and, as placed in ſuch a Relation to Him, muſt be guilty of a great and unpardonable Sin in not doing it.

From hence it will appear to Us, that We muſt throw off all regard to Ourſelves, to our own Wiſhes or Inclinations, to our own private Opinions and Notions, any farther than as they are perfectly agreeable to his *expreſs Declarations*. And from hence it as plainly appears, that We muſt not be the *Followers* or *Miniſters* of *Men*, in any ſuch Senſe as is inconſiſtent with our conſtant *Uniform* Regard to *Chriſt* and *his* Will. There is no other infallible Oracle for Us, but This: And This will be ſufficient for all our Purpoſes, if We have no Purpoſes but what become Chriſtians, and are ſuitable to our Holy Profeſſion. In our Lives and Converſations, This is common to *Us* with all other *Chriſtians*, that from *his* Laws, from *his* Promiſes and Threatnings, We muſt take all our Rules of private Behaviour: And We have This to add peculiar to ourſelves, that, from the ſame Director we muſt learn effectually to be *Examples to the Flock*; to excell in *good Works*; and to let the *light* of thoſe *good Works ſo ſhine before Men, that They may* from them be led to glorify our Father which is in Heaven.

And then, as to our *Preaching*, and that Great Duty incumbent upon Us of inſtructing Others; how can We poſſibly hope to do it, either with Satisfaction to our own Conſciences, or with the Hope of God's Favour accompanying our Labours, unleſs We frame and faſhion all our Teaching upon the *Goſpel* delivered by *Chriſt*, or by his *immediate Diſciples* from *Him*? We ſay, We are the *Miniſters* of *Chriſt*; beſeeching Men, in his Name, to be reconciled to God through *Him*; and to be what He has declared They ought to be, in order to be accepted by God. How therefore, can We be the *Miniſters* of *Chriſt* in this Work, unleſs We take all our Directions from Him: when it is ſo very evident, that, as far as We neglect to do this; as far as We follow our own Imaginations and Conceptions,

ceptions, or the Imaginations and Directions of any other Uninſpired Men, without comparing them with the *Will* of *Chriſt*; ſo far, We ceaſe to be *His Miniſters* or Servants, and become the *Miniſters* of *our own* Will and Pleaſure, or of the Will of *other* weak Men like ourſelves? And how can We teach and adviſe and beſeech Men to be reconciled to God; and to behave themſelves ſo as to be accepted by Him; without declaring to them thoſe *Terms*, upon which alone They may be thus accepted? And how can We lay before them thoſe *Terms*, unleſs We know them ourſelves? And how can We poſſibly know them ourſelves, but from *Him*, who alone had Authority from God to propoſe them to the whole World, where-ever the Sound of his *Goſpel* ſhould be heard?

You will forgive Me, My Brethren, if I inſiſt upon this as the *Principal* of *all* Conſiderations in which *We* have any Concern. It is in order to impreſs That upon *my own* Conſcience, as well as *Yours*, without which We cannot take One right Step in our whole Duty; but under the conſtant influence of which, We may be happy, and go on ſecure in the Satisfaction of doing our Duty through every Branch of it. I ſhould eſteem myſelf utterly unworthy of the Name of a *Miniſter* of the *Goſpel*; and much more ſo, of the *Relation* which I now ſtand in to You; if, in putting you in remembrance of any Inſtances of your Duty, I could ever forget this Great Foundation of all; or ſhould ever ceaſe to inculcate this upon *You* and *Myſelf*, That it is in vain we call ourſelves the *Miniſters* or Servants of *Chriſt*, unleſs we take *Him* and his *Goſpel*, as He left it Us, for the Rule of our Preaching his Will: and that it is in vain we preach to Men the glad Tidings of Salvation, unleſs We ſtudy thoſe Sacred Books in which alone thoſe glad Tidings are to be found; and ſtudy them ſo effectually, and with ſo juſt Conceptions of them, as from *Them* only to lay before our Hearers thoſe *Terms* of *Salvation*, which *They alone* can teach us. And happy will it be for Us, if We continue conſtant to this Rule. It will be our Guide, and our Support, in every Branch of our Office. It will over-rule our Hearts, and Practice, in every Circumſtance of it. It will be a Fountain of *Infallible Directions* to our Flocks. And it will entitle ourſelves to the Favour of that Great *Maſter*, from whoſe Mouth alone we thus ſeek for True Knowledge.

II. The *ſecond General* Point, I mentioned at firſt, was, That We ought often to conſider ourſelves as *Proteſtants*; Members and *Miniſters* of a *Church* reformed from the *Superſtition* and *Tyranny* of the *Church* of *Rome*. And I mention this, to put ourſelves in remembrance of what Length of Time, and our own ſeeming Security from Danger, may too often remove from our View; and yet, what is of great Importance to have often before our Eyes. I would not have it thought, that I intend by this to ſtir up any undue Zeal, or Reſentment, againſt the Perſons of Any who are Members of that Communion. I think They have the *Common Right*, with All others, as to their *Religious Tenets*, (properly ſo called) to be treated with Humanity, and to be convinced only by Argument. What their *Principles* lead to, with reſpect to the *Civil Government*; or what their Practices threaten; *This* is the proper Concern of the *Civil Government*. But as to *Us*, whoſe only Concern, as Preachers of the Goſpel, is with their *Religion*, (which is to be treated by Us with *Spiritual Weapons* only,) the preſent Conſideration will be of a *double* Uſe.

The *firſt* ariſes from hence, That it is very apparent, from the Experience of every Week, and almoſt every Hour; That Thoſe of *that Communion* ceaſe not, Day or Night, to perpetuate and preſs all their antient Claims; that They watch every Opportunity, and make uſe of every Art, to ingratiate, firſt *Themſelves*, and then *their Doctrines*, to the Minds of the Unſtable, and the Unthoughtful Part of our World; to infuſe into Thoſe who come in their Way, the moſt agreeable, but falſe, Notions of their Religion; and to ſeduce Many out of the Flocks committed to our Care. From hence, I ſay, ariſes One Reaſon for our frequent Conſideration of ourſelves as Miniſters in a *Proteſtant Church*; That We may not be lulled aſleep, whilſt ſuch an *Enemy is ſowing Tares in the Field* of it; That we may not be led to think that the antient *Controverſies* between *Us* and *Them* are of no Moment: but that We may frequently review them in the Courſe of our Studies; and ſo thoroughly comprehend them, that We may be ready and prepared to reſolve the Doubts, and anſwer the Scruples, which may at any time be artificially conveyed into the Minds of our People; and be always armed with every thing neceſſary to combat the Sophiſtry, and to wipe off the Falſe Colourings, of the Adverſary; and ſo to preſerve Thoſe who, without our Help, muſt too probably be carried away with the fair Outſide and Appearance of things.

Another Uſe of this *Conſideration* will be, That, rightly apprehended, it will prevent Us from giving Thoſe ſame *Adverſaries* that great Advantage which they have always made Uſe of moſt effectually againſt Us, by preſerving Us from all *Inconſiſtencies*, in our Arguings and Practices, as *Proteſtants*. I mean, by leading Us (as it muſt do, if we purſue it juſtly and ſincerely) to an Uniform Set of Principles and Behaviour; by ſhewing Us the neceſſity of not Claiming, or Practiſing, Any thing *ourſelves*, which We utterly condemn in *Them*; and for the ſake of which *(chiefly*, if not *only*,*)* We ſeparated from them. *With* this, We have nothing to fear from any the ſtrongeſt Attaque that can be made from that Quarter, in the Way of Debate or Argument. But *without* it, I will be bold to ſay, They are ſo well inſtructed, and know ſo well the Force of *Topics* taken from *our* Weakneſſes, and Inconſiſtencies, that it is in vain to hope for much Succeſs againſt them: Not to mention here a very important Conſideration; That All *Truth* muſt of neceſſity be *Uniform* and *Self-conſiſtent*. I paſs on now,

III. To the laſt *General* Point I propoſed at firſt: which was, That We muſt conſider Ourſelves as *Miniſters* in the *Church* of *England*, peculiarly ſo called, as it is at preſent Eſtabliſhed amongſt Us. And this I am ſo far from wiſhing to be ever left out of our moſt ſerious Thoughts, when we are conſidering our Office, or our Duty; that, I think, We are under all the Obligation to the contrary, which the Voluntary and Serious Engagement of Ourſelves to this *Church* can poſſibly lay upon Us. I have time only to mention *one* or *two* Particulars under this *Head*; which yet will comprehend moſt of What may, at another Opportunity, be more largely inſiſted upon.

We have deliberately choſen, not merely *Conformity* to this Church, but the *Miniſterial Duty* in it. And if We have acted ſincerely in *this*, as I truſt We all have; This *Choice*, I think, muſt have been made, becauſe It appears to Us, (who muſt be determined by *our own* Judgements, as *Others* are by *Theirs)* after the moſt mature deliberation, all things conſidered, to be the moſt Unexceptionable and moſt Excellent of *All* which have come within our View: Or, in other Words, a *Church*, in which, We truly think, We can do *GOD*, and the Souls of Men, moſt ſervice. *This* therefore, We are obliged, agreeably to our voluntary Engagements, to defend by our Arguments; as Perſons always ready to give a *Reaſon* for the *Choice* We have made. *This* we are obliged to comply with, as to Its Rules and Orders, in all our Adminiſtrations; as well as to adorn by our *Examples*, whilſt We continue *Miniſters* in it.

In all our *Defenſes* of It, againſt Thoſe who differ from Us, on each Hand, We muſt never forget the *Two former* Conſiderations, that *We* are *Chriſtians*, and *Proteſtants*; and that *This* Church is a *Chriſtian* and a *Proteſtant* Church. The View of theſe *two Points* will make all our Arguments Powerful and Conſiſtent. The Meek and Good Spirit of Chriſtianity will govern all our Zeal; and give it not only a *Beauty*, but an *Effect*, beyond what it could otherwiſe have. And the great Foundation-ſtone of all *Proteſtantiſm* laid down always for the Ground-work, will probably make whatever We ſhall build upon it, *Uniform* and *Strong* beyond all Danger. Theſe Two abſolutely neceſſary Points, will teach us to endeavour to convince the *Judgements* of Thoſe who differ from Us, but not to confound or injure their *Perſons*; and will, at the ſame time, ſhew Us the *Only good Method* of doing it.

In our *Miniſtrations* in *this Church*, Our Engagements oblige Us to keep to the *Rules* and *Orders* laid down plainly and expreſly in it: Which, as it is eſtabliſhed by *Law*, has by that ſame *Law* tied Us down to the *Orders* and *Ceremonies* appointed in it; and indeed, has effectually and plainly forbidden *all other*, beſides *Thoſe preſcribed* in the *Book* of *Common Prayer*.

Theſe Orders and Preſcriptions, I think, we are ſtrictly obliged to obſerve, as the Rule and Meaſure of our Behaviour in all the Adminiſtrations belonging to our ſeveral Offices. And this *Rule*, I truſt, (as We *ought*, ſo) We *may* all follow, as the ſafeſt: without being cenſured, either on one hand, for not adding *Other Ceremonies*, *Arbitrary* and *Unpreſcribed*; or, on the other hand, for not omitting or varying *Any* of Thoſe which are *appointed*.

We muſt add to this a Conſtant Care to perform the publick Services of the *Church* in a Manner that may ſhew Us to have a Mind to preſerve and to conciliate a Reſpect and ſerious Regard to them: behaving ourſelves in all our *Adminiſtrations*, with the utmoſt Decency and Gravity: reading the *Offices* with a diſtinct, deliberate, and manly Pronunciation; without the Affectation of any thing Theatrical on *one* hand; or any thing Low, Careleſs, Dead, and Spiritleſs, on the *other*. And to all We muſt add the ſtricteſt regard to our own Lives and Converſations; That our Conduct may adorn our Profeſſion; that our Care of our Flocks may be ſuitable, in ſome Degree, to our Obligations; that our *Examples* may *teach*: Without which, all our *Words* and all our *Preaching*, will not, I fear, *teach* Any who attend upon Us; or reconcile any *One* of our Adverſaries to the *Communion* We would moſt willingly recommend to Them.

And thus I have given You my beſt Thoughts, upon Thoſe principal Points, which I propoſed to ſpeak of at this time. To Theſe, all other Particulars relating to our Duty in our Function, and our Behaviour with reſpect to All around us, (whether *agreeing with Us*, *or not*,) may be reduced; and rightly judged of, from them. But the Time does not now allow Me to ſhew this diſtinctly in the ſeveral Inſtances which might be named; or to enter into any other Important Conſiderations, as I once deſigned to do; and as I ſhall ſtill hope to do, upon another like Opportunity, if it ſhall pleaſe God to bring us together again.

And now, MY BRETHREN, having put You, and Myſelf, in Mind of Thoſe General Leſſons, in which You and Myſelf are equally and conſtantly concerned, in the Execution of our Office; Give me leave to add one Word, before I conclude, with relation to that *Perſonal Intercourſe* which muſt neceſſarily be between Us. And, as to this; I ſincerely ſpeak it, I deſire No *Regard* from *You*, but in Proportion to the *Regard* You ſhall ever meet with from *Me*. If You find that No difference, real or ſuppoſed, in our Opinions upon any ſort of Matters, ſhall at any time hinder or obſtruct the *Impartiality* of *Juſtice* in all my Proceedings with You; if You always ſhall meet with a Kind Reception, an Open Ear, a Ready Aſſiſtance, the Sincereſt Advice, and Every Inſtance of Friendſhip in My Power, always prepared to exert itſelf for your Service: I may then hope, You cannot refuſe Me the juſt and natural reſult of all this; the return, on *your* Part, of what I ſhall always highly value.

My Brethren, It is my Heart's Deſire, that our whole Behaviour, in the *Relation* We have contracted, may be to our mutual entire Satisfaction. Nothing, I promiſe, ſhall be wanting on my Part, which is agreeable either to Juſtice, or Affection. I ſhall always be glad of any Aſſiſtances or Advices from You, as Occaſion ſhall offer. And I ſhall now end All, by praying God ſo to direct both *You* and *Me*, that We may live together here in a well-grounded Peace and Love; and, after our Courſe of Duty run, may meet one another, at the Great Day of Accounts, with Joy unſpeakable and full of Glory: When Our Great Lord, (whoſe *Miniſters* We are, if We follow his Directions,) ſhall come to judge the World in Righteouſneſs; and to render to Us all, not according to the Opinion of *Others* about Us, but according to *our own* Works, and to what We ourſelves have taught and acted, during our *Miniſtration* here below.

* * *

A CHARGE

A CHARGE

DELIVERED TO

THE CLERGY,

AT THE

SECOND VISITATION OF THE DIOCESE OF SARUM.

MY BRETHREN,

AT our firſt meeting together, I thought it my Duty to remind You and Myſelf of thoſe General Points which ſeemed to Me to be always of Importance to Us All, conſidered as the Miniſters of *Chriſt* peculiarly devoted to carry on the great Ends of his Religion; as Miniſters in a Proteſtant Church; and as Miniſters of the particular Church, eſtabliſhed by Law here in *England*. It has now pleaſed God to permit Us to meet together once more; and with this happy Circumſtance, that nothing, through this long Interval, has appeared on Your part that might in any Degree leſſen that Satisfaction which I have always propoſed to Myſelf from theſe Occaſions of ſeeing ONE ANOTHER: And therefore, I ſhall employ that Portion of Our Preſent Time, which Cuſtom requires Me to fill up, with much the more Pleaſure, in ſuch Inſtructions as appear to Me to demand and deſerve our peculiar Attention: in every Inſtance of which, whilſt to the beſt of my Power, I endeavour to call to your Minds the moſt uſeful Leſſons, I ſhall, at the ſame Time, revive in my own, the ſenſe of thoſe particular Obligations I myſelf am under. Let us therefore, now go from General Conſiderations, to Thoſe which are more particular. And if We would judge rightly on which moſt properly to fix our Thoughts at this time; We muſt, I think, make our Judgement from Thoſe Characters which diſtinguiſh the preſent Age of the Church, from others that have gone before it: and from the Appearances amongſt Us, peculiar to theſe Days, We muſt form and guide our own Endeavours, and Conduct. For ſo it pleaſes God that every Age, ſince the Goſpel firſt was preached, ſhould have ſome particular Marks belonging to it, to excite the Attention, and point out the Work, proper for Thoſe who live in it; and particularly for Thoſe who are to lead and adviſe Others. If therefore, We turn our Thoughts to our own Times, We cannot be ſo unjuſt as not to acknowledge that We may find in them, many Things worthy of Praiſe; many uſeful Deſigns entered into by truly good and pious Chriſtians, for the Inſtruction of the Ignorant; the Education of the Young and Unexperienced; the Converſion, I mean, the Amendment, of the Wicked; the Propagation of Chriſtianity; and Encouragements given by Authority, both for the Advancement of ſome Branches of Knowledge, and for the Improvement of Uſeful Preaching. Theſe and the like are happineſſes; if duly made uſe of, and carried on ſtill farther towards Perfection: and ſome of Theſe call particularly for Our Aſſiſtance, according to Our Power, that the Good End of them may, if poſſible, be attained. But what I principally aim at, are thoſe Characters of Another ſort, which it has pleaſed God to permit, to be fixed upon this Age by the Attempts of Enemies, whoſe Abilities and whoſe Zeal will be our Condemnation, if They do not excite and animate Us to equal, or Rather to excell Them, in ſo much a better Cauſe as That in which We have peculiarly engaged Ourſelves. Every Age of the Chriſtian Church, even the very firſt, hath been a Witneſs to the Objections and Pretences of Infidelity, of one ſort or other: So that it is not Infidelity, as ſuch, that theſe Times can call their own. But, if I may ſpeak freely what can never hurt our Faith, but muſt inflame our Zeal; a more refined and plauſible Infidelity, ſupported more by the Appearance of Learning, gaining ſtrength from many Obſcurities and Perplexities which ſo many preceding Ages muſt of Neceſſity furniſh: This, is what I have in view; [for I ſpeak not of any Attempts that proceed from a diſtempered Brain:] And This, I ſay, is, in my Opinion, what Providence ſeems to have pointed out to *our* particular Obſervation, by reſerving It, in ſo particular a Manner, for theſe latter Days: In which, after the Reformation had brought to light a confuſed Heap of Errors; and had opeened a Door to the Revival of Learning, and the Improvements of Art; and had ſo glorioufly laid its own Foundation upon the Reaſonableneſs and Neceſſity of an Impartial Enquiry into the Truths of Religion; Chriſtianity itſelf has felt the Shocks of Learned and Inquiſitive Adverſaries; and, after opening itſelf once more, and appealing freely to the World in the native Simplicity of the Goſpels, has experienced as Strong an Oppoſition, and as cloſe an Attack from a Few, as it did in its firſt Age, and in its brighteſt luſtre, from the Many who then were acted by the prejudices of Education, and the Mere Force of Worldly Intereſt. This being ſo viſibly Peculiar to theſe Times; and this not being the Cauſe of One particular Church only, but of the Whole Chriſtian Name: It becomes the Concern of All, of Every Denomination, as Opportunity ſhall fairly offer, to be ready for the Defence of that Goſpel which They pretend to believe themſelves, and to preach and explain to Others. But, if there can be any Difference here, it becomes much more the Duty of Thoſe who enjoy, by the Providence of God, more of the Bleſſings of this World than ſome of their Neighbours, from the Legal Setlement of Chriſtianity in this Country: I mean, Ourſelves of the *Eſtabliſhed Church*; whoſe Advantages, with regard to a Liberal and Learned Education, as well as to a Freedom from the preſſing Wants and Sollicitudes of this Life, muſt be acknowledged to be much greater, generally ſpeaking, than Thoſe of Any others amongſt Us; and whoſe Obligations therefore, muſt run higher, to be the Beſt Accompliſhed, and the Firſt, to preſs into the Chriſtian Battle, upon Every Such Occaſion. What then ſhall We do, in the preſent Caſe? Having the pleaſing Advantages of Plenty and Eaſe ſecured to Us by Law, ſhall We ſpend our Time in curſing the Enemies; in calling Fire down from Heaven, or up from Hell, upon Them; as if This was all that our Cauſe furniſhed Us with. No. Let Us not bring ſuch a Diſgrace upon it. Let Us rather conſider that perfect Example of all Reaſon as well as Virtue; Him, who himſelf endured the Contradiction of Sinners, the vileſt Perſonal Injuries from Thoſe whom He could have deſtroyed; and reſtrained the Zeal of his Warmeſt Diſciples, though kindled by Love to Himſelf, within the Bounds of Love and Compaſſion to Others, by a Reproof deſigned for Every Age of his Church, and Every Profeſſor of his Goſpel: and, let Us add, Who conſtantly invited All around Him to enter as deeply as They could, into an Examination of his Doctrine, and his Works. Or, ſhall We have recourſe to the Deſtruction of All Religious Liberty; and call for the Fetters and Reſtraints of Silence and Darkneſs; becauſe This, like Every Other of God's greateſt Gifts to Men, accidentally, not through the natural Operation and Tendency of the thing itſelf, but through the Weakneſs of humane nature, is made the Occaſion of Evil? This be far from Us. To deſtroy the very Eſſence of Virtue in Truth, becauſe it happens at one time to diſturb our Reſt, or to annoy Us in Our Pretenſions—To plead for the Aboliſhing of That without which Nothing laudable, No, Not our Holy Religion itſelf could have appeared in the Native Light of the Goſpel in which it ſhews itſelf; becauſe it is made uſe of by ſome to hurt what it ought, and will I truſt, ever defend and ſupport upon its only true Foundation: This is to put all that is good for ever out of our ſight, becauſe Some Evil has mixed itſelf with it, or been drawn out of it, either through Malice, or Weakneſs—This is to avoid or ſuſpect the Trial of the Merits of the Cauſe, and to call to force and power for help. This is indeed, the Voice of the Romaniſts, and very conſiſtently ſo, becauſe They are profeſſedly the Friends of Darkneſs, and Enemies of Light. And, at this particular time, I know that this is the Uſe They endeavor to make of the Attempts of Infidelity amongſt Us, both in their Diſcourſes to confirm the Wavering amongſt Themſelves, and in their Correſpondence with Thoſe of their own, and of our, Communion here. Even, From abroad it has been urged to Many—You ſee the ill Effects of that Liberty of Enquiry and Judgement which Your Reformation introduced; and without which your Church could not have been. Chriſtianity itſelf does not eſcape. You ſee the Exceſs which has followed. Nothing can prevent the progreſs and heighth of this Evil, but to return into the Boſom of that Church, in which Implicit Faith is the Glory of a Reaſonable Creature; in which No Diſturbance is permitted to the Repoſe of a Believer; and in which the Terror of what Humane Nature cannot bear, guards all the Avenues of what they call Religion, from the approach of the Enemy. And indeed, if our Buſineſs was *to ſleep and take our Reſt*; or, if the Goſpel itſelf came down from Heaven, as the Compoſing Gift of God, to lull and ſooth the Lazineſs and Inactivity of its profeſſors: there might be good Argument in what I have produced. But We have not ſurely ſo learned Chriſt, as to be more concerned for a little Quiet and Repoſe, than for All that both his Example, and his Doctrine, ought to lead Us to. His whole Life was a Conflict with Opposers. His Teaching, and that of his Immediate Diſciples, were full of Warnings to his Followers, That Enemies would be ever ariſing; That their part was Watching, and not Sleeping; Labour, not Reſt; a Conſtant Attendance to the Work of their Profeſſion; a Readineſs to give an Anſwer to Every One who aſks a Reaſon of the Faith that ſhould be in Them; and not a Command to ſtop the Mouths of Thoſe who aſk it, whenever the Power of doing it ſhould come into their hands. This does Honour to his Inſtitution, and to his Father who ſent Him: Whereas, the Suppoſition which the contrary Way of arguing goes upon,—whilſt it repreſents Our Saviour and his Apoſtles, as giving ſecret Inſtructions to the Profeſſors of his Religion, contrary to all his Publick ones, firſt to get the Power of this World, and then to uſe that Power inſtead of Argument; to ſtifle and oppreſs all Enquiries, inſtead of Satisfying them; it reflects the higheſt diſhonour upon what it pretends to ſupport; it makes Our Saviour to begin his Religion in Light, in order to make it end in Darkneſs; and it ſhews Chriſtianity to the World, as firſt enticing Men into its Arms, by fair Words of Reaſon and Examination; and this in order, at laſt, to apply the Force and Terrors of this World (once obtained) to the Fears and Weakneſſes of Mortal Men: as if Our Bleſſed Lord wanted a Croud of Outward Profeſſors, and not a Select Company of Real Believers; or as if the Great and Good God could be pleaſed and gratified with thoſe Methods, which are only fit Inſtruments for his Greateſt Enemy, the Worſt of Beings, to make uſe of, in the *Worſt* of his Deſigns againſt God and his Chriſt. But my deſign was only juſt to mention, What could *not* be our Duty, as Chriſtians and Clergymen, upon this Occaſion. It remains therefore, that it is becoming our Profeſſion, in a peculiar manner, to ſtudy, with all our might, how to turn the Unhappineſs which it pleaſes God to permit, into a Bleſſing; and to bring *that Good* out of the Evil, which itſelf was deſigned to deſtroy: I mean, a ſtill greater and plainer Confirmation of the Truth of Our Bleſſed Lord's Pretenſions; occaſioned by thoſe very Objections which Ingenuity and Learning, have lately multiplied. I will now farther explain what I mean. The Remedy muſt be proportionable to the Diſeaſe: the natural and proper Remedy for it. 1. If Reaſoning and Argument, and a good deal of Thought, ſeem to have been plauſibly applied againſt Our Religion even in it's moſt ſimple beginnings; Let Reaſoning, and Argument, and a deep Conſideration of the Queſtion on all Sides, be our Employment, in order to prepare for any Defence of it that We may be called to. This is the Leaſt that Any of Us ought to content Ourſelves with. The Situation and Conſtant Employment, and Narrow Circumſtances (which may God pleaſe to alter) of ſome of You, may make it next to impoſſible to acquire what entirely depends upon Great Reading; upon a Number and Variety of Uſefull Books, the Labours of Learned Men that have gone before. But as the Capacity of *Thinking* and *Reaſoning* is the peculiar Character of a Man; the natural Gift of God, which it is our Glory, and his Will, that We ſhould improve: and as *Good Senſe* without great Reading is of vaſtly more Uſe, than Great Reading without Good Senſe, (which indeed is of little or none:) ſo, I cannot doubt but that, as You are all qualified for this Improvement, ſo You ſee both the Importance of this part of Duty, and the Great Motives You have to it. It cannot but appear Eſſential to your Profeſſion, at leaſt to improve Your Natural Faculties for the Service of the Goſpel itſelf; to know in what the main Strength of it's Enemies lies, and to be armed with the Inward Strength which Reaſon and Good Senſe, and Thought will furniſh againſt it. As You muſt perceive, for Inſtance, that their Attack muſt be all in vain, (let it be of what Sort it will) if the Wonderful Works recorded of our Bleſſed Saviour, and particularly his Reſurrection from the Dead, can ſtand the Teſt of Examination; This will make it eſſential to your Cauſe to ſtudy more carefully, and fix in your own Minds, the true Nature of Hiſtorical Evidence in general; and all the peculiar Circumſtances of that Hiſtorical Evidence, upon which particularly, and upon which alone, We receive thoſe Great Facts, without which Our Religion does not, and cannot pretend to be the Inſtitution of God; and with which alone, it can ſtand, and will ſtand, even ſuppoſing many Obſcurities and Difficulties of Another ſort, not wholly cleared up, or poſſible, in this Age of the World, to be ſo. In this part of the Attack, none of the Oppoſers ever pretend to deny, that ſuch a Perſon as Jeſus did actually appear, at the time named; or that He was in himſelf a Perſon of Unblemiſhed Morals and Doctrines; or that He ſuffered a Publick Death under Pontius Pilate: and, after this allowed, what Lover of Virtue would not wiſh that ſuch an Example of all Virtue may be found to have the Sanction of Heaven; and what Lover of Mankind, and Friend to Humane Society, would not wiſh that a Religion, in which Peace and Love, and Univerſal Benevolence; in which all the perſonal Virtues that can adorn a Reaſonable Creature, and all the ſocial Virtues that can enlarge the happineſs of Creatures made for Society; are ſo ſtrongly recommended as the only Paths to a Better State to come.—Who would not wiſh, I ſay, that ſuch a Religion, calculated for happineſs here as well as hereafter

after, ſhould be found the Voice and Dictate of Heaven, in perfect League with, and in powerfull Aid to, the Dictates of Natural Uncorrupted Reaſon? But this being the Point denied, about this, in the firſt place, muſt Our Thoughts be ſo converſant; That We may be able, and always prepared to ſhew what is indeed the only Thing which, in the ſtrict Senſe of the Words, is abſolutely and eſſentially Requiſite: *viz.* That from all the Circumſtances, put together, of this Hiſtorical Evidence of Facts upon which We depend; from the Conſideration of the Temper and Views of the Perſons atteſting; of their Actions and Sufferings on account of what They atteſted; of what followed at that very time, upon their Atteſtation; of the Numbers that forſook Prejudice and Pleaſure, and partook with them of Pain and Ignominy, upon that Evidence; that from theſe and the like Particularities (for I am only inſtancing in a Few out of Many) it ought to be acknowledged that This is ſuch an Evidence as is enough to make the moſt Wonderful Work recorded, and in itſelf allowed to be poſſible, truly worthy to be received by Us of later Ages; nay, not to be rejected without the Abſurdity of giving up thoſe Maxims of Credibility and Aſſent, which all Men are ſeen to go by in other Caſes. But this which I have now mentioned is the leaſt that can be expected from All, who profeſs themſelves Miniſters of Chriſt; and indiſpenſably neceſſary in All who would appear worthy of that ſacred Name.—I proceed now farther, and obſerve, II. That if Extenſive Reading, and what is properly called Learning, ſeem to have been in a particular Manner, carried into the Service of Infidelity, and put in array againſt Chriſtianity; This ſhould animate and excite Us to bring the ſame, in a very particular manner, to the aſſiſtance of that Faith in Chriſt which We embrace as Truth. I ſpeak this, with regard to Thoſe of Us, whom it has pleaſed God to bleſs with the Conveniencies as well as Neceſſaries of this life; and ſuch a plentiful Proviſion as may furniſh Us with all the Helps We could wiſh for towards our own Perfection in Learning, from the Labours of Thoſe who have gone before, or who live now. This cannot be expected from Thoſe who have it not in their Power; and God be thanked, That which is truly neceſſary and ſufficient for the Defence of the Goſpel, as I have before ſaid, does not require it. What I mean is, ſomething which will ever appear in the Eyes of the World, an Additional and Great Strength to the Cauſe of Chriſtianity; and will be always, in reality, ſuch an Ornament to it, as will give it an Advantage before Men who will always judge the more favorably of it, if They find it thus aſſiſted and adorned. And this We have already experienced in the preſent Caſe. The Attempts of Unbelievers, backed with Learning, have already ſtirred up the Zeal of ſeveral Worthy Perſons, to defend by Learning, what has been in appearance attacked by Learning. And if They had not been; the Thoughtleſs World, which is perhaps more moved and guided by This than by the Cloſeſt Argument upon what is alone Eſſential to the Debate, would have been apt to think that Learning was an Enemy not to be combated; and that a Painfull Reading of the Records of the Paſt Ages, furniſhed ſomething too unfavourable to the foundations of our Holy Religion. And though theſe Learned Perſons may differ from one another in many Incidental Points, as well as in the Methods of Defence; yet, not only is the Attempt laudable, and the Appearance honourable in the Eyes of the World, but many Incidental Points, of Importance, come by degrees to be cleared up; and Light to be thrown in upon many obſcure Expreſſions, and Doubtful Paſſages in ſacred Antiquity. Theſe Examples ſhould animate Us all, as Opportunity offers, to purſue thoſe Parts of Learning which Providence at this time ſeems particularly to call forth into farther Improvement and Uſe. I cannot be underſtood to mean, that the Pulpit ſhould be filled with the Topicks which properly belong to the Learned World, in thoſe Places, where perhaps none of our Auditory ever heard of the Objections made, and too probably are uncapable of underſtanding Them, or the Anſwers to them, when propoſed. But to be qualified to give the proper Anſwers to Difficulties propoſed, when We are called to it, either in ſober Converſation, or even more publickly; and to be prepared for This by conſtant Application to Study, under the Bleſſing of the God of Light and Truth.—This, in the Caſe before Us, where our own Religion is puſhed by the Forces of Learning, is an Accompliſhment which We all ought to breathe after: and Thoſe that can, ought, without Delay or Excuſe, to make Themſelves Maſters of. Such a competent Knowledge of thoſe Tongues in which the ſacred Writings originally appeared, as may enable the Enquirer to examine the Paſſages concerned; to conſult the Labours of others who have collected what may be of great aſſiſtance; and to be able to compare critically ſuch Places as may help to fix the true Signification of Words; is often of incredible Uſe, ſometimes on a ſudden producing an eaſy Senſe of what was thought Inexplicable; and often ſhewing, that the Point moſt objected to, has no Foundation in the true Meaning. Multitudes of Objections, of the ſtrongeſt Sort, have been anſwered by this true Critical Knowledge, only by ſetling the Real Senſe of a Place, or unſetling a falſe One: Beſides this, the Hiſtorical Knowledge of Facts in ſacred Antiquity, or in that profane which was Contemporary with it; often produces great Light, and Advantage to Truth; wipes away Aſperſions; clears up the Multitude of ſecondary Points; and takes away from the Triumphs of Thoſe who generally are ſeen to place their Strength in what is not the main Matter in Debate. I the rather inſiſt upon this now, and recommend it to You, becauſe the Learning and Reading of the Laity in this Age is well known to be in general, of a much more advanced ſort, than perhaps could be boaſted of before. This We ought to look upon, as a Bleſſing and not an Unhappineſs; with thankful Hearts, and not with uneaſy Thoughts; as what enables thoſe amongſt them who are well-diſpoſed to judge better of what They have a right to judge of; and what, give me leave to ſay, adds a Spur to our own Induſtry, which might (as the Example of former Ages ſhews) flag, and wholy fall, did not This, by the natural Force of Emulation, rouſe it, and keep up it's Spirit and Force. And indeed, this happy Appearance makes me add, that Learning in Every kind of what deſerves that Name, becomes the more neceſſary to Us. What is called Polite and Claſſical Learning, (which conveys to us the Good Senſe of the moſt excellent of the Ancients, and is of great Uſe to us to fix the Meaning of Old Words, as well as to poliſh and beautify our own,) a Knowledge in Hiſtory and Chronology, in the Mathematical Studies, or in Thoſe relating to the Works of God all through the Material World, or any other, agreeably to the ſeveral Geniuſes of Men; Theſe, I ſay, (after what more peculiarly belongs to Us is acquired) are all known to give Advantages to thoſe of our Profeſſion in our Commerce with the Accompliſhed World: and I think it very apparent, every ſuch Ornament, every ſuch Embelliſhment added to a Preacher of Chriſtianity, reflects an Honour, conciliates a Regard, and procures by it's natural Operation upon the generality of Mankind, an Advantage to the Religion itſelf which He preaches.

Learning, in every Uſeful or Innocent Branch of it, needs not my Voice, to declare it, the Pleaſure of humane Life; and the Ornament and Diſtinguiſhing Character of Civilized Society. If it did, I would chuſe to ſay it the rather, becauſe I have been formerly very much Miſunderſtood (I would not permit myſelf to think, willfully miſrepreſented) upon this Subject, without one ſingle Word to lead to it, but what was ever due, and ever will be ſo, to Learning falſly ſo called. For Learning ſtrictly ſo called, is the Handmaid to the Knowledge of Things, or the Happineſs of Life. To cenſure therefore, that ſort of *Learning* (ſo called) which darkens Knowledge; and which is by long Experience known to be rather the Art of covering Truth, and diſputing it away for ever; than of finding it, and ſhewing it to the World: or to expreſs no Value for the Affectation of the mere Pomp and Equipage of Learning appearing where it is abſolutely Unneceſſary, and wholy Uſeleſs towards the Attainment of any thing but Words, or Sounds, without Meaning or Uſe—This can be no Diſadvantage, but the contrary, to True Learning. But, whoever contemns or brings a Diſgrace upon that Critical, or Philological Learning, which is of infinite Advantage in making the Words of Antiquity uſefull; or upon that which is converſant about Nature and the Works of God; or the Diſcovery of any Truth; or upon any other Kind, indeed, but what leads to Darkneſs inſtead of Light, or to Vice inſtead of Virtue, deſerves juſtly to be Himſelf branded with the Name of an Enemy to the Improvement and Glory of Humane Underſtanding; and to be treated as one who only ſeeks to revenge his own Ignorance upon the Learning of Others[a].

But to return to my main Purpoſe; This is, my Brethren, our peculiar Buſineſs, in this time of Attack,—to improve our Weapons and our Skill; to furniſh our Minds by deep Conſideration, in the firſt place, with all that is abſolutely neceſſary for the Defence of our Belief in *Jeſus Chriſt*: to procure what We want; and to augment Our Learning already acquired by an happy Education, in thoſe Inſtances which the Attempts of Learned Unbelievers principally call for, ſuch as fit Us for the Part We have undertaken, of defending and recommending Religion; and then, as Leiſure and Convenience permit, to adorn Ourſelves with Every other Part, which can give Advantage even to our main Undertaking, in the Eyes of the World. And, my Brethren, if with conſtant Application to God, and to the Means which He expects Us always to make Uſe of, We make This our Conduct, and our commendable Pride; I make no doubt, That the Scene will ſoon be changed. The Unbelief of ſome will end in the greater Confirmation of the Faith of Others. Out of Weakneſs will come Strength. Out of Evil will come Good, according to the general Workings of God's Providence: Out of what was deſigned for our Reproach, will come our Praiſe and our Reward: Honour to our Bleſſed Lord, and his Inſtitution; Glory to God in the Higheſt; and his Favor to all Eternity, to his Sincere and Faithful Servants.

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[a] It may perhaps be unneceſſary to mention to the Reader, that this has a particular Reference to Dean *Hare* of *Worceſter*, and his falſe Pretences to true Learning and Criticiſm, ſo well expoſed in the "Anſwer to his Sermon on Church Authority," and in "The D— of *W*—— ſtill the ſame;" Who had more than inſinuated the Biſhop's Want or Contempt of them.

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A CHARGE

A CHARGE

DELIVERED TO

THE CLERGY,

AT THE BISHOP'S

PERSONAL VISITATION OF THE DIOCESE OF WINCHESTER,

In the YEAR MDCCXXXVI.

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,

AS it has pleaſed Almighty God to permit me to be called to the Relation and Office of a Biſhop amongſt You of this Dioceſe; it ought to be my firſt and great Endeavor to promote his Glory and the honour of our Bleſſed Redeemer by a conſcientious diſcharge of my Duty, under his holy Eye and Direction: and particularly as Occaſion ſhall require, by ſuch a Conduct towards You, as may at once effectually ſhew the integrity of my own heart and the moſt ardent wiſhes of it, that You may be not only happy in all your Concerns, but great Examples of all that is truly worthy of Chriſtians and of Clergymen who have devoted themſelves to the immediate Service of GOD.

To this good End, I can think of nothing more proper, at our firſt meeting together, than to remind You, and myſelf at the ſame time, of the unſpeakable importance, and true Nature, of the Holy Office We have undertaken, as it reſpects the eternal Salvation of Mankind; and is deſigned and appointed for the aſſiſting and conducting Them, through the trials of this State to a never-ending happineſs in that to come. And, if after this, I ſhall add a word or two upon any Subject of a lower nature, it will, I hope, be excuſed, if not juſtified, by ſome peculiar Circumſtances which ſeem to me neceſſary. As to the former of theſe, which is the great and daily Concern of our Lives; in order to make the moſt laſting Impreſſions upon our Minds of the Nature and Importance of our Duty, We can do nothing better, than to conſider Ourſelves under thoſe Inſtructive Titles and Characters which are particularly named, and warmly recommended, to the thoughts of all who are to be ordained Prieſts, by thoſe good Men who compiled that Form of Ordination, by which We all entered into the Service of Chriſt's Church; and which I wiſh We would, Every One of Us, frequently review, in our moſt ſerious Retirements.

The Characters mentioned in that Form of Ordination, as well to ſet forth the Dignity as the Weight of that Office and Charge to which We are called, are thoſe of *Meſſengers*, *Watchmen*, and *Stewards* of the Lord; whoſe buſineſs it is declared to be, to *teach, and to præmoniſh*, to *feed* and *provide for*, *the Lord's Family*: as *Meſſengers*, to teach, i. e. to deliver that Meſſage faithfully which was brought by Chriſt and his Apoſtles as the Doctrine and Word of Life from Heaven: as *Watchmen*, to præmoniſh, or forewarn All who are committed to Our Care, of any Danger threatened from their Enemies; and as *Stewards* of Chriſt's Family, to provide and diſpenſe, what is neceſſary and fitting to Every Member of his Family within our Care, in proportion to their ſeveral Capacities, Wants, and Stations. The firſt of theſe Titles is that of *Meſſengers* of the Lord; or, as it is ſometimes expreſſed, *Embaſſadors*. And here, We are not ſo void of underſtanding, as to ſuppoſe that We are the Apoſtles, i. e. the Sent, the Meſſengers or Embaſſadors of the Lord, in the ſame Senſe in which Thoſe were, who are, from the firſt beginnings of the Goſpel peculiarly called by theſe Names; or that all that is ſaid of them can poſſibly be applied to Us, with one and the ſame meaning. The firſt Meſſengers were called immediately by our Lord himſelf, and by his Father. God, who infallibly knew their Hearts and their Capacities, invited Them and commanded them to this Office; and, as He ſaw fitting and neceſſary, added ſtill greater Qualifications and Strength to what They had before. They received their Grand Meſſage or Errand of univerſal Importance from their great Maſter himſelf immediately, and without the intervention of Other Appointers, or other Inſtructors. But the Beſt of Us, ſince theſe immediate Calls and Inſtructions ceaſed, can only ſay That We humbly hope We have duly conſidered the nature of the firſt Meſſage delivered by the firſt Meſſengers; and the Importance of undertaking the Office of ſtill conveying it where it is not, and of inculcating it where it is. We may juſtly hope that, doing it under the Influence of ſuch Conſiderations, and God's all-ſeeing Eye; and offering Ourſelves for it to Thoſe who, in the Setlement of his Church, are the Orderly Judges and Appointers of Such Officers; *That*, I ſay, in this Courſe We are approved of by God, though not appointed or ſet apart by his immediate Voice; that We enter upon the ſacred Taſk in a manner and with Hearts acceptable to Him, who has declared by his firſt Meſſengers that it was agreeable to his Will, that Others ſhould ſucceed in the good Work of attending upon the Salvation and Happineſs of Men, upon the Terms of his Goſpel. And agreeably to all this, when, in the firſt Step towards this Office, We profeſs openly that We think Ourſelves moved by the Holy Ghoſt, to take it upon Us; We cannot be ſuppoſed to mean that We are immediately called to it by God, as the Apoſtles were; or that We are ſure that the Thoughts of our Souls determining Us to it, were the Dictates of God's Holy Spirit, and certainly diſtinguiſhed by Us from our own good Thoughts naturally ariſing in a well-informed Mind upon ſuch a Subject: but that We are really conſcious to Ourſelves that We undertake it upon ſuch truly Chriſtian Motives, and ſuch worthy Principles, and ſo hearty an Intention, of ſerving God and Man in the beſt way We are able; as the great God, who knows our Hearts, muſt approve of; ſuch as are truly worthy of his Holy Spirit, and ſuch as He himſelf would certainly repreſent to our Minds, were it his Province in the preſent State of the Church, to actuate and move and ſtir up Every Man, and Him only, whom He knew to be fit and well qualified to be appointed to this Office. But as this is not the Caſe now, It muſt be, and is, in the Courſe of God's Providence, left to the Care of Fallible Men, to judge as well as They can, from Teſtimony, Information, and Examination, who They are that are proper to be appointed for this Office. And becauſe Man cannot know the Heart of Man, therefore, it was proper to require of Every Perſon deſiring to be employed in the good Meſſage of the Goſpel, that He ſhould himſelf ſolemnly declare that the Motives upon which He deſired this, were worthy of the Goſpel, agreeable to God's Will and

Holy Spirit, and to the Ends of the Chriſtian Religion: which would be wholy needleſs, were We of later Ages, moved and called as the Apoſtles were.

Another thing well worthy of all our thoughts, with relation to this Character of Meſſengers of God, is this, That the Meſſage about which We of theſe later ages are employed is not delivered to Us, in a particular manner; to be received by Others upon any miraculous Evidence We can produce of Our being Sent immediately by God to bring it to Them; as it was in the Caſe of the Apoſtles, upon Several Occaſions: not a Meſſage peculiarly in our keeping, or in our power, either to be hid, or reveled, if We could be ſo Wicked as to harbour a thought of hiding it. But it is open and publick; tranſmitted to Us and to *all Chriſtians*, in the Words of the firſt Meſſengers, fixed in their Writings in a way equally intelligible and unmoveable, as far as thoſe Points are concerned, upon which the Eternal happineſs of Mankind is expreſsly and uniformly put. This is the Meſſage, in which it is our Glory to be concerned; not the Speculations of Idle Men of After-ages, perplexing and not enlightening the Original Meſſage; but the Faith, and Practice, once and but once delivered to the Saints or Chriſtians, by the firſt Meſſengers; and delivered by Them as the Condition of their final Acceptance with God; and not left to their Followers to deduce, according to their own Skill in drawing Conſequences, and framing argumentative Reaſonings. In all other Points and Circumſtances which ſurround this Main and Original Meſſage, We may with pleaſure and profit, entertain Ourſelves, and exerciſe our Underſtandings, and our Learning, in explaining what may be obſcure, and enlightening what may be ſtill dark; provided it be without that poſitive Aſſurance which ought to dwell only where the Brighteſt Light is ſeen, and to accompany only the plain undiſputed Words of the Firſt Meſſengers. But our great Affair is to guard, and convey, and impreſs upon the minds of Men, the Grand Meſſage relating to the Terms of their Salvation. And though Many who have not devoted Themſelves to this ſervice, and ſome who have, may be apt ſometimes to think that This is a Low or unneceſſary Office, becauſe the Points expreſsly declared in the New Teſtament to be neceſſary to Salvation, are ſo plain and intelligible, and lie open to the *People* as well as to Others, and the People called upon and required to attend to them, as They lie there, and to receive No additions to, or diminutions from, Them; though an Angel from Heaven ſhould pretend to be the Meſſenger: Yet, I will venture to ſay that it is of more true glory, becauſe it is of more real Uſe, to employ ourſelves in guarding this ſacred Meſſage, from all Corruption, of what Sort ſoever it be: ſometimes threatned from the Unlearned and ſometimes from thoſe who are called The Learned; ſometimes attempted by the flattering pretenſions of Vice, and ſometimes by the vain additions of Men who will carry their own Meſſage inſtead of God's, or elſe new-make His, for Him, as if They knew the Mind of the Lord better than He did himſelf; and were now called in to be his Counſellors: I ſay again, It is of more true glory to guard this plain Meſſage from the Attempts of Men; to dwell upon it and inculcate it, whenever either Sloth and Indolence, or Vicious Habits, have made the minds of Chriſtians inattentive to it; to inculcate it with all the ſeveral moving arguments that may be called in; than to ſhine in the handling of the moſt difficult and abſtruſe points of Sacred Learning which are not of ſo near and ſo touching importance. It may perhaps ſound a little ſurprizingly to Say it: but I think it will be found ſtrictly true, that ſuch has been the Iniquity, and I may add, Ingratitude of mankind, that the plainer this Meſſage is in the New Teſtament itſelf, the more need it is come by degrees to have of our Care and Attention to fence about it, and keep it as diſtinct from all other points; and as clear from all Incumbrances, as it was left at firſt. The reaſon is, becauſe partly through Vice, and worldly Views; and partly through the darkneſs of ſuperſtitious Spirits, or the Warmth of Enthuſiaſtick heads; *Uſeful* and *Plain* have come to appear Trifling Characters, unworthy of the Pains and Care of a whole Body of Men; and therefore in ſome parts of the Chriſtian World have been almoſt wholy ſwallowed up by numberleſs Additions, ſometimes recommended as Improvements of the Spiritual Life of a Chriſtian, ſometimes preſcribed as the Equivalents, which may be uſed and practiſed in the place of thoſe Neceſſaries which God hath required, or, if not to ſtand in their ſtead, at leaſt to be equally neceſſary with them.

But this, My Brethren, is a total Alteration of the Notion of a Meſſenger of the Lord. A Meſſenger who is true, can carry no Meſſage but what was delivered by Him whoſe Meſſage it is. And in the preſent Caſe, it is what We muſt always remember, that We are not like Embaſſadors of Earthly Princes, the Embaſſadors of a Secret truſted only to Ourſelves, but of an Errand to the World, laid already before the World as well as before Us; and that our peculiar Buſineſs is to awaken the World to attend to it; to teach them, and impreſs upon them the Importance of this very Meſſage, and no other, without adding to it or diminiſhing from it; and to appeal to thoſe Books in which it is contained, by calling upon Thoſe who hear Us, to conſult them, and examine whether theſe things be ſo. And their Happineſs in this is ſtill the greater, that They have a Truſt repoſed in Themſelves for this good End; and that Others alſo have a Truſt and Engagement to call upon Them, and ſtir them up to attend to their own Truſt, the Care of their Eternal Happineſs, upon the Terms of the Goſpel, declared by *Chriſt* himſelf. What has been now ſaid upon this firſt Title or Character of Meſſengers, is ſo plainly applicable to the other Characters already mentioned to You from the public Office of Ordination; that a very few Words will be neceſſary about Them.

Thus, for inſtance, We do not, We cannot, pretend to be the Watchmen of the Lord, in the high Senſe in which the antient Prophets, under the Old Teſtament, and the Apoſtles under the New, were; who were immediately and perſonally commanded as well as empowered to præmoniſh, or forewarn a ſinful People of their Danger; and to awaken the World into a Senſe of what Impiety and Immorality would bring upon it: But in a very juſt, though lower Senſe, as We have, under the ſerious Senſe of the Importance and Uſefulneſs of the Work, voluntarily undertaken, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, and been regularly appointed, to carry forward, in our Degree, this ſame Work, agreeably to the Will of God, and to the Goſpel of our Bleſſed Saviour. But here, as before, it is too evident to be denied, that the Goſpel is itſelf, as it lies open to all Men, the Warning-voice from Heaven to all who can read, or hear it; that We are not to invent and frame Dangers and Enemies like Phantoms, to affright or diſturb the repoſe of Chriſtians; but conſcientiouſly to awaken a careleſs and drowſy World, to be upon their Guard againſt thoſe Temptations and Dangers, which They, as well as We, may ſee to be pointed out to Them as ſuch in the Goſpel of *Chriſt*, and to uſe all our Endeavors to keep them even from approaching to that Sin and Unrighteouſneſs, Impiety and Irreligion, which are big, with infinite Miſery; and can afford nothing but Ruine and Death at laſt.

The remaining Character is that of Stewards of (or under) the Lord, whoſe Buſineſs it is to feed, and provide for, the Lord's Family. To this Office the Firſt Preachers were in an extraordinary Manner ſummoned and called: But even They, as St. *Paul* on many Occaſions declared, could not go a Step beyond what their Lord himſelf had provided; to whoſe Store only They were confined, in their diſpenſing this ſpiritual Food. We have voluntarily and ſeriouſly undertaken this good Office, with the Approbation of Thoſe who are regularly appointed to accept our Offer, and to ſet us apart to it; and We are obliged by this to execute it with all Faithfulneſs, which St. *Paul* aſſures Us, is the principal Qualification of a Steward. And We have much leſs Pretence than our Firſt Predeceſſors, to produce Any Food but what is appointed by *Chriſt*, becauſe We can appeal to nothing Extraordinary on the Part of God, to give a Sanction to our Proviſions; but only to the Store-houſe itſelf which is now open to all; in order to prove that We are Honeſt, and Faithful Diſtributors of what has been originally provided by our Great Maſter himſelf. And as in any other Family, the meaneſt Servant in it would not receive at the Hands of the Steward, vile and unwholſome Food, when He knew his good Maſter had laid up for his Servants, a Store of what was perfectly good and wholeſome; ſo, and indeed much leſs, can Chriſtians be obliged, in the infinite Concern of Eternal Happineſs, to take in any Food or Proviſion, of a Nature contrary to what *Chriſt* himſelf has appointed and left for them. Nay the Store-houſe is open to them all, for this very Purpoſe, that it ſhould not be in the Power of any One, who has undertaken the Office of a Steward, either to hinder or drive them from that excellent Proviſion to which their Maſter has given them a Title; or to force upon them noxious, or unnouriſhing Food, inſtead of it. The Part therefore, of Chriſt's Stewards is to guard the ſacred Store againſt every Thing that can corrupt or adulterate it; to ſet nothing before his Family but what is taken out of this very Store; to provoke their Appetites to it, when they are grown Dead, by appealing to the Store-houſe itſelf, and convincing them by their own Eye-ſight and Judgement, that This is the Spiritual Food appointed for them by their great Maſter and Saviour, who bought Them with his own moſt precious Blood; and that they cannot be nouriſhed to Eternal Life, but by partaking of, and digeſting This Food. But the Time will not ſuffer me to enlarge farther. I have now endeavoured to remind you and myſelf, of what is and ever ought to be, our firſt and greateſt Concern; the foundation and rule of our Duty with regard to the Eternal Intereſts of Mankind.

I cannot now perſuade myſelf to conclude without expreſſing the Senſe I have, of the Relation I ſtand in to you, and of the Obligations I am under to ſhew my Regards to You in every proper Way. I think, it ought to be, as it truly is, the deſire of my Soul to gain and preſerve your Good-will and Affections whilſt I am amongſt You. This is a Bleſſing which I would willingly purchaſe, as one of the greateſt Goods that can ſweeten the remains of a ſhort uncertain Life: Not by any mean, undue, Compliances, or any falſe Pretenſes of being what I am not; (which I abhorr, and You would juſtly diſdain;) but by ſuch a Behaviour through the courſe of my Duty, as ſhall convince You, that I am not what I have been ſometimes groundleſsly and cruelly repreſented to be. My Brethren, There is a neceſſity for me to ſpeak plainly upon this Occaſion. I have been ſo open and ſincere, through my Life, as not to make it any Secret that I differ in many Points from Thoſe with whom both Inclination and Intereſt would have led me to agree, if I could. In this part of my Conduct I have followed what appeared to me, after the Beſt Enquiry, to be the Will of God and the Goſpel of Chriſt. The reproaches and Ill-treatment I have met with, I can moſt eaſily ſubmitt to, and bear. The Conſequences which Others have drawn for Me, from Words of mine, in ſome of my Writings, particularly a late one; and the Opinions They have arbitrarily imputed to me; Some of them I abhorr; Others I am as utter a Stranger to, as any of themſelves; and can as ſincerely diſown as They can. However unfavourably I have been repreſented in other reſpects, This I can truly ſay, That, as My Conformity to the Church Eſtabliſhed was founded at firſt upon my inward

Conviction of its Excellency above any Other that I knew of: So, if I had, ſince that Time, diſcovered any reaſon to repent, or any ſufficient objection, in point of Conſcience, which ought to have prevented my firſt entering into it, I ſhould think myſelf obliged to give up all the temporal Advantages, great as They appear, which I have reaped from it. I have not one Principle within Me that can induce Me to conſent to any thing, that may hurt either its Eſtabliſhment, or Legal Revenues: Not from my thinking it, all perfection, and uncapable of Amendment; but from my perſuaſion that Nothing better is likely, in this imperfect State of Ignorance and Paſſion, to be put in the place of it. I am not yet ſo mortified as to deſire to have what I enjoy by the ſtrength of the Laws, taken or torn from Me. I am not yet ſo ſelfiſh or mean-ſpirited, as not to deſire that They who ſucceed Me may be as happy as Myſelf. Much leſs am I yet ſo inſenſible or ſo cruel, as not to have a tender Concern for the Support and creditable Subſiſtence of my Brethren in a Lower Station: in whoſe Cauſe my Heart has been as warm, and my Endeavors, in the Way which has appeared beſt to me, as ſincere, and (I believe, I may ſay truly) as effectual, as Thoſe of any Perſons of contrary Sentiments. If I have at any Time differed from Wiſe and Worthy Men, about the Moſt effectual Methods of ſhewing this Regard, it has been honeſtly; and for no other Reaſon but becauſe I have really thought ſome Ways of doing it likely in the event to be prejudicial to their Intereſts[b]. And I wiſh for all our Sakes, that my Fears had proved and may prove entirely groundleſs. This I can ſpeak with Aſſurance, (and I think, I have too much Occaſion to do it, in my own Juſtification) That, as ſtrongly as I am inclined to condeſcend to the Weakneſſes of Mankind around Us, (which I am not aſhamed to own) yet, I never did, nor ever will, upon any Occaſion, in which your Rights and Properties were, or may be concerned, entertain one Thought of conſenting to any thing detrimental to them. But, It is impoſſible for Me, upon all Occaſions, to conduct myſelf by any Rules but theſe—firſt to take all due care to have my Judgement well informed; and then, honeſtly to follow that Judgement of my own. And in all ſuch Caſes, I hope, Thoſe who differ from Me, eſpecially amongſt my own Clergy, will at leaſt believe Me, when I aſſure them, that I as truly mean them well in their Intereſts, and as ſincerely intend their Service, as any One of Themſelves can do.

To proceed—In the Execution of my Office amongſt You I ſhall ſtrictly govern myſelf by thoſe Laws which have entruſted Me with ſuch an Adminiſtration. In matters plainly determined by Authority, I ſhall expect from All under my Inſpection the moſt exact Conformity to the Rubrics and Rules They have ſolemnly promiſed to obſerve. As I can truly ſay that I punctually, without addition or diminution, practiſed them Myſelf in former Stations of Life; ſo, I ſhall faithfully and impartially require the ſame from Others. In points left by the ſame Authority and Law, to Prudence, and a Diſcretionary Power, I ſhall always act with an Impartiality, never varying from one equal Rule for all, nor ever turned aſide by the low Conſiderations of Differences in Opinion, or Party-diſtinctions. If You can be content to live in Friendſhip with ſuch a Perſon, honeſtly avowing the Principles of his own Conduct, whether agreeable or diſagreeable to Others; cordially diſpoſed to ſhew You every Inſtance of Regard and Service under the foregoing Rules; this will be a great Addition to the Happineſs of my Life. If not, (which I have no Reaſon to fear) I have nothing left but to wrap up myſelf in my own Innocence and Integrity; and be content with that Peace and Reſt which can never be ſeparated from Them.

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[b] " In the Seſſion of Parliament which began *January* 15, 173$\frac{5}{6}$, the Quakers petitioned the Houſe of Commons " for Relief againſt Proſecutions in the Exchequer, and in Eccleſiaſtical Courts, for Summs which might be re- " covered by Warrant from Juſtices of Peace.—Many Counter-petitions were preſented on Behalf of the Clergy. " But the Quakers carried their Point in that Houſe, 164 to 48. In the Houſe of Lords, they were ſupported by " the Lords *Hinton*, *Harvey*, *Carteret*, *Argyle*, and *Iſlay*; oppoſed by Bp. *Sherlock*, the late Lord *Hardwicke*, and " other Great Peers. In the End the Bill was thrown out, 54 to 35." Thus far *Tindal*, Continuation, &c. See Vol. XX. 8vo, p. 315.

Biſhop *Hoadly* refuſed to *join* with his Brethren in oppoſing this Bill; but on the other hand did not think fit to appear *againſt* them, and therefore abſented himſelf from the Houſe. No doubt this Abſence, which might be conſtrued by hotheaded Men into a Defection from the Cauſe of the Clergy, was what he meaned to apologize for in this Charge; which was delivered in the Summer 1736, after the Publication of *The Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*; which ſeems likewiſe to be referred to.

My Brethren, Let our thoughts now return one Moment to thoſe more important Points which filled up the former Part of this Diſcourſe. What I have offered in it as the beſt Directions, under thoſe three Characters, expreſsly and pathetically mentioned in the Ordination-office of our Church; I am ſure I have offered, with a ſincere Regard to the true Dignity and Honour of our Function, which I ſhall ever apprehend to be inſeparable from a conſcientious Diſcharge of our Duty in it. And I will now add, that, if it were conſtantly ſpoken of, and honeſtly proſecuted, by Us all, in our ſeveral Stations, agreeably to the Manner now laid down of doing all poſſible ſervice to Men, as rational Creatures; and to Chriſtians, as to Men with the ſame Goſpel in their Hands that We have, and furniſhed with Eyes and Capacities of their own; We ſhould be ſure of pleaſing Almighty God; and even as to Men, I am fully perſuaded, that there would be an End of many of the Cavils of Adverſaries; and our Office would never again be treated as a Needleſs or Uſeleſs, much leſs an hurtful Office to the World.

Before I quite make an End, I will juſt mention to You a Point, in which You may not only ſhew your readineſs to perform your own Duty, but really give Me that Aſſiſtance in the performance of mine, which I ſhall always deſire and thankfully acknowledge. I mean the Affair of Ordination: In this, I own I have, as all Others in the ſame Station, I believe, have, been ſometimes miſtaken. But I can truly ſay that my greateſt Miſtakes, if not all, have proceeded from the Teſtimonials of Some, very worthy Perſons, either themſelves deceived, or ſuffering their Good-nature and Compaſſion to be too much moved. I now earneſtly entreat You not only not to give Titles, but not to grant your Teſtimonies to Any applying for Holy Orders, but to ſuch as You know, and verily think in your Conſciences, worthy on all Accounts of ſo ſacred an Office. I will now juſt ſay one Word about Confirmation: that I have thought it much better to defer it for ſome time than to mix it with the Buſineſs of the Viſitation:—but ſhall take the firſt Opportunity of confirming through my whole Dioceſe, and ſhall afterwards, if God ſhall grant me Health, frequently repeat that Office in a regular Courſe: of which due Notices ſhall be always given You.

I fear, I have wearied You out, with ſo long a Diſcourſe. I ſhall only add, If in the whole of what I have offered to You, I have ſpoken the Words of Reaſon, and the Truths of God, may they have their due Weight, and make the moſt laſting Impreſſion upon all your Minds! If not; may they be as Words ſpoken to the Wind! or like the Arrow deſcribed in the *Book* of *Wiſdom*, that, *being ſhot out of a Bow, parteth the Air, which immediately cometh together again, ſo that a Man cannot know where it went through!* It is your Part, my Brethren, to conſider and judge of them: mine is only to offer and propoſe them, as what appear to Me, to tend to our own Happineſs and good Conduct in our Stations; and to the Glory of that great God, to whoſe Service We have devoted ourſelves in the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour.

SEVERAL DISCOURSES CONCERNING The TERMS of ACCEPTANCE with GOD.

IN WHICH

I. The Terms themſelves are diſtinctly laid down; as they are propoſed to Chriſtians in the New Teſtament. And

II. Several falſe Notions of the Conditions of Salvation are conſidered.

PARTICULARLY,

Of being ſaved by Faith.
Of truſting to External Performances.
Of the Power of Charity to cover Sins.
Of relying upon the Merits of Chriſt.
Of Man's Weakneſs, and God's Grace.
Of Repentance.
Of the Example of the Thief on the Croſs.
Of truſting to a Death-bed Sorrow.
Of the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard.
Of depending upon Amendment in time to come.

* * *

TO THE HONOURED

Mrs. HOWLAND,

Of STREATHAM in SURRY,

Theſe SERMONS (as a Publick Teſtimony of the Sincereſt GRATITUDE and Higheſt RESPECT,) are moſt humbly Dedicated,

By Her moſt obliged

And moſt obedient Servant,

BENJ. HOADLY.

THE PREFACE.

To the PARISHIONERS of *St.* PETER'S POOR, *London.*

THE following *Sermons*, were firſt Framed, and then Preached, with a ſincere Deſign of fixing in your Minds ſuch Notions of Religion, and of the Terms of Salvation, as might be the Foundation of a regular Courſe of Holineſs here, and of an eternal State of Happineſs, hereafter. And they are now Publiſhed, in order to carry forward more extenſively the ſame good End.

It hath been long my Opinion, that the Bad Lives of Chriſtians are not owing ſo much to their Ignorance of what is truly Evil, and Sinful, as to a certain ſecret Hope of God's Favour, built upon ſomething ſeparated from the conſtant Practice of all that is Virtuous and Praiſeworthy. This made me chuſe to ſpend ſome time in eſtabliſhing, after the moſt unexceptionable manner, the true Grounds upon which only it is reaſonable to build our Expectations of Happineſs; and in demonſtrating the great Danger and Weakneſs of depending on any other Methods. My chief Study hath been to do this, not only by the moſt convincing Arguments, but with the greateſt Plainneſs of Expreſſion: having had no other View, either in the Choice, or Proſecution of this Deſign, but that of being uſeful, in a Matter of the higheſt Importance. And if theſe *Sermons* ſhall, through God's Bleſſing, either awaken, or confirm, in any Chriſtians, a true Senſe of Religion, and of the great Deſign of Chriſtianity; I ſhall have a Satisfaction within, hardly to be expreſſed in Words.

I have made them of ſuch a Length, that any one of them may be read, either in the Family, or the Cloſet, within the compaſs of half an hour. And becauſe they will moſt probably, as they are deſigned, be read, every one, ſingly in it's Order; I have therefore endeavoured rather to make, than to avoid, the Repetition of ſuch things, as either are of ſo great importance, as to be equally neceſſary on ſeveral Occaſions; or ſerve to make every Diſcourſe, by itſelf, the more complete and uſeful.

I am very ſenſible of the Obligations I lie under, to contribute my utmoſt towards your right Underſtanding, and conſcientious Practice, of true Religion. It hath pleaſed God, by a particular Providence, to make my Power to ſerve you much leſs than my Will: nor am I inſenſible of my many Imperfections in the diſcharge of thoſe parts of my Office which I am ſtill able to perform. But of *this* you yourſelves are Witneſſes; (and theſe *Sermons* will be ſome Teſtimony of it to the World;) that the Points which I have chiefly, I may ſay conſtantly, inculcated upon you from the Pulpit, have been the great, undiſputed, Duties of the Goſpel, and the indiſpenſable Neceſſity of an Holy Life. You ſee, I would willingly find out ſomething that might atone a little for my Defects in other parts of my Office: and I can think of nothing better than this, that *I have carefully endeavoured to point out to you the true way to Heaven.* Nor can I poſſibly give you a greater Demonſtration than *this*, how truly I deſire your Happineſs; and how ſincerely I am

Your Faithful Friend, and Servant,

BENJ. HOADLY.

Con-

Concerning the TERMS *of* ACCEPTANCE, &c.

SERMON I.

LUKE x. The latter part of the 25th Verſe.

Maſter, What ſhall I do to inherit eternal Life?

THIS is the Enquiry of one of the Students and Interpreters of the *Law* of *Moſes*: who, hearing of our Lord's Behaviour, and Pretenſions to ſo great a Character as that of the *Meſſiah* ſent by God to inſtruct Mankind in the right way to Happineſs, came, amongſt others, either out of Curioſity, or ſome worſe Principle, to try what Anſwer he would give to ſo important a Queſtion as this in the Text, *What ſhall I do to inherit eternal Life?* i. e. What are the great Points of Practice which can recommend me, who am a *Jew*, and adhere to the *Law* of *Moſes*, to the Favour of God? For by our Lord's Anſwer it is plain, that this *Queſtion* related to the chief practical Duties of Religion; and that it was not our Lord's Deſign to give the *Enquirer* a particular Account of the Conditions of Juſtification, and Terms of Acceptance, which *He*, and his *Apoſtles*, were in due time to lay open to the World. He appeals, We ſee, to the *Enquirer* himſelf, what the great Precepts of the *Law* were; and afterwards declares that an exact obſervance of thoſe two comprehenſive Duties, of loving God, and our Neighbour, would entitle him to *eternal Life*: Duties, ſo comprehenſive indeed, that to them may be reduced all that is good in any Religion in the World, and all that can poſſibly render us acceptable to God. But though this ſummary Declaration anſwered well our bleſſed Lord's Purpoſe at that time, as it was a ſufficient Reply to the preſent Enquirer: yet it was the great Buſineſs of his Divine Miſſion to enter more particularly into this *grand Debate*; to promulgate to the World more expreſsly, and more fully, thoſe *Terms* and *Conditions*, upon which Almighty God, for the ſake of what he undertook to do and ſuffer in this World, will accept Mankind, and make thoſe happy, who cannot pretend to a ſinleſs and perfect Obedience to his Laws, but ſtand conſcious to themſelves of many paſt Tranſgreſſions of them. Since therefore, this was the profeſſed Buſineſs of *Him*, in whom we believe: it becomes us all, if we have any thoughts of Happineſs, to addreſs ourſelves to the ſame Perſon, with a very ſerious Curioſity; and to enquire what it is that is expected at our Hands, in order to our Juſtification, and final Acquittance from the guilt of our Sins, at the great Day. This is the *Enquiry* which is of the utmoſt importance to us.

But it will be proper here to obſerve, that, with reſpect to ſuch as have been educated in any other falſe *Religion*, or *Worſhip*, and have contracted the guilt of many Sins, the firſt part of the *Enquiry*, and of the *Anſwer* to it, will be ſomewhat different from what it muſt be, with reſpect to ſuch as have been educated in the knowledge and belief of *Chriſtianity*, and taken the Profeſſion of it upon themſelves; and after that contracted the guilt of wilful Sins: as may appear to any who ſeriouſly conſult the *New Teſtament*. For the *firſt Enquiry* there made by ſuch as were at any time touched to the Heart, and uneaſy under the conſciouſneſs of their former Sins, was, how they ſhould be ſaved from this guilt which they had already contracted; or what they ſhould do to be acquitted from theſe Sins committed in their former State. And the *Anſwer* we find was, that their receiving Chriſt for their Maſter; their firſt Faith, and believing in him, ſhould have that Efficacy with Almighty God, that all their paſt Sins, committed before this *Faith*, ſhould be cancelled; and *they* looked upon as juſt perſons, with reſpect to all that was paſt.

This matter of the *Heathen* and *Jewiſh* World being juſtified, or acquitted from all paſt guilt, by their *Faith*, or belief in Jeſus Chriſt, having been ſtrenuouſly aſſerted, and fully expreſſed by the *Apoſtles*, and eſpecially St. *Paul*; many weak and unſtable Men have built ſuch Notions upon this, as have been, and may be, of pernicious conſequence to *Chriſtians*, under the Goſpel-ſtate, and after they have received and profeſſed this *Faith* in *Chriſt*: arguing as if a ſtrong *Faith* or *Confidence* in *Jeſus Chriſt*, and his Merits, would do all; acquit from all Sins; and render the wicked Chriſtian ſpotleſs at laſt; and preſent him blameleſs before the Throne of God. Whereas it is manifeſt that, after this *firſt Juſtification*, and acquittance, was obtained by means of believing in Jeſus Chriſt; this very believing, or *Faith*, brought the Believer under the moſt ſtrict Obligations imaginable; more in Number, and ſeverer in their Nature, than the Man was under before; and theſe bound upon him under the penalty of God's eternal Diſpleaſure. This is as plain in the *New Teſtament*, as Words can make it. But of this *Juſtification* which profeſſed *Chriſtians* expect at any time to be wrought for them by *Faith*, or *Confidence* only, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more in the farther proſecution of my preſent Deſign. At preſent I will only obſerve to you, that, when it is enquired in the *New Teſtament*, *What ſhall we do to be ſaved?* and when it is anſwered to the *Enquirers*, or laid down, that *to believe* and *to be baptized*, or that *Faith* will ſave them, or the like; it is only meant, that they who do not believe already ſhall be acquitted from their paſt Sins, or ſaved from the Guilt of them, by believing, and coming into the *Terms* required by the *Goſpel*; or that the firſt ſtep to their Salvation, and that which will put them into a ſafe way, is *Faith*, or taking *Chriſt* for their Maſter, and being entered into his Religion. Or elſe, *Faith* is taken for the whole *Goſpel-method*; for the whole of what is required in *that*: and ſo, it is the intent of theſe Expreſſions to ſignify that it is this method which only can ſave them; not the *Law* of *Moſes*, or the Inſtitutions of the *Heathen* World, in which they had before been educated. And it is plain that all this related to ſuch only as had not before profeſſed, or taken upon themſelves, the belief of the *Goſpel*; and toucheth not the *Caſe* in which we are concerned, who have been educated in this belief, or long profeſſed it. *Chriſtians* of later Ages are generally of this ſort: and it is their own caſe and condition, not that of others, about which their *Enquiry* ought to be; and which it concerns the *Miniſters* of the Goſpel principally to conſider.

This is my Deſign, and what I propoſe to do as fully as I can: as well by laying down *poſitively* what is the true anſwer to this *Enquiry*; as by conſidering and refuting thoſe falſe *Anſwers* which Men have framed to themſelves, from their own vain Wiſhes, fortified with ſome miſtaken and miſapplied Paſſages in the Word of God. But, before I come to the main Deſign, it is very expedient,

I. To propoſe diſtinctly what the great *Queſtion*, and *Enquiry* is, which concerns *Us*, who have taken upon ourſelves the profeſſion of the *Chriſtian Religion*; and continue in that Profeſſion: that ſo the *Anſwer* to it may be the better underſtood.

II. To conſider the great importance of this *Enquiry*; and the hazard of miſtaking in it: that we may be the more ſollicitous to find out the only true account of this matter; and the more guarded againſt any Deceit and Deluſion in a buſineſs of ſuch moment.

III. To ſhew the only method of coming to a true Reſolution of this *Queſtion*; and where it is that we may expect ſuch an account of this Affair, as we may ſafely, and ſecurely, depend upon. Now,

I. The great *Enquiry*, in which we are concerned, is this, What it is that the *Goſpel* requires of Men, who believe in Jeſus Chriſt, and profeſs his *Faith*, and own him for their *Maſter*; in order to their acquittance from the puniſhment of any wilful Sins, which they have at any time committed, during their profeſſion of his Religion; and to their final Juſtification before God at the Day of Judgement; and to their eternal Happineſs after this.

That many *Chriſtians* do fall into great and wilful Sins after their *Baptiſm*; after their knowledge of the Truth; and after they have taken upon themſelves the profeſſion of their moſt holy Religion; is matter of daily Obſervation, and of daily Experience. That the very beſt have not, in every part of their paſt Lives, done exactly what they know they ought to have done; that, in ſome paſt Inſtances or other, of Thought, Word, or Deed, they have had experience of ſome ſudden Paſſion, or ſome latent Weakneſs, which, by a greater degree of conſtant Watchfulneſs, might have been prevented; is likewiſe evident: and by themſelves always made matter of Confeſſion and Humiliation. That there is a method of Reconciliation propoſed in the *Goſpel* to both theſe ſorts of *Chriſtians*; and *Terms* laid down in it, on which *Chriſtian Sinners*, if I may ſo ſpeak, ſhall be accepted and acquitted, is plain from many Exhortations in the *New Teſtament* to ſuch Chriſtians as had ſinned; and from the Behaviour of the *Apoſtles* with reſpect to ſuch; as well as from the Abſurdities following from the contrary Suppoſition: which would render the Goſpel a moſt ineffectual Inſtitution, debarring every individual profeſſor of it, upon one ſingle, ſudden, wilful Tranſgreſſion, from all future Hopes of Happineſs; (and *who then can be ſaved?*) or a moſt pernicious Inſtitution, turning every *Chriſtian* into a deſperate Sinner, by allowing no Hopes of any benefit from his recovering himſelf.

But whatever *Terms*, or *Conditions* are allowed us, after relapſe into Sin, or continuance in it, we know they are granted for the ſake of *Jeſus Chriſt*; in conſideration of what he did and ſuffered for this very purpoſe, that theſe *Terms* and *Conditions* might be granted to *Chriſtians*. This therefore, I ſay, is the *Queſtion* about which our greateſt Concern is to be employed, What thoſe *Terms* and *Conditions* are, on which, for the ſake of *Jeſus Chriſt*, God will acquit us of our Sins, and at laſt make us eternally happy. For though it be for the ſake of *Chriſt*, that he will do this at all; yet he expects ſomething at our own Hands: And it is upon ſuch and ſuch Conditions only, that for *his ſake* He will accept us; without the performance of which He leaves us no room to hope for any Benefit from the Merits of *Chriſt*. All that *Chriſt* has done, and ſuffered, for our ſakes, was only in order to the ſetling theſe *Conditions*: but what We are to do, according to this *Treaty* and *Compact*, in which he is the *Mediator*; This belongs to us chiefly to enquire after.

II. The importance of this *Enquiry* plainly appears from the account of it, which I have now given. Our acceptance with God; our Juſtification; our acquittance from the guilt of our Sins; our final and eternal Happineſs, depend entirely upon our due Apprehenſions, and effectual Senſe, of this matter. If we employ our Minds ſeriouſly about it; and come to ſetle in them true Notions, and a juſt account of it: it will be the Fountain of all Happineſs to us; by being the Foundation of ſuch a Practice, and ſuch a Conduct of our Lives, as will end in Glory, and Peace for ever. And the importance of it is enlarged, and heightened, when we conſider the vaſt and unſpeakable Danger of miſtaking in this *grand Enquiry*; that if we do, through Prejudice, or Paſſion, or love to this World, or fondneſs for carnal Pleaſure, entertain wrong Notions of this Affair, they will lead us into a wrong method of Action, and conclude us at laſt under inexpreſſible Miſery: the Miſery, not only of deprivation, or being debarred from the Happineſs of Heaven, and the Communications of God's Favour; but that of enduring poſitive Torments, the Wrath of God, and the Puniſhments threatened by his *Son* in the *Goſpel*. The Conſideration of this made our Lord ſo earneſt to free the Minds of Men from all falſe Surmiſes about the great buſineſs upon which he came into the World; that neither *Unbelievers*, nor *Believers*, might miſtake his Errand. The conſideration of this made the *Apoſtles*, and particularly St. *Paul*, ſo frequent in their Warnings againſt all Inclination to be *deceived* in this matter: well knowing that *Chriſtians*, even in thoſe firſt Days, were in great danger, from the inward Motions of their own Luſts and Paſſions, and the outward Hardſhips of *Perſecution*, to be miſled by ſuch falſe *Apoſtles*, and falſe *Teachers*, as would ſooth their preſent Inclinations, and flatter them into vain and deluſive Hopes.

Let not therefore any thing either within us, or without us; let not any thing of this World; (Profit, or Honour, or Pleaſure,) lay a Biaſs upon our Minds in this *Enquiry*. Neither Profit, nor Honour, nor Pleaſure can, in the leaſt avail us, when we have made the fatal miſtake: nor can any preſent Gratification countervail the loſs of all Happineſs to all Eternity. What therefore can induce us to be ſo careleſs, or ſo weak, as to be willingly impoſed upon in a *Queſtion*, upon the juſt Reſolution of which *Eternity* depends; and the falſe account of which, once permitted to enter into our Minds, muſt draw after it more Miſery, and Unhappineſs than we can now conceive? Since therefore it is an Enquiry of ſuch vaſt, and unſpeakable importance; let us

III. Conſider the true Method of coming to a Reſolution of this *grand Queſtion*; and where it is that we may expect ſuch an Account of this Affair, as we may ſafely and ſecurely depend upon. Now it being a Matter of infinite Grace and Mercy that Almighty God will enter into any *Treaty* at all with a ſinful World; or come to any *Terms* with his rebellious Subjects: it is very evident that the Perſons immediately commiſſioned by him, or by the *Perſon* whom he ſent into this World upon ſo good an Account, are thoſe only, on whom we can ſafely and with Honour rely in this Affair. It depended on his Will, to make the *Conditions* what he ſhould think agreeable to his own unalterable Perfections, and to the eternal and unvariable Nature of Juſt and Right. To promulgate theſe Conditions, and to give an Account of theſe *Terms*, He ſent *Jeſus Chriſt* into the World: who in his Life-time did it, as fully as was requiſite to his preſent Deſign; and, for the ſame End, immediately commiſſioned his *Apoſtles* to preach the glad Tidings to the whole World, and to lay open more fully theſe Terms; and conducted them by an infallible Spirit, to ſecure them from all Error in this Matter. Whither then ſhould we go but to him? for *he hath the Words of eter-*

nal Life; and to his *Apoſtles*? for they were the *immediate Embaſſadors* of Chriſt, *beſeeching us to be reconciled to God*, and preaching the *Conditions* of this Reconciliation. It is in the *Preachings* of Chriſt himſelf, and in the Writings of theſe *Apoſtles*, that we can ſecurely hope to find the only Account of this Enquiry that will avail us any thing.

As for ourſelves, and all others, who ſucceed in teaching, and feeding the Flock of *Chriſt*; we cannot pretend to any *new Revelations*. It is our Buſineſs only to explain the *old*; to convince Men of any Errors diſagreeable to the written Word of God; and to lay before them, in the beſt manner poſſible, what is contained, and propoſed in it. We cannot make the *Terms of Salvation* what we, or many others, may wiſh. They are fixed by thoſe who only had Authority to fix them, from God, and his Holy Spirit: and we muſt not vary from thoſe who have declared long ago the whole Will of God. Other *Churches* may pretend to be themſelves, (conſidered diſtinctly from the *Apoſtles* and their Doctrine,) the *Ground and Pillar* of *Truth*; and not only the Keepers, and Guardians of the *lively Oracles of God*: but our Church declareth the contrary, and profeſſeth to be only the *Medium*, and *Interpreter*, by which the Will of God already ſetled may be made known to the People; and openly proclaims that the *Articles* and *Terms* of *Salvation* are long ago fixed and determined, in ſuch ſort, that it is an invading the Province of God himſelf to pretend to make new ones, or to alter them into what they were not, at the Beginning of the *Goſpel*. Let that *Unchriſtian Church*, therefore, anſwer for it, that debars the People from conſulting thoſe Books which alone are able to *make them wiſe unto Salvation*; and impoſeth upon them Traditions and Cuſtoms, and Doctrines of her own, which make void the Will of God, and render ineffectual all his gracious Offers of Salvation to the World; that hides the true Word of God from all Communication with the Light; and teacheth thoſe who depend upon her, to ſeek Salvation, and to learn the *Terms* of it, from ſuch as impoſe what they pleaſe inſtead of them. But let any *Church* upon Earth, or any *Miniſters* of the *Goſpel*, pretend to what they pleaſe: whether they ſpeak Truth or Falſhood; whether they lighten or increaſe the burthen of theſe *Conditions*, or fix them where they ought to be; the *New Teſtament* is the Standard to which all muſt be brought to be tried; and by which it is the Duty of all to examine, whether they be truly directed, or invited aſide into paths of Darkneſs and Error.

The great Lines of the Goſpel, and thoſe parts of it which declare the Terms of Salvation, have no obſcurity in them, but lie level to all who have capacity to underſtand what *God*, and *Salvation*, and *Happineſs*, mean. It will not therefore, in this grand Affair, be a ſufficient Apology for any, at the great Day of Accounts, to ſay that they followed their *Leaders*; that they depended upon their Doctrine; and ſwallowed whatever they told them about the Will of God: becauſe the *New Teſtament* hath been tranſmitted down for their Uſe; to teach all Chriſtians what is their Duty, as well as to guide others in their Doctrine concerning it. The greateſt part of it was preached, and written, to the *Laity*: from whence it appears, That they were thought Judges of what ſo much concerned them; and that it was their buſineſs to take their Notions of the *Goſpel*, from Thoſe who were immediately ſent by God, and Chriſt, to propoſe it to the World. The utmoſt that can be ſaid for depending on any other, ſince that time, is, that it is probable, or to be hoped, that they will not deceive or miſlead us. But how weak an Excuſe will thisp rove, when we know that our *Eternity* depends upon it; that there are Writings which cannot deceive us; and that, if we ſeriouſly and conſtantly adviſe with them, no human Error, which doth not ariſe from any wilful Crime in ourſelves, ſhall be charged upon us? Could you not have conſulted theſe Scriptures, and ſeen whether theſe things were ſo, as your *Church*, or your *Leaders taught* you? will be a very ſufficient *Reply* to all who think to find Refuge, at laſt, in depending upon any other Authority in ſo weighty a matter. And were it not out of regard to ſome ſecular or By-end; from want of Deſire to know the Truth, or an affected unwillingneſs to alter the accuſtomed methods of Action: no one could be ſo ſenſeleſs as to depend upon the Word of any *modern Authority*; when it was in his Power to go himſelf to the *original Covenant*. No Man acts in this manner, in the Caſe of his worldly Concerns: or in any Point which may affect his *Body*, or his *Eſtate*, in this tranſitory World; and this will ſerve to condemn All who are guilty of ſo great a neglect, in a concern infinitely more weighty and important.

And if it will not avail any at laſt, that they have depended upon the Word of any *Church*, or *Churchman*, upon Earth: much leſs will it avail them, that they have conſulted with Fleſh and Blood; and can plead the Dictates of *them* againſt the Dictates of God himſelf. And yet it is to be feared, that many Men, in this *Queſtion*, upon which their eternal State depends, inſtead of conſulting our *Lord*, and his *Apoſtles*, what is truly required of them in order to Juſtification and Salvation, turn their Thoughts another way: and conſult their own Luſts and Paſſions, and Tempers, and Deſigns in this World, what will be the moſt conſiſtent with them; and how far they will let them go towards a Reſolution of this *Enquiry*. But this is even to adviſe with *Satan* himſelf, and with all the Enemies of God, and of a Man's own Happineſs, what it is that Almighty God requires; and what it is that will bring him to that Happineſs, which it is *their* Deſire, he ſhould never arrive at.

Thus have I gone over the *three principal Points* of which I thought it proper to ſpeak, before we enter upon the *Debate* itſelf. There are ſome other *Particulars*, which are conſequences from *theſe*: and which it is likewiſe highly uſeful for us to conſider, in order to make our *Enquiry* the more effectual, and ſucceſsful. But theſe I muſt reſerve for another opportunity.

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Concerning the TERMS *of* ACCEPTANCE, &c.

SERMON II.

LUKE x. The latter part of the 25th Verſe.

Maſter, What ſhall I do to inherit eternal Life?

IN my former Diſcourſe I obſerved to you, that this was the curious *Enquiry* of a Student of the *Law* of *Moſes*, in order to try what Anſwer would be given to ſo *important a Queſtion*, by our bleſſed Lord, who appeared in the World with the Character of the *Meſſiah*, ſent by God into it, to inſtruct Mankind in the right way to Happineſs; though not received or acknowledged as ſuch by the Perſon who made this *Enquiry*: and that it was our Duty, and becoming our Profeſſions, who believe in *Jeſus Chriſt*, as one ſent on ſo gracious an Errand, to make the ſame *Enquiry*, with all the ſerious Solicitude which a Buſineſs of ſo vaſt importance requires. And, in order to proceed ſucceſsfully in the *Enquiry*,

I. I laid down carefully and diſtinctly the *great Queſtion*, as it concerns us of later Ages; who are generally educated in the Knowledge, and continue long in the profeſſion of the *Chriſtian Religion*: viz. What are thoſe Terms and Conditions, which are required on our Parts; and upon which, God Almighty will, for the ſake of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and of what he did and ſuffered to that End, forgive us our Sins, committed during this profeſſion of the *Chriſtian Religion*, and finally juſtify or acquit us at the great Day, and make us afterwards eternally Happy? This, I told you, is the Enquiry in which we are concerned: which it is of infinitely more importance to us to regard than any other thing in the World.

2. I urged ſome Conſiderations proper to make us ſenſible of the great importance of this Enquiry; and the great hazard of being miſled, and miſtaken in it: and this in order to make us truly ſerious, and truly ſollicitous not to be impoſed upon, in this grand Affair.

3. I ſhewed you that the only ſecure Method of proceeding, and the only ſafe way of coming to a Reſolution of this *Queſtion*, is to conſult the *New Teſtament* ourſelves, in which we have a plain and full Account of what our bleſſed Lord himſelf, and they who were immediately commiſſioned by Him, declared concerning this Matter; and that all other ways and methods are unſucceſsful, and full of Danger. But I then told you likewiſe, that, in order to our arriving at a true account of the important Queſtion now before us, there were ſome other particularrs that deſerve to be carefully obſerved: and though theſe be indeed but ſo many conſequences from the forementioned Heads; yet, I cannot but think it very well worth our while diſtinctly to propoſe, and conſider them. As

I. That the *Terms* of *Salvation*, and *Acceptance* with *God*, are what He hath made them; and of ſo inflexible a Nature, that it is not in our Power to bend, or alter them, as we pleaſe, into what Shape, or Nature, we think fit. And this is plain: becauſe it did not belong to us to contrive or frame them; but to the Supreme Lord of all things. It is *He*, to whom it belongs to propoſe a method of Reconciliation to his Creatures; and *He* alone, whoſe Office it is to fix the Conditions of this Reconciliation: becauſe He alone knows what is in all reſpects fitting, and agreeable to the eternal Laws of Reaſon, and Wiſdom; of which we ourſelves could not be proper and impartial Judges. *He* hath, by Virtue of his Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and Power, an undoubted Right to give us new Laws; and to lay upon us the Conditions of a *Second Covenant*, as well as of a *Firſt*: But we have no Right, either from Wiſdom, or Power, to give Laws to Him; or to fix the *Terms* proper for him to accept.

If therefore he hath offered any particular Terms and Conditions, upon which he will accept us; if He hath ſent his *Son*, and his *Apoſtles* to lay open theſe *Terms*: here we muſt reſt, and remember that it is not our Buſineſs to attempt any alteration of theſe *Terms*; and that it is the moſt fruitleſs as well as arrogant Imagination to think of doing it. In vain doth any Mortal wiſh or deſire them to be other than what they are determined to be in his Will: and in vain will it be for the greateſt or wiſeſt of us all to attempt to accommodate and bend them to our *Schemes,* or our Inclinations. The *Syſtem* of *Chriſtianity* was long ago framed, and the *Scheme* of Salvation laid, in the Breaſt of the Almighty, as it was deſigned in Time to appear: and this *Syſtem* hath long ago been written by the *Evangeliſts* and *Apoſtles*; and this *Scheme* hath long ago been propoſed in the *New Teſtament*, for the Benefit of all who are in a Frame and Diſpoſition of Mind capable of receiving Benefit. God hath there ſhewn us, which is the Way to the Salvation He promiſeth. If, therefore, we will arrive at his Salvation; it muſt be in the Path which he hath marked out: and we muſt, indeed, either not think of going to Heaven; or we muſt go to it, in *his* Way, and not in our own.

It is neceſſary to obſerve this, becauſe the Generality of *profeſſed Chriſtians*, though they have Deſire enough of being happy hereafter; yet it muſt be in their own Way: and they will not depart from their own Schemes, and their own Wiſhes. Nay, they ſeem to think it much more fit that God Almighty ſhould come down to *their* Terms, than that themſelves ſhould go up to *his*. The Young Man, in the Goſpel, was *not far from the Kingdom of God*, as our Lord thought: becauſe he came to Him with ſome Diſpoſition, and ſome Deſire after Happineſs. He was willing enough to be his Diſciple, and to be ſaved by him; if the *Terms* of his Diſcipleſhip and Salvation ſhould appear ſuch as he could comply with. But when he found that the *Circumſtances* of his profeſſing the *Goſpel* at that Time were ſuch, that he muſt diveſt himſelf of his large Poſſeſſions; and follow our Lord with an entire Dependance upon him for the common Neceſſaries of Life; and ſhare in common with him the Wants and Neceſſities to which he expoſed himſelf: he went away ſorrowful; grieved to hear that he could not be made happy by Him at leſs expence, and that the Terms of his Salvation were ſo uneaſy to be complied with. Thus it is with many *Profeſſors* of *Chriſtianity* in later Ages. They are, in this Senſe, *not far from the Kingdom of God*, that they deſire the Happineſs of Chriſtians, and of ſuch as belong to that Kingdom: but then they are ſorrowful to hear of the Terms plainly required; if they do not ſuit their preſent Inclinations, and Deſigns. And ſo they either depart from our Lord; and give up all Pretences to his Favour, and his Salvation: or elſe they lay hold of one Pretext or other, or alter thoſe *Terms*; and amuſe themſelves with ſome ſort of preſent *Peace* and Tranquillity, by making them conſiſt and comply with their own Deſires and Wiſhes. Let this therefore be always remembered, that our Fancies, or Tempers, or Deſires, cannot make the *Terms* of our *Acceptance* other than what they are already; fixed and determined by the *Father* of our *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, *with whom there is no Variableneſs, nor ſhadow of turning:* who, after having viewed all Things relating to our Nature, and his own, upon the Principles of unerring Wiſdom, appointed the Bounds of his own Mercy, and the Conditions of our Happineſs; neither of which it is in our Power either to enlarge or diminiſh.

Nor is it any other than egregious Folly for us to imagine that He himſelf will at laſt vary from his own Terms; and, after he hath declared and promulgated Rules, by which he aſſures us He will be governed in the Diſtribution of his Love and Favour, to flatter ourſelves that he will depart from theſe Rules, for *our Sakes*, who would not depart from our own unreaſonable Practices either for *his* Sake, or *our own*; and that he will adapt his Proceedings at laſt to *our* Practice, in Pity to *us*, who would not adapt our Practice to *his* Laws. And yet I know of but this one Way in which any Alteration or Abatement, or *new Modification*, of the *Covenant* of *Grace* can be hoped for; *viz.* that God himſelf will at laſt new model it, and alter it into ſome other Form: The Weakneſs of which Imagination I ſhall have occaſion hereafter more fully to lay open. At preſent I make this Obſervation, that the *Terms* of *Acceptance* are eſtabliſhed and unalterable; as God himſelf hath fixed them in the Goſpel: becauſe, unleſs we be perſuaded of this, all our *Enquiries* after them will be only ſo many Speculations, and fruitleſs Searches; rather ſerving to ſatisfy Curioſity, than to direct Practice. For if we entertain a Thought, that thoſe *Terms*, though ſolemnly ſetled, and ſolemnly promulgated, by the Son of God and his Apoſtles, may be again altered, and changed into ſomething more agreeable to us, and more conſiſtent with our Ways; the *Goſpel* can have but little, very little, effect upon our Minds, under the powerful Aſſaults of any conſiderable Temptation. Pleaſure, Honour, and Profit, will work ſtrongly upon a Mind fluctuating in uncertainty about the Conſequences of things; or made unſtable by the flattering Hope that the Conſequences at laſt may not be found ſo terrible as they are repreſented in the Goſpel. But if we be poſſeſſed before-hand that *ſuch* are the *Terms* of *Acceptance*, as the plain Declarations of the *New Teſtament* make them; and that *ſuch* they will be found at laſt: then our ſerious Enquiries after them will have a great and powerful Influence upon our Conduct; and be of more force than the Efforts of Fleſh and Blood, or the Inſinuations of this tranſitory World. But,

II. Another very *neceſſary Rule* to be obſerved in this important *Enquiry*, is, that all preconceived Notions of our own; all the Impreſſions of Education; all the Inclinations of Senſe; all the Influences of Temporal Intereſt, and every thing that may caſt a Cloud before our Eyes, or prevent our ſeeing or receiving the Truth, muſt be diſregarded, in compariſon of any one plain Declaration of the *New Teſtament* upon this Head. This is ſo neceſſary, that it is in vain to ſearch after any Truth; unleſs all Prejudices, and evil Habits of Thinking, or Acting, inconſiſtent with it, be laid aſide, and for the preſent diſregarded. And much more neceſſary is it in this moſt *Important Enquiry*, that our Minds ſhould lay aſide *every weight* which will incline them againſt Truth, and weigh up the contrary Balance in which that ineſtimable Jewel is tryed; that we ſhould be perfectly willing to find that *True*, which is *True*, whether we find it or no; that we ſhould be as free as poſſible from the Bias impreſſed upon the Soul, by former Schemes received upon the Authority of others, or by Evil Habits built upon our own Sin and Folly; that we ſhould go to thoſe Books in which the Account of this is laid before us, with Hearts diſpoſed to Truth; and indifferent whether this Account ſhall be found to contradict our former Notions, and Practices, or not.

The force of Paſſion, and Prejudice, againſt *Truth* is ſo great, that Men tolerably well ſkilled in that ſort of Learning, may ſometimes be hindred from ſeeing even the plain Truth of a *Mathematical Demonſtration*, by ſome private Reſentment, and ſecret Pique againſt others: in which Science there is no complaint of indeterminate Ideas, or obſcure Expreſſion. In like manner, ſet a Man about the Enquiry we are now ſpeaking of, who hath been uſed to a way of thinking at ſecond hand; and is in love with the Notions received from others, though never ſo falſe: his Labours ſhall be found to tend to little, unleſs it be to ſtrain the obſcure Paſſages into a Senſe agreeable to his own Notions: whilſt the plain ones are neglected. Or, ſet a Man about this Enquiry, immerſed in this World; embarraſſed with a ſordid love of Gain, or Honour; or captivated by Luſt, and ſenſual Pleaſure: and how hardly will He, if at all, receive any thing, as the Will of God, inconſiſtent with his preſent Views! What a Bias will his own Wiſhes, and his perverted Will, clap upon his underſtanding! and how many Ways will He find, if He have any Thoughts of Religion at all, to reconcile the plaineſt contrary Declarations of God's Will to his own State, and his own Hopes! This makes me ſay that, if we would make the *Enquiry* with Succeſs, we muſt be willing to find that true which is ſo; and that we muſt renounce to all our own Wiſhes, or Hopes, or Deſires, whether founded upon former *Notions* infuſed into us by others; or upon former *Practices* indulged by ourſelves.

Nay, how weak; how unreaſonable; how injurious and pernicious a thing is it to be otherwiſe diſpoſed! For *we* make not *Truth*: but it is what it is, and what it ever will be, whether we receive it, or not; and, when plainly propoſed to us, it is our Condemnation, if we reject it, or prefer any thing before it. And if we have been engaged in ſuch a Habit of Sin as may incline us to one ſide more than another: the farther we go in this Way, by eſtabliſhing this *Habit* of *Evil Practice* by an *Error* fixed in the *Underſtanding*, we are ſo much the more deeply engaged in a Courſe of Ruin; and ſo much the more irrecoverably loſt. For by this means we go not in the Dark; but do as it were light and direct ourſelves all along the Paths of Miſery. We go ſecurely perhaps for the preſent, but at laſt the Sight and Senſe of our wilful Error will be the moſt painful Horror, and inſupportable Burthen. This ſhould engage Sinners, that have any Thoughts of finding Mercy, to break off their *evil Habits*: becauſe the longer they proceed in them, the more effectually will they blind their Eyes, and the more certainly will they indiſpoſe them, either to ſee the Truth of God's Covenant, though written in never ſo plain Characters; or to receive it to any purpoſe, if they ſhould not avoid the ſeeing it. For nothing unqualifies Men for *Divine Truths*, of Importance to Happineſs, ſo much as the *Habit* of *Sin*: nothing makes Men more afraid of, or unfit for, the *Light*, than their having exerciſed themſelves in the *Works of Darkneſs*.

III. Another Particular I muſt mention, of great uſe in this Enquiry, is, that we muſt take *all* the Declarations of the New Teſtament upon this Head, into the Account; and not *ſome* only: and then that, if there be any ſeeming Variety in any of them; the more obſcure muſt be interpreted ſo as to be agreeable to the moſt plain and repeated Declarations. This it is but reaſonable to require: becauſe neither our Saviour nor his Apoſtles, have in any one ſingle Portion of the *New Teſtament*, laid down the ſeveral Branches of the *New Covenant*; but ſpoken of them, as diſtinct Occaſions gave them Ground to do: ſometimes of one, ſometimes of another. Now all things, equally declared by Them to be *Conditions* of our Pardon, or Salvation, are with equal Willingneſs, and equal Regard, to be received by us. And this Rule will prevent all thoſe Miſtakes in us, which others have fatally run into, by attending to ſome ſingle Declarations upon this Subject; to the Neglect and Contradiction of others, perhaps more plain and intelligible. This will teach us that, if one Place of Scripture attributes Happineſs to one *Virtue*, or one *Act* of the Mind; and another as plainly to another; and a third to a third: and a fourth to the Performance of the whole Will of God, without mentioning Particulars: I ſay, This will teach us not to overlook one Paſſage for the ſake of another, not more plain, or more intelligible; when *all* have the ſame Stamp of Divine Authority; and when, without regarding *all*, we cannot pretend to know the whole of what Almighty God hath declared concerning this Affair. The acting contrary to this, is juſt as if the *rebellious Subjects* of a *Prince*, now to be reſtored to his Favour upon ſuch and ſuch *Conditions*, ſhould attend only to one or two of theſe *Conditions*; and paſs over all the reſt, as if they were not of equal Importance, and had not the Sanction of the ſame Authority.

And then, ſuppoſing there ſhould be ſome *Obſcurity* in one or more Paſſages relating to this Affair; there can be no Danger to Us, but in pretending to underſtand theſe, and at the ſame time underſtanding them ſo, as to invalidate the Deſign of the more plain and expreſs Declarations: and this out of a Deſire to reconcile our own Practices to the Hopes of Happineſs. For it is no Crime in any Chriſtian, not to underſtand an obſcure or dubious Paſſage; provided he hath nothing wilful to accuſe himſelf of, in this want of Underſtanding: But the Crime is, to reſolve to underſtand it in ſuch a Senſe, as may beſt conſiſt with his falſe Hopes; though it conſiſts not at all with thoſe plainer Texts, about the Meaning of which there can be no Doubt.

Let us, therefore, but take into the Account the *Whole* of what is, in ſeveral Places of the *New Teſtament*, made neceſſary to our obtaining God's Favour, and Eternal Happineſs. And, if we meet with any thing which we do not perfectly underſtand upon this Head, let us but attend to the plain and repeated Declarations; and not preſume to neglect *them* for the ſake of thoſe which are not ſo; or to interpret thoſe which are not ſo, after ſuch a *manner* as to *contradict* thoſe which are ſo: and I dare ſay, we need not fear any Error in this great Enquiry. For the Terms abſolutely required are plainly, and frequently, expreſſed: and what is ſo, is, in every ſort of Writing, allowed to explain what is not ſo: but what is not ſo is never allowed to be interpreted ſo as to contradict what is ſo. And therefore it will be unjuſtifiable and inexcuſable in any one, to lay hold on any part of the *New Teſtament*, or any *Text* in it, which is in any reſpect obſcure; and to oppoſe this to the plaineſt and moſt repeated: in order to build a *Doctrine*, or a *Scheme*, upon it, not to be reconciled to *theſe*; or perhaps abſolutely inconſiſtent with them. This is not to conſult the Honour of God: nor is it the way to find out the *Terms* of our own Happineſs.

Theſe *Rules*, and *Obſervations*, which I have now laid down, are in order to your careful and exact Examination of what I deſign to ſay, when I come to lay before you the *Terms* of our *Acceptance* and *Salvation*, as they appear to me in the *New Teſtament:* to which I cannot now proceed for want of Time; but before which, it was neceſſary to commend to your Thoughts the *Conſiderations* beforementioned; which will, I hope, be of great uſe in all your *future Enquiries* after the Way to *Eternal Life*. And all but little enough, or rather, I fear, too little, to make the Generality of Chriſtians as ſincere in their Enquiries, and as ready to embrace the true Anſwer to them, as they ought to be.

And indeed I have mentioned, and inſiſted upon, all theſe Precautions; becauſe it is *Eternal Life* we are enquiring after; and the Favour of that God, whoſe Favour is better than Life, and whoſe Diſpleaſure is infinitely worſe than Death. Were they the Concerns of this Life, that fleeth away like a Shadow, and is not to be ſtopped by all the Art, or all the Power of Man, about which we are enquiring; it would be of no ſuch vaſt Importance to be ſolicitous about the Matter. Let *Paſſion*, or *Pride*, or *Covetouſneſs* direct us; Let *Ambition*, or *Luſt*, blind out Eyes; an End would quickly come, when this World could have no part in us. But yet, behold the Perverſeneſs of Mankind. Were the *Enquiry* after the Pleaſures, or Riches, or Honours, of this World; had there any Perſon of great Sagacity, or uncommon Penetration, appeared in it, to direct them in the ſure way to theſe Riches, or Pleaſures, or Honours, that muſt end with this Temporal Life: how few Miſtakes ſhould we find made even by the weakeſt of Men! The *Covetous* would eaſily underſtand, and make themſelves perfect Maſters of the Way to Wealth; the *Voluptuous* would never miſs the Path of Pleaſure; nor the *Ambitious*, the Road to Preferment, and Honour, and Titles. None of *them* would truſt any Direction at ſecond hand, when they could conſult the Oracle itſelf. None of *them* would be diverted from their Enquiry by any Impulſe contrary to that by which they profeſſed to be directed. None of *them* would hazard the Diſappointment of their main end, by relying on any thing but what was plainly propoſed by their Guide. And all of them would be Proof againſt every Attempt that could be uſed, either to deceive their Underſtandings, or to influence their Wills to contrary Ways.

But let it not always be ſaid, that the *Children of this World are wiſer, in their Generation*; wiſer in their Purſuits and Enquiries after Trifles and Miſery and Ruin; leſs capable of being impoſed upon; more guarded and ſecure in their Way, than the *Children of Light*, who profeſs to have nobler Things in View: a State of unchangeable Happineſs, Eternal in the Heavens, after this poor, uncertain State is at an End. If we be the *Children of Light*; if we have *Eternal Life* truly in View, and be truly inquiſitive after the Way that leads to it; let us conſider what *Eternal Life* is; how much it outweighs all that *this Life* can offer us; how much it exceeds all our preſent Conceptions which are formed upon very imperfect Ideas; how vaſtly it will recompenſe all the Pains, and Care, and Caution of the ſtricteſt Enquirer; how unconceivable an Happineſs muſt be contained in the Favour of God, the Supreme and Original Father of all Things: and we ſhall think no Precaution too much to ſecure us from Miſtake, whilſt we are ſeeking our Way to it; no Care ſuperfluous to defend us from the great Enemies of this *Enquiry*; no Pains, or Study, too great on our Parts, in order to be fully ſatisfied, *What we muſt do to inherit Eternal Life.*

To the Reſolution of which grand *Queſtion* I deſign to proceed the next Opportunity.

* * *

Concerning the TERMS *of* ACCEPTANCE, &c.

SERMON III.

LUKE x. The latter part of the 25th Verſe.

Maſter, What ſhall I do to inherit eternal Life?

THE *Enquiry* which, I told you, theſe Words gave me Occaſion to propoſe, as of Importance to Perſons educated, and continuing, in the Profeſſion of the Faith of Chriſt, (in which Number, we, and all of later Ages, generally are) is this: What it is that the *Goſpel* requires of Men, who believe in *Jeſus Chriſt*, and have been baptized into his Religion, and acknowledge Him for their Maſter, in order to their Acquittance from any Sins they have at any time been wilfully guilty of, during their *Chriſtian Profeſſion*; and to their final Juſtification at the Day of Judgement; and to their Eternal Happineſs after this. And, having in two ſeveral Diſcourſes endeavoured to engage your Attention, and to raiſe your Solicitude after Truth, in a matter of ſuch unſpeakable Moment; as well as to point out to you the true Method of your coming to a well-grounded Satisfaction, (*viz.* your examining whatſoever is at any time laid before you on this Head by all the plain, and intelligible Texts in the *New Teſtament*

ment concerning it, carefully laid together, and ſincerely compared:) I come now to a particular Reſolution of the *Queſtion* propoſed, which I think may be comprized under the four following Heads.

I. It is required of a *Chriſtian*, who hath been a *wilful Sinner*, that he renounce, and forſake, his Sins.

II. It is required of him, that he ſincerely and with Perſeverance, practiſe the contrary Virtues. And though to *theſe Two* all other Terms may be reduced; yet it is very proper particularly to mention two more, *viz.*

III. It is not ſufficient that the Sinner forſake the Sins of which he ſtands guilty before God, and amend his outward Life; but he muſt entirely forgive the Offences, and Treſpaſſes, of others againſt himſelf: which is ſo neceſſary a Condition, that without it even thoſe Sins which he hath forſaken ſhall never be forgiven him.

IV. In the *Caſe* of *Injuſtice*, or *Fraud*, or *Oppreſſion*; it is required of the Sinner, if he ever hope for Pardon, and Acceptance, not only that he leave off Injuſtice for the future, and act juſtly, and honeſtly; (which alone is not ſufficient:) but alſo that he make *Reſtitution*, in whatſoever Inſtances, he hath by any ways or means, injured any one in the World.

Theſe are the *four* particular *Terms*, or *Conditions*, upon which *Chriſtians*, who have been *wilful Sinners*, may hope for Acceptance; and without which the *Goſpel* gives them not the leaſt Ground for ſuch Hope. They may be all comprized in one *general Propoſition*, *viz.* That it is required of Chriſtians, who have the Guilt of any Sins upon them, to endeavour heartily, and ſincerely, for the future, to practiſe the whole Will of God, revealed in the Book of *Nature*, and the *Goſpel* of *Jeſus Chriſt*: and that without this honeſt, ſincere, and univerſal Obedience, they cannot hope to be accepted, for the Sake, and upon the *Terms*, of *Jeſus Chriſt*. But it is fit to be more particular; and therefore I have choſen to ſpeak of this Matter under the *forementioned Heads*: every one of which I deſign diſtinctly to conſider, *firſt*, ſhewing that they are moſt plainly required; and *then*, ſhewing the Fitneſs and Reaſonableneſs of them. And after we are fully ſatisfied concerning theſe, they will be ſo many infallible Directions to us; and prevent all fatal Miſtakes, which otherwiſe may be occaſioned by a too great Readineſs to lay hold on any obſcure, or miſinterpreted, Paſſage of Scripture, for the Support of any other Notions concerning this important Matter.

Theſe are the *Points*, I ſay, which I deſign particularly to handle. But the *Enquiry* now before us, relating, as you ſee, to the *Caſe* of ſuch *profeſſed Chriſtians* as have been *wilful Sinners*, and ſo have need of other Conditions to be offered them, than that of a perfect and unſpotted Holineſs; it will not be an uſeleſs, or improper Digreſſion, before I come to the particular handling of the Points now laid down, to conſider, *who they are that may be called wilful Sinners*; and the ſeveral *Sorts*, and *Degrees* of ſuch as are ſo: that ſo, we may be all ſenſible that the very beſt of us may have need of ſome or other of theſe *Terms* of *Condeſcenſion* offered us through *Jeſus Chriſt*, and, for his Sake only, made *Terms* of *Acceptance* with God. And here, it being manifeſt that all Thoſe may juſtly be called *wilful Sinners*, who ſin, either *firſt*, againſt ſufficient Light; or *ſecondly*, againſt the Dictates of their own Conſciences to the contrary: it will be proper to ſhew *who* they are that may be ſaid thus to ſin, either againſt the *one*, or the other. Now,

1. All thoſe may be ſaid to act againſt ſufficient Light, and ſufficient Evidence to the contrary, who have fair Opportunities and Abilities of knowing

their Duty ; who profeſs a Religion, and live in any particular Place, or at any particular Time, in which their Duty is laid plainly before them. And here I muſt remark that not only thoſe *Sinners* who have attended to this Evidence, and been ſenſible of the Directions of this Light, may be ſaid to ſin againſt it; but ſuch alſo, as have wilfully refuſed to give any *Attention* to it, and have rejected the offers of its Direction, may equally be ſaid to ſin againſt it; becauſe they wifully refuſe to pay any Reſpect, or Attention to it: and not only upon this account; but becauſe they act againſt the Maxims which *that* is perpetually offering to their View, and which they might, if they pleaſed, be very well acquainted with. For no *Ignorance* that is wilful, and affected; or that proceeds from a Reſolution to guard againſt better Information, and is founded upon an ill-diſpoſed Mind; can avail a Sinner any thing, or diſtinguiſh him at all from the moſt wilful of Sinners. And this ought to be remarked, becauſe many Perſons ſeem to be ſo weak, as to chuſe voluntarily not to be better informed, becauſe they are pretty well reſolved not to alter their bad Courſes; and then to imagine that their *Ignorance* will be a ſort of an Excuſe for their Vices. Whereas this ſort of *Ignorance* gives the Man all the *Eſſence*, and *Guilt*, of a *wilful Sinner* ; nay, and makes Him a Sinner againſt that very Light and Evidence, to which he wilfully refuſeth to attend. So that, with reſpect to perſons who have profeſſed to believe in *Jeſus Chriſt*, and to receive Him for their Maſter, (of whom we are now particularly ſpeaking) it may be affirmed that, not only *They* ſin againſt the Light of his *Goſpel*, who, at the very time of their committing Sin, know, and are ſenſible, that the Action they are going about is condemned by his *Goſpel*; but alſo *They* who, after having profeſſed Faith in Him, are wilfully careleſs and negligent in their enquiries after his Will; and chuſe, upon very bad Principles, rather not to know, than to know, the Rules which He hath laid down. For this, I ſay, is manifeſtly ſinnnig againſt the *Light* of that *Goſpel*, which they wilfully refuſe to conſult, or attend to, upon a Suſpicion that it may diſturb them in their preſent Courſe; and conſequently, upon a Reſolution of continuing in it without that Diſturbance.

Theſe Two ſorts of Chriſtians therefore are *wilful Sinners :* ſuch, as ſin againſt the *Rules* of the *Goſpel*, knowing that they condemn their Practice at the very time of their ſinning; and ſuch likewiſe, as ſin againſt thoſe ſame Rules, with an *Ignorance* which proceeds from a perverſe and deliberate Deſire of being undiſturbed in their Courſe: an Ignorance, in which they wilfully entrench themſelves, as ſome ſort of Security againſt the Guilt of Sin; but which, in truth, is as great an Aggravation of it, as can well be imagined. The Difference between theſe *Two*, is only ſuch a Difference as may be ſuppoſed between Two diſobedient Sons of the ſame Father: the *one* of which liſtens to his Will, and hears his Commands, and afterwards tranſgreſſeth them; and the *other*, whenever his Father is going to declare his Will to Him, ſtops his Ears, and refuſeth to hear his Voice, merely becauſe he is reſolved to go on in his own Way, without any Regard to his Will. And which of theſe Two is the moſt criminal, it is hard to determine: only that there ſeems more Reſolution of Diſobedience in the *latter*. Such Perſons as I have been now deſcribing, muſt not expect to be reckoned by our Saviour amongſt thoſe Servants *who know not their Maſter's Will, and ſo ſhall be beaten with fewer ſtripes* than others: for the *Servants* meant in that Saying of our *Lord's*, are ſuch as have not the Opportunity of knowing their Maſter's Will ſo fully as others have; not ſuch as have the Opportunity, and wilfully refuſe to make uſe of it.

2. As there are *Two ſorts* of *Sinners*, who may be ſaid to ſin againſt *ſufficient Light*: ſo likewiſe, there are *Two ſorts* of *Sinners*, who may be ſaid to ſin againſt their own Judgements and Conſciences; and conſequently, to be *wilful Sinners*. Firſt, ſuch as, at the very time of their ſinning, perceive within themſelves ſomething which forbids that Action, and repreſents the Unreaſonableneſs of it, and the Anger of God conſequent upon it: and ſecondly, ſuch as, though they have by a Cuſtom of ſinning worn off all ſenſe of their Duty ſo far as to ſin without any preſent Diſturbance, and Uneaſineſs of Mind, at the very time of ſinning; yet, before this habitual Practice of Vice, have often owned and acknowledged, or, during the continuance of it, do, upon many Occaſions, and in their moſt ſerious Intervals, judge and determine that the contrary Courſe of Action is truly their Duty, and what alone can entitle them to the Favour of God. Concerning the former of theſe, no one will doubt but that they ſin againſt their Conſciences: becauſe they are warned, and made uneaſy, by them at the very time of ſinning. And, as to the latter, I think it equally certain that they likewiſe do the ſame. For they ſin againſt that Judgement which they have heretofore often made, before an Habit of Sin had made them inſenſible; they ſin againſt their own Determinations in their moſt ſerious moments; they ſin againſt a former Judgement of their Minds, which their Reaſon and Conſideration hath never yet reverſed, or ever determined to be falſe or groundleſs; they ſin againſt that which was the Voice of their Conſcience, when they had any awake in their Minds: and conſequently, They may be truly ſaid to ſin againſt their Judgements, and Conſciences; though, at the very time of their ſinning, they have no preſent Alarm and Diſturbance from them.

All the Difference between the *Two ſorts* of *Sinners*, I have now mentioned, is the ſame that may be ſuppoſed between Two Servants of the ſame Maſter: the *One* of which having not ſhewn his Diſobedience ſo often, the Maſter ſtill attends upon him, and directs him in his Actions, hoping to keep him, by this means, from all bad and pernicious Practices, which nevertheleſs he ſometimes ventures upon, even under his Maſter's Eye; and the *Other* having ſhewn the ſame Diſobedience, under his Maſter's immediate Direction, more frequently, the Maſter thinks it uſeleſs any longer to attend upon Him, or to warn him againſt any particular Action. But yet, this Servant, though He offends not againſt his Maſter's preſent expreſs Warning to the contrary; He wilfully offends againſt all his paſt Rules, and all thoſe Directions which He hath heretofore given him. So that his Caſe is worſe than that of the *Former*, in this, that the *Former* hath not ſinned beyond the Patience of his Maſter: or ſo as to forfeit his conſtant Attendance upon him: which *He* hath done; and ſtill perſiſts in that Diſobedience. Juſt thus it is with the *Two ſorts* of Sinners now mentioned. Before an Habit of Sin hath made it otherwiſe; the Man hath generally the Remonſtrances of his Conſcience, whilſt He is thinking to venture upon any Vice. But Conſcience may at laſt be ſuppoſed to be weary of that good Office; and to find it fruitleſs to give ſo particular an Attendance upon the Sinner. Yet the Sinner nevertheleſs ſins againſt it, becauſe He continues to ſin againſt all its former Remonſtrances; againſt that Judgement and Determination which He himſelf hath formerly acknowledged to be juſt and reaſonable; and which He cannot think, or prove to be otherwiſe, even in the Heighth of his Wickedneſs. So that it is manifeſt that *He* ſins againſt his own Judgement and Conſcience, whoſe Conſcience hath heretofore ſufficiently warned Him againſt the Courſe He purſues, and ſufficiently recommended the contrary to Him; as well as *He* whoſe Conſcience ſtill continues to do that good Office: and conſequently, that both have equally the Guilt of *wilful Sinners*.

Thoſe profeſſed Chriſtians, therefore, who do, in any ſingle Action, or in any Courſe of Actions, tranſgreſs thoſe Rules which they know to be laid down in the *Goſpel*; and they alſo, who wilfully refuſe to know thoſe Rules, merely that they may the more quietly practiſe what themſelves think fit; Both *wilfully* act againſt ſufficient *Light*, and *Evidence*: and therefore are both certainly *wilful Sinners*. So likewiſe, they who do, either in any particular Action, or in any Courſe of Actions, ſin againſt the preſent Checks and Warnings of their own Conſciences; and they alſo, who ſin againſt the paſt Determination of their own Judgements, and the ſerious Reſult of their own beſt Reaſon, though wholly unmindful of it juſt at the time of *ſinning*; both *wilfully* ſin againſt their Conſciences: and therefore are both certainly *wilful Sinners*. And now, from what has been ſaid upon this Subject, it will not be improper to obſerve more particularly the ſeveral *Degrees*, and *Ranks*, of thoſe who may juſtly be ſtiled *wilful Sinners*. As

I. It is plain that in the loweſt degree of *wilful Sinners* are ſuch Perſons as have a ſincere Deſire of avoiding all Sin; ſuch as keep up in their Minds a warm Senſe of the Guilt of it; and do, in the main Tenour of their Lives, demonſtrate the Sincerity of their outward Profeſſion of *Chriſtianity*, by obſerving its Laws, behaving themſelves according to its Rules, and reſiſting great and frequent Temptations to ſin: but nevertheleſs are ſometimes, through the Violence of ſome particular Temptations, hurried into ſuch a Behaviour, and ſuch Actions, as they know to be condemned by the *Goſpel* they profeſs, and to be diſpleaſing to *Almighty God*. But in this State they do not continue, or glory; but lament and abhor their Condition; and by Amendment raiſe themſelves as ſoon as poſſible from it. Theſe are *wilful Sinners*, in this particular Behaviour: becauſe they do the thing which their *Conſciences* condemn; and becauſe they wilfully act in this Particular, againſt the Light of that Goſpel which they enjoy. But it is hard to call ſuch Perſons by the Name juſtly beſtowed upon thoſe whoſe main Courſe of Living is directed and governed by a quite contrary Principle. For as *they* are not denominated *good* and *virtuous*, from one or two particular *good* and *virtuous* Actions; whilſt the greateſt part of their Lives is filled up with the contrary Practices: ſo neither can the *others* juſtly be denominated *wicked Men*, from one or two particular Commiſſions of Sin, whilſt the main of their Lives hath been dedicated to *Virtue*; provided that, by their Amendment in thoſe particular Inſtances, they have given ſufficient Proof of their Repentance. But what I obſerve at preſent is this, that ſuch Perſons, are in theſe Actions, *wilful Sinners*, for the Reaſons before given; and that they certainly ſtand in need of an *Act* of *Grace*, from *Almighty God*, in order to be aſſured of Pardon and Forgiveneſs; becauſe they have done what they themſelves acknowledge they ought not to have done; and have wilfully committed what deſerveth Puniſhment: what they cannot juſtify, but are forced to condemn themſelves for.

II. In the next Degree of *wilful Sinners*, may be placed ſuch Perſons as have ſome Senſe of Religion, and ſome ſort of Reſolution of practiſing the Duties of it: but yet, when any conſiderable Temptation offers itſelf, yield up themſelves to the power of it; and at that time, when only they can experience the Sincerity of their own Minds, *viz.* in the Day of *Trial*, do very often wilfully fall into grievous and deliberate Sins. I do not ſuppoſe theſe Perſons to be ſo bad as to ſeek out Opportunities of ſinning; or to harbour in their Minds before-hand any Deſigns of laying hold on ſuch Opportunities; but through ſome great Defect, or Negligence in themſelves, to be ſurprized, by almoſt every Trial, into Sin; and to give themſelves Proofs of little, through their whole Behaviour, beſides the Weakneſs of their own Reſolutions, and the ineffectual Senſe they have of the Truths of Religion. Of *thoſe*, mentioned under the foregoing *Head*, it may be ſaid that they are ſincere, and ſetled in the Ground-work of Religion; becauſe they reſiſt many Temptations, and govern the main part of their Lives by the Rules of it: but of *theſe*, I fear, it can hardly be ſaid that they do both truly underſtand, and heartily believe, the Nature, and Importance of what they profeſs; becauſe whenever any conſiderable Trial offers itſelf, (which alone can prove whether a Man deceiveth himſelf in this Matter, or not,) they find no Strength, no Aſſiſtance, in thoſe Principles which they ſuppoſe or profeſs themſelves to have; but always renounce them for the ſake of ſome preſent Profit or Pleaſure in ſinning. When none, or very little, Fruit is ſeen to proceed from the good Seed ſown; it is a certain Sign that there is ſome Fault in the Ground in which it is lodged. But,

III. In the higheſt Order of *wilful Sinners*, are to be placed thoſe who are come to ſuch a Pitch in Wickedneſs, as to contrive and deſign Evil before-hand; to lay Scenes of Sin; and to invite, or ſeek out, Temptations and Opportunities for it, with a Reſolution of complying, and yielding to them. I cannot conceive any Degree of *Sinners* beyond this; and it will make but a ſmall Difference in thoſe of this *Order*, that ſome of them meet with much fewer Opportunities ſucceſsful to their Wiſhes than *others* do. For in the Eye of God, and of Natural Juſtice, *He* hath all the Guilt of Sin, who deliberates and reſolves upon the Action, whenever a fair Opportunity ſhall offer itſelf to him; and is always prepared for more and more Sins, as more and more Occaſions preſent themſelves. That He doth not always meet with theſe Opportunities, may be happy to others: but is no Alteration of his own inward Guilt. For the *Guilt* of Sin lies where the *Wilfulneſs* of it lies; and that is in the inward Deſign and deliberate Reſolution; the longer Time any Perſon hath for the deliberating part, enhancing and encreaſing the *Wilfulneſs* of the Action.

Thus, in the Account of the Goſpel, *Murthers*, *Adulteries*, *Fornications*, and all Sins, are condemned, as in the Heart; and proceeding out of the Heart: *that is*, as deſigned, and reſolved upon, within. In the Eye of our *Lord*, He is an *Adulterer*, who hath deliberately reſolved upon the committing *Adultery*; whether the Opportunity of doing it ever preſent itſelf, or not: And ſo, *He is* a *Murtherer*, that is, *He* hath the Guilt of Murther before God, who hath reſolved and decreed within himſelf to take away his Neighbour's Life unjuſtly; whether He ever meet with a favourable Opportunity, or not.

And though Human Governours cannot reach the Mind, or diſcover the ſecret Intention, but by the outward Act; and ſo cannot reaſonably judge of Guilt but by the outward Act: yet there is all the Reaſon in the World that Almighty God ſhould always judge of Guilt by the inward Act and Deſign; becauſe it always lies there, and becauſe He knows the inward Act of the mind in itſelf, much more perfectly than We can know it from any outward, or open Act. Nay, we ourſelves never condemn the *outward Action*, but when it appears, at leaſt, to have proceeded from a bad Deſign within. Who ever blamed a Machine, or Engine, or thought *that* guilty of Murther; becauſe Men's Lives have been taken away by the Violence of it? Or who ever thought a Brute guilty, in the Senſe in which a reaſonable Creature is ſo, for having been the Occaſion of a Man's Death? Nay, who ever condemned a Man as deſerving Puniſhment,

niſhment, if, through unavoidable Inadvertence, or deſigning Good and Kindneſs, he hath proved the Inſtrument of Death to a Perſon, to whom he is known to have meant no Evil? Yet in all theſe Caſes there is the *material Action* which is in all Murthers; a taking away the Life of a Man: notwithſtanding which, *Guilt* is not ſuppoſed to belong to it, becauſe there wants the Deſign, the Deliberation, and the Reſolution, knowingly to do the Action. All this ſhows plainly that it is in *theſe* that the Evil of Sin lies: and that by theſe, the Men who have but few Opportunities of bringing their inward Reſolutions to outward Acts, may be made equal in Guilt to thoſe who have many more Opportunities of carrying their deſigned Wickedneſs into Action; *that is*, if they have an equal Number of the ſame evil Deſigns within, and wicked deliberate Reſolutions. We may, indeed, ſuppoſe an accidental Difference in this, that one Man's Heart may relent and alter, when the Opportunity offers itſelf; and another's may not. But of this God alone can judge: and therefore, to Him alone it belongs to do it. Theſe are all the ſeveral *Orders*, and *Degrees*, of *wilful Sinners*, which I can think of: and to one or other of theſe, All that come under that Name may be reduced.

I ſhall only obſerve farther the Difference between theſe *Three ſorts* of *wilful Sinners*, with reſpect to the *Habit* of ſinning. For though it be impoſſible to define exactly what Number of *wilful Sins* ſhall conſtitute an *habitual Sinner*; as it is, in any Caſe, what particular Number of Actions are neceſſary to conſtitute an *Habit*, or *Cuſtom*: yet it is manifeſt that the *firſt ſort* of Sinners cannot be called *habitual Sinners*, becauſe the main Tenour of their Lives is governed by the Moral Rules of the *Goſpel*; and it is only in ſome few particular Inſtances of Temptation that they have been overcome, and tranſported from the general Bent and Bias of their Lives, in the Courſe of which they have triumphed over many more of the ſame ſort of Trials, and Difficulties. It is manifeſt, in the next place, that the two other ſorts of *wilful Sinners* may juſtly be called *habitual*: becauſe even the better ſort of them give themſelves up to the Power of all conſiderable Temptations; ſuffering themſelves to be carried by them into Sin; and much more frequently yielding to the Strength of the Trials they meet with, than uſing all the Force of their Souls to reſiſt and overcome them. But with this remarkable Difference, that the *one* of them do not deſign or reſolve upon Sin before-hand; or pleaſe themſelves with the Thought and Deliberation concerning it: whereas the *other* ſort have given up themſelves to contrive their own Sins; to be their own Tempters, and to yield to their own Temptations.

But though there be this very great Difference between theſe *Three ſorts* of *wilful Sinners*; yet they agree in this, that they have all, (the loweſt as well as the higheſt Degree of them,) done what they ought not to have done; that they may all juſtly fear a Puniſhment from God, proportionably to their ſeveral Eſtates; that they all ſtand in need of an *Act* of *Grace*, and Favour, from the great Judge of the World; of *Terms* of *Condeſcenſion*, below thoſe of exact and rigorous Juſtice: in order to their Reconciliation with an offended God; and to a well-grounded Peace, and Satisfaction within themſelves.

The *Terms* of which *Reconciliation* and Favour, I laid down at the beginning of this Diſcourſe: and ſhall diſtinctly proſecute, one after another, in my following Sermons.

Concerning the TERMS *of* ACCEPTANCE, &c.

SERMON IV.

LUKE x. The latter part of the 25th Verſe.

Maſter, What ſhall I do to inherit eternal Life?

THE Enquiry we are now upon, is this, What it is that the *Goſpel* requires of Men, who believe in *Jeſus Chriſt*, and have been baptized into his Religion, and acknowledge him for their Maſter, in order to their Acquittance from any Sins which they have at any Time been wilfully guilty of, during their Chriſtian Profeſſion; and to their final Juſtification at the Day of Judgement; and to their Eternal Happineſs after this. The *Anſwer* to this *Enquiry*, in my laſt Diſcourſe, I laid down in *four Particulars*. And I obſerved to you, that all *four* might be comprized in this one *general Propoſition*, *viz.* That it is required of *Chriſtians* who have been *wilful Sinners*, ſincerely to endeavour for the future to practiſe the whole Will of God, any ways made known to them; and that without this Amendment, and ſincere, univerſal Obedience, the Goſpel gives them no Ground for Hopes of Pardon and Acceptance, and Eternal Life: but that it would be more uſeful to diſcourſe upon this Subject, under the forementioned Particulars. In order likewiſe to our knowing our own Condition, and the need we all have of ſome or other of theſe *Terms*, offered to ſuch as have been *wilful Sinners*, I laid before you an Account of the Nature of *wilful Sin*; what it is that makes a Man a *wilful Sinner*; and what are the ſeveral Differences, and Degrees, of ſuch as are *wilful Sinners*. And after having done this; I now come diſtinctly to conſider, in their Order, every one of the four Propoſitions, laid down in my laſt Diſcourſe: and this, *firſt*, with reſpect to their *Truth*; and *ſecondly*, with regard to their Fitneſs, and Reaſonableneſs. The *firſt Propoſition* is this:

I. It is required, in the *Goſpel-diſpenſation*, of every *Chriſtian*, who hath been in any ſort, or any degree, a *wilful Sinner*, that He renounce, and forſake his Sins.

1. The Truth of this will plainly appear from the following Proofs. In general, *The Grace of God*, i. e. his Mercy in the *Goſpel* is declared by St. *Paul*, *Titus* ii. 12, 13. *to have appeared unto all Men, teaching them to deny Ungodlineſs, and worldly Luſts*; i. e. to renounce and have no *Communication* with them for the future. And at ver. 14, Chriſt is ſaid *to have given himſelf for us* Chriſtians, *that he might* firſt *redeem us from all Iniquity*; in order to redeem us at laſt from the Puniſhment of it. *It is a faithful Saying, and worthy of all Acceptation, that Chriſt Jeſus came into the World to ſave Sinners*, ſaith the ſame Apoſtle, 1 *Tim.* i. 15. But then immediately mentioning himſelf, as an Example and Inſtance of this Truth, by the Name of the *Chief of Sinners*, on account of his having bitterly perſecuted the *Church* of *Chriſt*; he plainly lets us know what ſort of Sinners they are to whom this Salvation is given, *viz.* ſuch as have left their Sins: as He had entirely, and with the utmoſt Abhorrence, that great one of perſecuting

his Fellow-creatures on the account of their differing from Him in their Religion, and Worſhip of God.

In Purſuance of this main Deſign of Chriſtianity, all *that name the name of Chriſt* are commanded *to depart from Iniquity*, 2 Tim. ii. 19; to *have no Fellowſhip with the unfruitful Works of Darkneſs*, Eph. v. 11, which cannot be avoided without forſaking them; to *abhor that which is evil*, Rom. xii. 9; to *abſtain from all appearance*, or, as the Words ſignify, *every ſort of Evil*, 1 Theſſ. v. 22; to *mortify their Members which are upon Earth*, under which Expreſſion all Sin is contained, *Col.* iii. 5. Particularly, *He that hath ſtolen*, is required to *ſteal no more*, Eph. iv. 28. Agreeably to this, the ſame St. *Paul*, deſcribing the Acceptance or Juſtification, purchaſed by Chriſt, expreſſeth himſelf thus, *Rom.* viii. 1, *There is now no Condemnation to them which are in Chriſt Jeſus*, (i. e. which believe in him, and profeſs his Religion) adding theſe Words, *who walk not after the Fleſh.* And ver. 12, *we*, Chriſtians, *are Debtors*, *not to the Fleſh*, *to live after the Fleſh*: And *ver.* 13, *For if ye live after the Fleſh*, *ye ſhall die*, i. e. eternally: *but if ye*, *through the Spirit*, *mortify the Deeds of the Body*, (which is a Scripture Expreſſion for renouncing and forſaking all Sin,) *ye ſhall live*; that is, enjoy the Favour of God eternally. In another place, after having reckoned up the Promiſes of God through Jeſus Chriſt, he infers, *Having therefore theſe Promiſes*, *dearly beloved*, *let us cleanſe ourſelves from all Filthineſs of Fleſh and Spirit*, 2 Cor. vii. 1; that is, let us, who are Chriſtians, if we hope to obtain the Promiſes of God, cleanſe ourſelves from all Sin. *Timothy* is commanded *to turn away from*, or diſown, all ſuch Chriſtians *as having the Form of Godlineſs*, *deny the Power thereof*, 2 Tim. iii. 5. And leſt all this ſhould not be ſufficient; continual Warnings are given to ſuch as are profeſſed Chriſtians, of the Danger and Eternal Puniſhment of Sin. They are aſſured over and over again by St. *Paul*, that it is for their *Sins* that *the Wrath of God will come upon them*, Col. iii. 6. He appeals to Chriſtians themſelves, 1 *Cor.* vi. 9, *Know ye not that the Unrighteous ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God. Be not deceived*, *neither Fornicators*, *nor Idolaters*, nor other Sinners, there counted up, *ſhall inherit the Kingdom of God*, Gal. v. 19, 20, 21; the Works of the Fleſh are enumerated to *Chriſtians*, that is, all the principal Sins, of the which the *Apoſtle* tells them, as He ſaith He had before, that *they which do ſuch things ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God*: And at ver. 24, *They that are* truly *Chriſt*'s, i. e. who will have any Benefit by him, are ſuch as *have crucified the Fleſh with the Affections and Luſts*. *Chap.* vi. *ver.* 7, 8, the *Galatians* are called upon again *not to be deceived*; and aſſured that *God is not mocked*: but that *he that ſoweth to the Fleſh*, i. e. who doth the Works of the Fleſh, *ſhall of the Fleſh reap Corruption*. The *Epheſian Chriſtians* are likewiſe called upon, *not to be deceived with vain Words*, Eph. v. 6; and aſſured that *becauſe of theſe things*, i. e. the Sins before counted up, *the Wrath of God cometh upon the children of Diſobedience*; and that no ſuch Sinners as are there mentioned, *have any Inheritance in the Kingdom of Chriſt and of God*, ver. 5.

All which, as it was the immediate Inſtruction of God, to his *Apoſtles*; ſo was it agreeable to the open Declarations of *Chriſt*, when He was upon Earth. In his own Account of his Proceedings at the great Day, He brings in ſuch as profeſſed themſelves his Diſciples, and had many Gifts to boaſt of; to whom yet he declares He will then ſay, *I know you not*, *depart from me*, *ye Workers of Iniquity*, Matth. vii. 22. In the Parable of the Tares growing up with the Wheat, (by which muſt be meant unfruitful Profeſſors of his Goſpel) the Tares are ordered at laſt to be *gathered for burning*, Matth. xiii. 30. And at the 41ſt and and 42d Verſes, they which do Iniquity are to be *gathered out of his Kingdom* (to which they profeſſed themſelves to belong;) and to be caſt into a Furnace of Fire: *there ſhall be wailing and gnaſhing of Teeth.* The Angels are to *ſever the Wicked from the Juſt*, and to *caſt the Wicked into the Furnace of Fire*, ver. 47. The Man in the Parable, found *without a Wedding Garment*, Matth. xxii. 13, and the *unprofitable Servant*, who had not improved the *Talent* entruſted to him, that is, the Light, and Strength afforded him in the Goſpel, *Matt.* xxv. 30, are both ordered to be caſt into *outer Darkneſs, there ſhall be wailing, and gnaſhing of Teeth.*

I thought it fitting to make this Matter ſo exceeding evident, that there might remain no Doubt of it: and theſe Texts are ſo plain, that there can be no Thought of miſtaking their Meaning; though they be not ſo many in Number as might eaſily be alledged from the ſame Sacred Writings. And can any Chriſtians hear all this, and not argue certainly from hence, that there is a Neceſſity of forſaking their Sins, in order to any Hopes of Pardon and Acceptance at laſt? For, if it were the Deſign of the Goſpel to teach, and influence Men to *deny all Ungodlineſs*; if *Chriſtians* be commanded, upon Pain of God's Eternal Diſpleaſure, to forſake all Sin; if it be declared, both by *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, that all *Workers of Iniquity* ſhall certainly be excluded the *Kingdom of Heaven:* then it is moſt evident, that unleſs they forſake their Sins, and are changed from being Workers of Iniquity, they are not truly, and fully, *Chriſtians*; nor ſhall ever be admitted to the Favour of God, or the Rewards of Heaven.

From hence therefore appears moſt evidently the Truth of the *firſt* Propoſition, *viz.* That it is required, in the Goſpel-diſpenſation, of every *Chriſtian*, who hath been, in any ſort, or any Degree, a *wilful Sinner*, that He renounce and forſake his Sins. Let us now proceed to the *ſecond*; which will ſtill more confirm the Truth of the *firſt*: *viz.*

II. It is required likewiſe of Him, that He ſincerely, and with Perſeverance, practiſe Holineſs, and Virtue.

This is almoſt always, in the *New Teſtament*, joined to the forſaking of Sin. The *Grace of God* is declared to have *appeared*, in the Goſpel-diſpenſation, teaching Men, not only *to deny Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts*, but alſo *to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this World*, Tit. ii. 12, 13. And at the 14th verſe, Chriſt is ſaid to have given himſelf for us, not only *to redeem us from all Iniquity*, but *to purify to himſelf a peculiar People zealous of good Works*. Agreeably to this, Chriſtians are commanded not only to *abhor that which is evil*, but alſo *to cleave to that which is good*, Rom. xii. 9; not only to *cleanſe themſelves from all Filthineſs of Fleſh and Spirit*, but alſo to *perfect Holineſs in the Fear of God*, 2 Cor. vii. 1. They are told, that there is but one way of running in the *Chriſtian Race*, ſo as to obtain the Prize, 1 *Cor.* x. 24; that nothing avails in *Chriſt Jeſus*, that is, in the Chriſtian-diſpenſation, but a *New Creature*, or an Alteration of every thing that is bad, *Gal.* vi. 15; or, in other Words, that nothing avails, but *Faith which worketh by Love*, ch. v. 6. They are aſſured that *Faith*, or their believing in Chriſt Jeſus, is made *perfect by good Works*; and is *dead without* them, and of no account before God, *Jam.* ii. 26; that *whoſoever ſhall keep* all other parts of *God's* Law, and wilfully and habitually *offend in one Point*, is *guilty of all*, v. 10; that *without Holineſs no Man ſhall ſee the Lord*, Heb. xii. 14. And indeed a great part of St. *Paul's* Epiſtles is generally ſpent in inculcating the Moral Precepts of Religion. It is for *them* only, who, by *patient continuance in well-doing, ſeek for Glory and Immortality*, that *Eternal Life* is reſerved, *Rom.* ii. 7. Nay, it is declared to be ſo far from being an Advantage to a wicked Man, that he profeſſeth *Chriſtianity*, that it had been *better* for ſuch an one *not to have* *known the way of Righteouſneſs*, 2 Pet. ii. 21. As our Lord himſelf ſaith, *The Servant who knew his Maſter's Will, and did it not, ſhall be beaten with many Stripes*, Luke xii. 47.

I might multiply plain, unexceptionable Paſſages, without Number, declaring that the Rewards of God belong only to *Righteouſneſs*; that Chriſtians are *called* to *Holineſs*; that unleſs they *ſow to the Spirit*, and *bring forth the fruits of the Spirit*, they muſt not expect *Life everlaſting*; that, *according to what they have done* in this Life, ſo ſhall be their Doom: and the like. But they would all, as indeed they are, be only Repetitions, and Enforcements of that moſt plain and expreſs Declaration of our *Lord* himſelf, who beſt knew the *Terms* of that *Acceptance*, which he himſelf purchaſed; *viz.* Matt. vii. 21, *Not every one that ſaith unto me, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; but he that doth the Will of my Father which is in Heaven:* which utterly precludes all profeſſed Chriſtians from any Benefit from their Religion, unleſs they conſcientiouſly practiſe that good, and perfect Will of God, which they know to contain their Duty.

And this being the declared Nature and Deſign of the Goſpel; this being thus evidently required of Chriſtians, as neceſſary to Salvation, in many plain Paſſages, uncapable of any other Senſe: no Chriſtian can think any thing of Force enough to induce him to doubt of the *Truth* of what I have now laid down in the *Two firſt Propoſitions*, *viz.* that it is abſolutely neceſſary for any Chriſtian, who hath been in any reſpect a *wilful Sinner*, in order to his Acceptance, and Eternal Happineſs, to forſake his Sins; and with Perſeverance to practiſe all Virtue and Holineſs, whilſt He hath Opportunity allowed him: and that unleſs He do this ſo as to make it his own voluntary Act and Deed, (which muſt be before a *Death-bed* makes it impoſſible;) and ſo, as to be deſervedly denominated, *holy*, *righteous*, *ſpiritual*, and the like; He cannot have a *Title* to thoſe Rewards, which in the Goſpel are promiſed to none but ſuch as are truly ſo.

And thus having eſtabliſhed the *Truth* of theſe *Two firſt Propoſitions*, upon ſuch *plain Texts* as cannot be ſhaken by any thing dubious, or obſcure; I proceed

2. Secondly, to conſider, as I propoſed, thoſe Marks of Juſtice, Reaſon, and Wiſdom, which we ourſelves may ſee to belong to theſe *Two Terms* of the *Covenant* of *Grace*, thus explained.

And here I think I may affirm, That, ſuppoſing the Nature of *Almighty God* to be ſuch as it is; at an infinite Diſtance from all Sin and Iniquity, as well as kindly and tenderly diſpoſed towards his rational Creatures; we cannot imagine any poſſible Conditions of the *Acceptance* of *Sinners* to his Favour, ſo free from all Exception, as thoſe now laid down in the Two foregoing Propoſitions. For if God will at all accept Sinners to Mercy for the Sake of *Jeſus Chriſt*; it muſt be ſuppoſed either, 1. That He will accept them, for *his* Sake, let their inward Sentiments, and their outward Behaviour, continue what they pleaſe; that is, that He requires nothing at all on their part towards it: Or, 2. That He will, for the Sake of *Jeſus Chriſt*, accept them, without any Alteration in their outward Conduct and Behaviour; provided they do but conceive and expreſs a great Sorrow and Concern that they have tranſgreſſed his Laws: Or, 3. That He will, for the ſake of Chriſt, *once* pardon to them all their former Tranſgreſſions; or that he will forgive ſuch a particular Number of Tranſgreſſions: after which the Sinner ſhould have no Hope of Pardon, if He ſhould relapſe into the Commiſſion of any *wilful Sin:* or elſe, 4, and laſtly, That, for the ſake of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the *Sinner* ſhall be pardoned who doth, at any time, ſo forſake his Sins, as to bring forth, in the whole Courſe and Tenour of his Life, the contrary Virtues, and do the whole Will of God. Theſe are all the *Suppoſitions* that, I believe, can be thought of, concerning the *Terms* of *Acceptance* of any who have been *wilful Sinners.* Now,

1. Let us examine the firſt *Suppoſition*, which puts the Caſe, as if it were declared that *Sinners* ſhould be accepted, for the ſake of *Chriſt*, whether they regarded his Laws, or not; whether they altered their Notions, and Behaviour, or not. And what can we imagine a greater Repugnancy to all thoſe Conceptions we have of the holy Nature of God, and of the great Law of Reaſon, and uncorrupted Nature? For what plainer Declaration could Almighty God make, to lead Men to think that there was no Difference between *Moral Good* and *Moral Evil*; that *Virtue* was of no account in his Eyes; and that the Diſtinction between *that* and *Vice*, was not worthy to be regarded by rational Creatures? This would be to make this World an Hell of Wickedneſs and Miſery; and Heaven, at laſt, the Attendant upon *Vice*, which would by this means prevail over the Face of the Earth, and not upon *Virtue*, which would by this means ceaſe from amongſt the Children of Men. This is to ſuppoſe *Almighty God* deſcending in Offers of Mercy, in order to encourage Men, indeed, to *continue in Sin*; and cauſing his Son to be born into the World, I will not ſay, to no Purpoſe, but to the worſt of all Purpoſes, *that is*, to the utter Confuſion, and Diſgrace of the Cauſe of Virtue. It is to ſuppoſe, either that He hath given no Moral Laws to be obſerved, which we know to be falſe; or that He hath left it indifferent whether Men will obſerve them, or no; nay, that he hath ſent his Son to aſſure Men that this is an indifferent Matter; which is highly abſurd. It is to ſuppoſe ſuch an extraordinary Perſon coming into the World in ſo extraordinary a manner, for nothing but to ſpeak Comfort to the worſt part of Mankind, even whilſt they continue the worſt; and not to leave them the leaſt effectual Motive to engage them to make themſelves better: which is the higheſt Affront we can offer to Almighty God; who cannot be ſuppoſed, without the greateſt Indignity, to viſit his Creatures after ſo extraordinary a manner, in order to carry on a Deſign oppoſite to his own Nature. In fine, it is to ſuppoſe the Cauſe of Virtue left entirely unguarded; and the main Encouragements of the Goſpel to lie on the ſide of Vice: which, having the Inclinations and Cuſtoms of moſt Men on its ſide, wants nothing but ſuch a collateral Aſſiſtance as this, to enable it to overwhelm the World with an irreſiſtible Torrent.

If any aſk, Who are they that ever could think thus of the *Terms* of *Acceptance* with God? I may anſwer, All ſuch as (though they do not ſay it, and ſpeak it aloud, in ſo many Words, yet,) think and ſpeak, in ſuch a manner, of the Merits of *Chriſt's* Sufferings, and the Imputation of his perſonal Holineſs to Believers, as to make his *Moral Laws* of none effect, and to render *all Virtue* in *Chriſtians*, a poor inſignificant, unneceſſary Matter; unleſs it be the great Virtue of applying the Merits of *Chriſt* to ourſelves: a Virtue, which *They* who have moſt Spirits, are the moſt frequently obſerved to be Maſters of: and which hath been too often ſeen to be founded upon the greateſt degree of *Confidence*, and the greateſt degree of *Guilt*, mixed and tempered together by a ſtrong Fancy, and Imagination. And would not this be the greateſt Reflection upon Almighty God, to imagine that He ſhould propoſe the *Kingdom of Heaven* to *ſuffer* ſuch *Violence*; not to be *taken* by the *Force* of an holy and exemplary Life, but by the *Force* of a groundleſs Aſſurance, and a confident Application of his Promiſes?

2. If this be not a tolerable Suppoſition, let us examine the next Suppoſition I ſpake of, concerning the *Terms* of *Acceptance*, viz. That all manner of paſt Sins ſhall be wholly pardoned for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt, provided that the Sinner do ſometimes, and eſpecially in his laſt Moments, conceive and expreſs a very great Sorrow, and deep Concern for them. And here, let any one of the meaneſt Capacity judge, whether this be a tolerable Suppoſition concerning Almighty God, that He requires our Grief, or our Sorrow, for the ſake of itſelf, whilſt nothing good reſults from it: which is an Abſurdity plainly implied in this Imagination. For all Sorrow is, for the preſent, Miſery and Uneaſineſs, in its own Nature: and Almighty God cannot, in a State of Trial, be ſuppoſed to require, or expect, the leaſt Uneaſineſs, in his Creatures, conſidered as Uneaſineſs; but merely with reſpect to their better State, and greater Happineſs for the Time to come. Nor doth He ever require our Sorrow, but as the beginning of Amendment, and the firſt Step to Reformation. But of this I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more largely, under the *Second Branch* of my preſent Deſign: when I come to examine more at length the falſe Hopes, and dangerous Miſtakes of Men, in this Affair. I ſhall only therefore at preſent obſerve farther, that the Suppoſition we are now conſidering, is encompaſſed with the ſame inſuperable Abſurdities, under which the former laboured: *viz.* That Chriſt Jeſus deſcended from Heaven to teach Men to grieve, and ſhed Tears; that He hath left Virtue unaccompanied with Encouragements, and hath beſtowed his Favours upon that which is not ſo much as the Shadow of Virtue; upon a Practice depending more upon a peculiar Temper and Conſtitution of Body, than upon any thing truly good and virtuous in the Mind. It is to ſuppoſe *Almighty God* to accept, inſtead of Service, what no Father, no Maſter upon Earth, would accept; and, in one word, it is to ſuppoſe God himſelf to invalidate and render vain, every Precept of Virtue, and every Moral Law, from one End of the *New Teſtament* to the other: which who can believe, unleſs one that can believe any thing of the Judge of the whole Earth? Let us therefore,

3. Examine the *Third Suppoſition*, viz. That Almighty God declares He is willing to pardon a Sinner juſt to ſuch a particular Term of Life, or ſuch a particular Number of Sins: but that if, after that, He ſhall ſin wilfully; He ſhall be abſolutely unpardonable. This looks like a very great Diſcouragement to Sin: but yet at the End inevitably leads to it. For what would be the Iſſue, ſuppoſe any one, after his final Pardon, ſhould, through the Violence of a Temptation, be enſnared into a wilful Sin? What would He think within himſelf, when He was once ſure that He was in a deſperate Condition? Would He not certainly find a ſort of a preſent Refuge, in being more reſolute than ever in his wicked Courſes, ſince He could hope for no Good in breaking them off? Conſidering, therefore, the preſent Frailty and Weakneſs of Man, this would be a vaſt Diſadvantage, in the End, to the Cauſe of Holineſs and Virtue. For the promiſing Pardon to ſuch a particular Number of Tranſgreſſions, or to a Courſe of Sin of ſuch a particular Duration, would almoſt fatally influence Men, who were not of a ſort of Angelical Nature, to venture ſo far, in ſome Inſtance or other, without Fear, or Suſpicion of Danger: and all that Time the Cauſe of Vice would be wholly unreſtrained. And then their own Weakneſs, and the Strength of their evil Habits, would, without all doubt, in ſome Caſe or other, carry them ſo much farther, as that they muſt come to an hopeleſs State: and that State of Deſpair of future Mercy muſt make them violent and reſolved in their Wickedneſs. Thus we ſee that even this

Suppoſition, which ſeems to take moſt Care of the Cauſe of Virtue, leaves it, not only in a naked, and unguarded, but in a very deſperate Condition.

Nay, let us ſuppoſe that it was declared only in general, that there was a certain Number of Sins, or a certain Period of Time, beyond which God would not pardon; and not any particular Number, or Time, ſpecified to the World: yet ſtill moſt Men, it is too juſtly to be feared, would firſt be led by *Hope* to commit many Sins, with a flattering Perſuaſion that they ſhould not come up to that *Number*, or arrive at that *Period*; and then, when the Habit was become ſtrong, would be fixed by *Deſpair* in this Opinion, that being probably got paſt that Number, and Period, they had even as good continue in their Sins, as their Inclination powerfully directs them.

Thus it appears that we ourſelves can diſcover great and conſiderable Inconveniencies in any other Propoſal of *Terms of Reconciliation* between God, and Sinners, except that which I mentioned in the laſt place, and have before proved to be the *Truth* of the Matter; *viz.*

4. That, for the ſake of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Sinner ſhall be pardoned, who doth, at any time, ſo forſake his Sins, as to bring forth, in the Courſe and Tenour of his Life, the contrary Virtues, and ſincerely perform the whole Will of God. In which Propoſal, you may ſee, that when it is ſaid that all *wilful Sinners*, amending their Lives, ſhall be accepted, there is all the Encouragement poſſible given to the Practice of Virtue, without making its Cauſe deſperate, even to thoſe who have very much neglected it for the Time paſt: and that when it is ſaid that no *wilful Sinners*, without ſuch actual Amendment of their Ways, ſhall be accepted, there is all the Diſcouragement given to Vice that can be, without throwing the Sinner into ſuch a deſperate Condition, as to tempt him to have recourſe to his very Sins for Comfort.

I am not inſenſible that there is this Inconvenience attending the Promulgation of Pardon and Favour, even upon theſe Terms; *viz.* That Men of evil Diſpoſitions, and ſtrong Propenſions to Sin, but yet not void of all regard to future Happineſs, are led from hence to the baſeſt Return to ſo much Mercy; to imagine, becauſe all wilful Sinners are pardonable upon theſe Conditions, that therefore all is well, if one time or other they take care to come up to them: and ſo, with the Poſſibility of this, they rather encourage themſelves to go on for the preſent in the Commiſſion of Sin, than immediately to forſake it. We find that there were ſome ſuch ungrateful Perſons, in the very firſt Ages of the *Goſpel*, who baſely encouraged themſelves to continue in their Sins, as if it would magnify the Honour of God's Favour, to have more to pardon than they had already committed. St. *Paul* ſpeaks with the utmoſt Abhorrence of this way of arguing, *Rom.* vi. 1, *What ſhall we ſay then? Shall we continue in Sin that Grace may abound?* That is, in order to give the Mercy of God an Opportunity of ſhewing itſelf yet more? *God forbid!* God forbid, indeed, that any ſhould be of ſo unworthy a Temper, as wilfully before-hand to encourage themſelves to affront their Maker, becauſe He hath been ſo merciful, beyond their Deſervings, as to declare that He will accept them whenever they truly turn to him.

I mention not this, in order to argue at this time with ſuch Perſons as theſe, who ſeem to be in the very next Degree to deſperate and unpardonable; (which one would think ſufficient to alarm any Men in their Senſes;) but in order to obviate an Objection which may ariſe from the ſeeming Imprudence of openly propoſing Favour upon ſuch Conditions, *viz.* That wicked Men may be led to abuſe them to other Purpoſes, and to their own Deſtruction: In order, I ſay, to obviate ſuch an Objection by obſerving that nothing of this Nature can be framed, but what they may ſo abuſe; that it is fit and reaſonable that, in ſo great a Matter, ſomething ſhould be left to the Application of Men themſelves, and to the Sincerity of their own Minds; and therefore that this rather ſhews the Wiſdom of the Diſpenſation than deſtroys it; that if our Goſpel be ineffectual on this Account, it is ſo only *to thoſe who are loſt*, that is, to men *loſt* to all Senſe of *Virtue*, or common Gratitude; *loſt* to all that is good and tolerable, and totally given up to worldly or beſtial Enjoyments; and that men of ſuch Tempers deſerve to fall into ſuch a ſnare, and appear reſolved upon Sin, whatever *Terms* of *Acceptance* could have been offered them. Notwithſtanding therefore, that this Inconvenience may attend this peculiar Method of *Acceptance:* yet ſince it is excellently fitted for the Happineſs of all who are truly honeſt and ſincere; ſince it hath been ſhewn that much greater Inconveniencies muſt attend all others that can well be thought of; and it is plain that *this* ariſeth from an invincible Perverſity of Mind; this is ſufficient to juſtify the excellent Contrivance of this Method, above all others. For infinite Wiſdom itſelf can do no more than chuſe that particular Method which is the beſt of all that are poſſible; and hath the feweſt real Inconveniencies attending it; and is moſt agreeable to the Nature of God, the Condition of Man, and the *End* propoſed in it.

I ſhall only add that, from what hath been ſaid, we may learn to adore the Goodneſs of God in condeſcending to grant any *Terms* to *wilful Sinners*; and to admire his Wiſdom, in doing this after ſuch a manner as at once to ſhew the ſtricteſt Regard to *Virtue*; and the tendereſt Compaſſion to his Creatures that have erred from the Paths of it. And God grant that we may be of the Number of thoſe happy Chriſtians, who embrace theſe Terms, and upon them only, ſeek for Happineſs and Eternal Life! Amen!

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Concerning the TERMS *of* ACCEPTANCE, &c.

SERMON V.

LUKE x. The latter part of the 25th Verſe.

Maſter, What ſhall I do to inherit eternal Life?

IN anſwer to the *Enquiry* which I propoſed from theſe Words, *viz.* What it is that is required in the Goſpel, of a *Chriſtian*, who hath been in any ſort, or degree, a wilful Sinner, in order to his Acquittance, and Eternal Happineſs, through *Jeſus Chriſt*; I laid down the *four following* Propoſitions.

I. It is required of ſuch an one, that He renounce and forſake his Sins.

II. It is required that He ſincerely, and with Perſeverance, practiſe Holineſs, and Virtue.

III. In order to his Acceptance, it is required, not only that he forſake his own Sins, and amend his Life in other Inſtances; but likewiſe that He entirely forgive the Offences and Treſpaſſes of others againſt himſelf. And,

IV. In the Caſe of *Injuſtice*, it is not ſufficient that the Sinner leaves off Injuſtice for the future, ſo far as to do Wrong to no more Perſons than thoſe He hath already injured: but He muſt alſo, as ever he hopes for Mercy and Acceptance with God, make Reſtitution of what He hath at any time wronged any one of; and all poſſible Reparation for the Injuries which he hath heretofore been guilty of.

The *Two firſt* of theſe I conſidered in my laſt Diſcourſe, *firſt*, ſhewing the *Truth* of them from plain, unexceptionable *Texts* of the *New Teſtament*, incapable of any other Meaning; and *ſecondly*, the Reaſonableneſs, and Fitneſs of the *Terms* of Salvation laid down in them, conſidering the Nature of *God* and *Man*, above any other, which we could poſſibly ſuppoſe. I come now to conſider the *Third* Propoſition laid down, *viz.*

III. That it is required of a *Chriſtian*, who hath been a *wilful Sinner*, not only to forſake his own Sins, and amend his Life; but likewiſe entirely to forgive the Offences, and Treſpaſſes of others, againſt himſelf.

This *Condition* of *Acceptance*, as I hinted to you once before, might juſtly have been reduced to the Two foregoing *Propoſitions*: becauſe, Forgiveneſs being a part of Evangelical Duty, and Implacability and Revenge ſinful and criminal in their own Natures, it is impoſſible that a Man ſhould forſake his Sins, which according to the *firſt Propoſition* is abſolutely required, without forſaking his Reſolutions, and Diſpoſition to Revenge, and Retaliation; or that He ſhould practiſe all Holineſs and Virtue according to the *Second Propoſition*, without practiſing Forgiveneſs, and demonſtrating himſelf to be of a yielding and placable Temper. But ſince the Evidence of this Virtue hath been ſo much over-clouded by the Paſſions of Men; nay, ſince it hath paſſed, in many Caſes, almoſt for a Vice; ſince our Lord, and his Apoſtles, added to their general Exhortations concerning Repentance, and Amendment, the moſt particular Injunctions about this Point; ſince, even under the Light of the Goſpel there are too many, who will hardly be perſuaded to put their high Reſentments, and Purpoſes of Retaliation, amongſt their Vices, which they are obliged, upon Pain of Damnation, to relinquiſh, and forſake; and *laſtly*, ſince there is ſo much ſaid in the *Goſpel* of the peculiar Neceſſity of this forgiving Temper towards our own Forgiveneſs, and of its peculiar Efficacy towards our Juſtification, it very deſervedly claims a particular Place in our Conſideration, when we are enquiring after the *Terms* of our Eternal Happineſs: as will appear, I do not doubt, from what I have to offer concerning it. And for your Satisfaction in this Inſtance, I propoſe,

1. To ſhew you, from the plaineſt Paſſages of the *New Teſtament*, that this Forgiveneſs of others is indiſpenſably required at our Hands, in order to our own Forgiveneſs.

2. To prevent Miſtakes, I deſign to ſhew you the true Meaning of what is declared in any of theſe Texts concerning the peculiar Efficacy of this Virtue upon Almighty God towards our Acceptance with him. And,

3. I ſhall ſhew you the great Reaſonableneſs, and Fitneſs, of God's requiring this of us; and of our practiſing it, in its utmoſt Extent, and Comprehenſion.

1. I ſay, I deſign to prove the Truth of the Propoſition laid down; and to ſhew you, that the Forgiveneſs of the Offences and Treſpaſſes of others againſt ourſelves is indiſpenſably required at our Hands, in order to our own Forgiveneſs, and Juſtification.

The firſt Proof we meet with of this, is in the Sixth Chapter of St. *Matthew*, part of that Divine Diſcourſe upon the Mount, in which our Lord deſigned to let his Diſciples into the Knowledge of the Nature of his Bleſſings, and of his Doctrine. At the 7th Verſe we find him teaching them a moſt comprehenſive *Form of Prayer:* one Petition of which, ver. 12, is this, *Forgive us our Debts, as we forgive our Debtors.* The *Debts*, by which we have become obnoxious to Almighty God, are our Sins, and Offences againſt his Law. Accordingly, in St. *Luke*, this Petition is expreſſed thus, *ch.* xi. *ver.* 4, *Forgive us our Sins: for we alſo forgive every one that is indebted to us.* This is the greateſt Proof our bleſſed Lord could have given of the Importance, and Neceſſity, of this forgiving Temper in us; that He hath put it into this very ſhort Form, in which He could not expreſs all things particularly; and commanded his Diſciples to aſk Forgiveneſs of God on no other Terms, but their forgiving the Offences of others againſt themſelves. Forgive us, as we forgive others; *i. e.* as far as we do the ſame to our Fellow-creatures; and no farther; or, as it is in St. *Luke*, Forgive us, for we forgive all others: as if we ought not to approach God, and could not, upon the Goſpel-covenant, apply to Him for Forgiveneſs, unleſs at the ſame time we could appeal to our own Hearts, and declare that we were entirely diſpoſed to forgive all others.

But becauſe this was, to the corrupted State of Mankind, a new Doctrine, though eternally reaſonable, and good; our Lord, for the farther Declarations and Explication of his Mind, *Matth.* vi. 14, 15, immediately adds the following Words, *For if ye forgive Men their Treſpaſſes* (that is the meaning of *Debts*, ver. 12.) *your Heavenly Father will alſo forgive you. But if ye forgive not Men their Treſpaſſes; neither will your Father forgive your Treſpaſſes.* As if He had ſaid, Be not ſurprized that I put ſuch a Petition into the *Prayer*, which I have recommended to you; ſo ſeemingly new, upon the Principles commonly received in the World: for I tell you that this is one main part of my Doctrine, and one great Condition of that Forgiveneſs, which I am to preach, and which Sinners are ſeeking after, that ye forgive one another; and without it God will never forgive you. Agreeably to this, *Mark* xi. 25, 26, He tells his Diſciples plainly, that this Forgiveneſs is ſo neceſſary and requiſite, that they had as good not pray to God for Forgiveneſs at all, as to pray to him without this forgiving Diſpoſition. *And when ye ſtand praying*, (or, when ye are praying to God) *forgive if ye have ought againſt any: that your Father which is in Heaven may forgive you your Treſpaſſes. But if ye do not forgive, neither will your Father which is in Heaven forgive your Treſpaſſes.* It is in vain for you to expect, it is impudent for you to aſk, of God, Forgiveneſs on your own Behalf; if you refuſe to entertain this forgiving Temper with reſpect to others.

The ſame thing, thus plainly expreſſed, is very ſignificantly ſet forth, *Matth.* xviii. 23, in the *Parable* of a *Servant*, or *Slave*, who owed his Maſter *Ten Thouſand Talents*, which his Maſter, upon his earneſt Requeſt, forgave him. But *He*, little moved with the Compaſſion of his Maſter, went and found one of his Fellow-ſervants, who owed him an *hundred Pence:* whom, notwithſtanding all his Entreaties, He caſt into priſon, and reduced to extreme Miſery, on this Account. But when his Lord heard it, He did not reckon that it was fit to let his former Forgiveneſs ſtand good: but gave him up to Miſery, and Puniſhment, till He could ſatisfy for his old Debt. Of which, for fear Chriſtians ſhould not willingly make the Application themſelves, our *Lord* doth it in plain Words, *ver.* 35, *So likewiſe ſhall my Heavenly Father do alſo unto you, if ye, from*

from your Hearts, forgive not, every one his Brother their Treſpaſſes: that is, He ſhall rigorouſly exact of us a due Satisfaction, and Puniſhment for every Sin we have been guilty of towards him; if we be ſo rigorous as to take Vengeance of our Fellow-creatures for the Offences they have been guilty of towards ourſelves. This *Parable* concerning an unconfined Forgiveneſs, was ſpoken, upon occaſion of St. *Peter's* Queſtion to our Lord, *ver.* 21. He had naturally a great deal of Warmth in his Temper, and an abundance of Heat and Paſſion, before the Chriſtian Spirit had quelled, and tamed it. This Temper made him willing to hope that, if any Forgiveneſs was neceſſary, yet perhaps not a Forgiveneſs unlimited, and unreſtrained; but only a Forgiveneſs of ſo many particular Affronts, or Injuries, after which Revenge (for the Sweetneſs of which ſome Men would even be content with receiving Injuries) might again become lawful. *Then came Peter to him, and ſaid, Lord, how oft ſhall my Brother ſin againſt me, and I forgive him? Till ſeven Times?* He was willing, you ſee, to allow what we eſteem a good Number of Affronts, provided there might be any Hope left of coming afterwards to Revenge again. But *Jeſus* ſaith unto him, ver. 22, *I ſay not unto thee, until ſeven times, but until ſeventy times ſeven:* which Anſwer, according to the uſual way of ſpeaking, *(i. e.* putting a definite large Number for an indefinite one) manifeſtly was deſigned to teach him, and, in him, all Men of the like natural Heat and Fire, that his Doctrine was not deſigned to fix any Bounds to Forgiveneſs; but that, as we muſt have Forgiveneſs at the Hands of God, not for *Seven Offences*, but for *Seventy times Seven*; not for any particular Number of our Sins, but for all, without Exception, before we can be happy; ſo, we muſt forgive our Fellow-creatures, not *Seven times* only, but *Seventy times Seven*, if there be occaſion; even all, and every of their Offences againſt us.

The ſame thing, in the xviith Chapter of St. *Luke*, ver. 4, is expreſſed by our Brother's ſinning againſt us *Seven times in one Day*; where that Number is put for an indefinite Number, becauſe it is not well poſſible to ſuppoſe that any one ſhould be guilty, in one Day, of ſo many Injuries towards another, as *Seven*. *If He treſpaſs againſt thee ſeven times in a Day, and ſeven times in a Day turn again to thee, ſaying, I repent; thou ſhalt forgive him.* Here indeed it is put upon the injurious Man's repenting; and coming to us; and begging Pardon; and declaring his Senſe of his Crime. But it is manifeſt that we are required to forgive not only when He doth this; but likewiſe when He doth not; becauſe, as I have before obſerved, we are not to beg Pardon of God any farther than we pardon others; and we are never to pray for Forgiveneſs, without declaring that we do forgive others; or without feeling within ourſelves that we have the Diſpoſition and Reſolution to do it. The ſame St. *Luke*, ch. vi. ver. 7, records theſe plain Words of our Lord, *Forgive, and ye ſhall be forgiven*; and ver. 38, *For with the ſame Meaſure that ye mete* (or meaſure) *withal, it ſhall be meaſured to you again:* that is, if ye do not forgive others, but are rigorous upon them; Almighty God will certainly be as rigorous upon you, in the requiring Satisfaction and Puniſhment for every Sin that you have at any time committed againſt him.

Agreeably to this plain Doctrine of their Maſter, the *Apoſtles* preached the ſame univerſal Love, and unconfined Spirit of Forgiveneſs. St. *Paul* calls upon the *Romans* to lay aſide all Thoughts of Revenge, upon any Provocation, or Injury, *Ch.* xii. *ver.* 19, *Dearly beloved, avenge not yourſelves.* And ver. 21, *Be not overcome of Evil*, ſo far as to return, and retaliate, Injuries; *but overcome*

Evil,

Evil, by returning *Good* for it: which cannot be done without a forgiving Temper. I omit many ſuch like Paſſages in the Goſpels, againſt Revenge, and Retaliation; becauſe I would confine myſelf to thoſe *Texts* which expreſly touch the Point in hand. The ſame St. *Paul* calls upon the *Epheſians*; *Be ye kind, one to another*; *tender-hearted*; *forgiving one another, even as God for Chriſt's ſake hath forgiven you*, ch. iv. 32. And addreſſes himſelf to the *Coloſſians*, ch. iii. 12, 13, after this pathetical manner; *Put on therefore, as the Elect of God, holy and beloved*, (for ſo Chriſtians are called in the New Teſtament) *Bowels of Mercies, Kindneſs, Long-ſuffering*; *forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any Man have a Quarrel againſt any: even as Chriſt forgave you, ſo alſo do ye.* I have now ſaid what is fully ſufficient to ſatisfy you that this Forgiveneſs of others is indiſpenſably required at our Hands, in order to our own Forgiveneſs; and that without this we ought not ſo much as to aſk Forgiveneſs of God. I ſhall now,

2. Juſt obſerve to you the true Meaning of what is declared concerning the Efficacy of this *Forgiveneſs* of others, upon Almighty God, towards our own Forgiveneſs, and Acceptance; which is in ſhort this, That, without this Forgiveneſs of others on our part, He will never finally acquit us from the Guilt of any of our Sins: that it is not ſufficient for any Sinner to forſake his Drunkenneſs, or Uncleanneſs, or Swearing, or any other Vice; but He muſt likewiſe forgive others their Treſpaſſes and Injuries againſt himſelf: and that otherwiſe, God will be as ſevere upon him, and require an Account of every Sin, which he hath at any time been guilty of, through his own life.

I have before ſhewn you, from the plaineſt Texts, that it is abſolutely required that Men forſake all other Vices; and become holy, and virtuous, in order to their final Pardon, and Happineſs. It is impoſſible, therefore, that what is ſaid concerning the Efficacy of this Forgiveneſs of others, ſhould invalidate what is ſaid of the Neceſſity of a good Life in other Reſpects. I have now ſhewn you that it is as plainly ſaid as Words can expreſs it, that if we forgive, we ſhall be forgiven. The Meaning therefore can be only this, that thoſe Sins which we have forſaken, and utterly renounced, ſhall be forgiven to us; if we will forgive thoſe Sins which others have committed againſt us: But if we will not, that our Heavenly Father will upon no Terms forgive us our paſt Sins; not even though we have forſaken them. Thus, you ſee, the ſeveral Paſſages about theſe diſtinct *Terms* are very eaſily reconcileable. God will not forgive us, and make us happy, unleſs we forſake our own Sins: nor will He then forgive us, unleſs to this Amendment, in other Inſtances, we add a placable forgiving Temper with reſpect to Neighbours; and readily and heartily remit to our Fellow-Creatures, ſo as not to take Vengeance on them, their Offences againſt ourſelves. This I juſt take notice of here: but I ſhall have another Opportunity diſtinctly and fully to handle it, when I come, in due Place and Time, to examine thoſe Pretences which Men have built upon miſtaken and miſapplied Texts of Scripture: amongſt which will come in the Pretence of Men, to get rid of the Neceſſity of a good Life in other reſpects, founded upon the Promiſe of God made to this Forgiveneſs of other Men's Treſpaſſes, taken diſtinctly by itſelf, and ſeparated from the other Rules of the Goſpel.

3. I propoſed, in the third place, to ſhew you the great Reaſonableneſs, and Fitneſs, that this forgiving Diſpoſition ſhould be required by God, and heartily practiſed by us; as it hath been now explained. A very few Words will ſatisfy us of this: for,

1. If *this* were ſo required, as to ſtand in the ſtead of other Duties, and atone for the continued Neglect of them: then farewel all Hopes of any Virtue, except this, in the World; of which I cannot determine, whether it would then be a Virtue, or no. In vain are all the Promiſes of God made to Righteouſneſs; in vain are all his Terrors diſplayed againſt all manner of Sin; in vain are all the Moral Precepts inculcated from the beginning to the end of the *New Teſtament*; if this ſingle Virtue may at laſt make Atonement for a Life of wilful, and habitual Sin. This ſhews us the Unreaſonableneſs of ſuppoſing that God can attribute ſuch an Efficacy to this, as to make all his other Laws entirely of none Effect; and to give a Looſe to almoſt all manner of Vice, and Wickedneſs in the World. Nor could any thing be a greater Encouragement particularly to the mutual doing of Injuries, than this. It is highly reaſonable, therefore, that this *Forgiveneſs* ſhould be required, and favoured, no otherwiſe than as in Conjunction with all other Virtues. And,

2. There cannot be a more equitable and unexceptionable Condition, propoſed to us than this, that we ſhould not expect that Mercy at the Hands of God, which we will not ſhew to our Fellow-creatures. Who that conſiders the Obligations He hath received from *Almighty God*; the infinite Diſtance between Him and his Creatures; the Guilt and Heinouſneſs of the leaſt Sin, and the leaſt Neglect, where ſo much is, on ſo many Accounts, owing: who that hath common Modeſty, or the leaſt degree of Conſideration, would not think it fit, to forgive the greateſt Offences of others againſt himſelf, (little and inconſiderable, in compariſon of the leaſt Offences of a Creature againſt God,) and even voluntarily to do this, in order to diſpoſe his Judge to be merciful to him? Or, can any one think it proper to come into the Preſence of God, and aſk or expect Pardon for his own Sins; and in the ſame Breath to tell *Almighty God*, He never can forgive his Brother? *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes*, O Lord; though we never will forgive thoſe committed by frail Men againſt ourſelves. Thus doth every one in effect pray, who comes before God with an heart full of Revenge and Retaliation? or void of Forgiveneſs, and Mercy. And how abſurd this is, I need not ſay. Would any Earthly *Maſter*, as our Lord intimates in the Parable, forgive a Servant who ſhould openly refuſe to forgive his Fellow Servant? or remit his Puniſhment for Crimes againſt himſelf, when he ſaw him exerciſing Barbarity and Cruelty, in revenging himſelf upon his Fellow Servants for the leaſt Affronts and Injuries? Nay, what Servant would not gladly comply, and think it great Condeſcenſion, if his *Maſter* ſhould offer him to forgive him all his Debts, or Offences, on Condition that he would do the ſame, with regard to his poor Fellow-ſervants? And certainly, there can be no Chriſtian, or Man, of ſo embittered a Temper, as not to think this a moſt reaſonable Condition of his own Forgiveneſs; or to expect that God ſhould forgive Him, whilſt He breathes nothing but Revenge, and Puniſhment, for every Offence of his Fellow-creatures. But enough of this. I muſt now ſpeak a little upon the *laſt* of the *four Propoſitions* laid down: which is this:

IV. In the Caſe of Injuſtice, it is not ſufficient that the Sinner leave off Injuſtice, for the future, ſo far as not to do the leaſt wrong to any Perſons, through the remaining part of his life: but He muſt alſo, as ever He hopes for Mercy and Acceptance with God, make Reſtitution of what He hath at any time wronged any one of; and Reparation for the Injuries which He hath at any time heretofore, by Word, or Deed, committed againſt his Neighbour.

Here ſome one may aſk, where is the plain Text of the *New Teſtament*, which requires this Reſtitution? To which I anſwer, that indeed there is none which in ſo many Words doth ſay this; but that the reaſon of this is manifeſtly becauſe this is a part of *Common Juſtice*; of the Obligation to which there was ever an open Acknowledgment in all Nations, as of what was no more than one of the loweſt Degrees of Virtue. We have an Inſtance in the *Goſpel*, I mean that of *Zaccheus*, who, when he once came to think of making his Peace with God, declared openly his Reſolution to reſtore more than what he had wronged any man of, if any ſuch wrong could be proved upon him. We have it declared by *St. Paul*, that *neither Thieves, nor Covetous, nor Extortioners, ſhall inherit the Kingdom of God*, 1 Cor. vi. 10. And *Eph.* v. 5, *the Covetous* are reckoned up amongſt ſuch as have *no Inheritance in the Kingdom of God, and of Chriſt*. In the *Tenth Commandment*, recognized, and reinforced, in the Goſpel, we are abſolutely forbid to covet any thing that is our Neigbour's. Now whoever doth, after an injurious Acquirement, or indeed an Acquirement of any ſort, detain what He knows to belong to another, is moſt certainly a *Thief*, in the Senſe of the Word truly criminal; a *covetous Man* and an *Extortioner*, who flouriſhes upon the Spoils of his Neighbour; and therefore muſt expect to be excluded the *Kingdom of Heaven*, as ſuch. For who is there that can more properly be ſaid to *covet* what is his Neighbour's, than the Man who, by Fraud, or Force, retains in his Poſſeſſion what He knows another to have a Right to? Common Honeſty, and Juſtice, are what the very Heathens, and even the moſt Ignorant of them, have ever acknowledged to be Duties. And as ſurely as the higheſt Crimes will be puniſhed by Almighty God; ſo ſurely the Diſhoneſt, and Unjuſt, will have a particular Share in his Wrath. The Deſign of the Goſpel was to make *Chriſtians* ſomewhat more than honeſt Men: but if They, who have the Light of the Goſpel, will not be ſo much as *good Heathens*, they will be certain to inherit the Puniſhment of the *worſt* of *Chriſtians*, and of ſuch as have refuſed to practiſe the very loweſt degree of Virtue.

Reſtitution, and Reparation, I ſay, are Inſtances of Juſtice, ſtrictly due. The continued Refuſal of them is a continued Act of Injuſtice; a continued Theft; a continued Extortion; an Habit of the groſſeſt Vice. And conſequently if Injuſtice itſelf can never be pardoned, till it be forſaken; this complicated, and continued, wilful Injuſtice will raiſe the Account of a Sinner to an unpardonable Heighth. How then can *They*, hope for Mercy who cannot ſo much as pretend to common Honeſty, and Juſtice; but every Minute of their Lives are treaſuring up Wrath, and increaſing their firſt Guilt, by approving their own Injuſtice; and acting it anew by refuſing to undo it by Reſtitution, and Reparation? Certainly, He that can think to go to Heaven without being an honeſt Man, and whilſt he robs his Neighbour every Moment that He lives without Reſtitution, muſt take it to be the Reward of Villainy, and the Receptacle of ſuch Knaves as Human Society would not bear, could they be fairly detected, and proſecuted.

This I have ſaid, becauſe many People ſeem to think *Reſtitution* to be ſomewhat diſtinct from *common Juſtice*, and *Honeſty*: when truly it is only a Branch of it; and the contrary Vice nothing but a complicated *Knavery*, and an Injuſtice, the Guilt of which increaſeth every Moment; and conſequently, the Continuance in it, utterly irreconcileable to all Hopes of Happineſs, according to the Goſpel-diſpenſation. I might have added more upon this Head: but it is not my preſent Deſign to enter into the Nature of this, or any other, particular Virtue; but only to ſhew that *this* is indiſpenſably required in order to the Juſtification, and Happineſs, of ſuch *Chriſtians* as have ſinned againſt the plain Law of Juſtice and Honeſty.

I have now gone over the *four general Propoſitions* which I laid down, in anſwer to the important *Enquiry* after the Way to *Life* and Eternal Happineſs. We ſee, from the plaineſt Proofs, that there remain no Hopes of Acceptance for Sinners, according to the Goſpel, unleſs they forſake their Sins, and practiſe Virtue; unleſs they heartily forgive the Treſpaſſes of their Neighbours; and make Reſtitution of what they have wronged any Man of, according to the utmoſt of their Power. From hence appear the Vanity and Folly of building any Hopes of Mercy upon any thing beſides theſe, ſo clearly, as to need no other Proof. But becauſe the Imaginations of Men have been various in framing other Terms of Acceptance; and preſſing even the *New Teſtament* itſelf into their Service: it is another Branch, therefore, of the Deſign I have now in View, to examine particularly into their *Pretences*; and to endeavour to ſhew ſuch Perſons their miſerable Deluſion. In the mean time, *If we know theſe Things*; *happy only are we if we do them:* Which God grant, &c.

Concerning the TERMS *of* ACCEPTANCE, &c.

SERMON VI.

St. JAMES ii. 10.

For whoſoever ſhall keep the whole Law, and yet offend in one Point, he is guilty of all.

HAVING in ſeveral Diſcourſes endeavoured plainly and particularly to propoſe the *Terms*, or *Conditions*, on which alone *Chriſtians*, who have been in any ſenſe, or any degree, *wilful Sinners*, may hope to be acquitted, juſtified, accepted, and made eternally happy, by Almighty God; it may not be improper now to handle this important Subject after a manner, which, though ſomething different, may yet be of farther uſe to us in our ſerious Enquiry after the Way to Happineſs, and Eternal Life. In order to this, I could think of no Paſſage of Scripture, more comprehenſive; or more proper, than this taken out of St. *James*, in which He declares that *whoſoever ſhall keep the whole Law, and yet offend in one Point, he is guilty of all:* and I deſign, therefore,

I. To explain to you, as well as I can, the true Meaning of the Words.

II. To propoſe to you the Doctrine plainly taught in them: and to prove the Juſtice and Reaſonableneſs of it.

III. To anſwer ſome Queſtions, and Doubts, which may ariſe upon this Subject. And

IV. To draw ſuch Obſervations, and Inferences, from the whole, as may be of great uſe in order to our ſucceſsful Endeavours after Eternal Life.

I. It is very proper to explain to you, as well as I can, the true Meaning of this Paſſage; which, as to the manner of Expreſſion, is not without ſome Difficulty. And,

1. The Meaning of it cannot be this, that *whoſoever tranſgreſſeth in one ſingle Inſtance*, is as bad a Man; as great a Sinner; as guilty an Offender; as he that

tranſgreſſeth in every Inſtance poſſible: that he who covets his Neighbour's Goods, for Example, is as bad a Man, and as great a Sinner, as he who not only covets his Neighbour's Goods, but alſo commits Adultery, Murder, and Theft; profanes the Name of God; diſhonours his Father and Mother; and breaks every Law that he can poſſibly, in Contempt of God, and his Authority. This cannot be the meaning of the Paſſage: becauſe it is abſurd, at firſt hearing, thus to take away all Diſtinction between the degrees of Sin, and Sinners; and to make all Tranſgreſſors, though differing in the Inſtances, and Number, of their ſeveral Tranſgreſſions, equal in their Crimes, and in their Guilt. Nor conſequently,

2. Can it be underſtood to imply in it, that God will puniſh all ſuch Perſons equally; that the Man who offends only in one Inſtance, ſhall be made equal, in the degree of Puniſhment, to him who hath offended in that, and in many more: becauſe the Puniſhment of Offenders is without doubt to be proportioned to their ſeveral Offences; and becauſe he who offends in many Caſes, is guilty of a more repeated and ſetled Contempt of the Authority of the Law-giver, than the other, and therefore muſt reaſonably expect a greater degree of Puniſhment. But,

3. He who offends againſt the known Law of God, in any one Inſtance, may, on other Accounts, though not on theſe abovementioned, be ſaid to be guilty with reſpect to all his Laws.

In the firſt place, as he ſins manifeſtly againſt that Divine Authority which enacted that part of the Law which he tranſgreſſeth, as well as thoſe others which he thinks fit to obſerve. For Sin, though committed but in one Inſtance, is a ſort of a Denial of that Authority by which it is forbidden: and this, though applied by the Sinner himſelf to one Inſtance only, yet affects all others; becauſe Almighty God hath the ſame Authority to command, or forbid one thing, that he hath to command or forbid another. Now if we, by our Practice, deny, in effect, his Right to govern us in one Inſtance; we do in effect deny it in all; becauſe He hath as much Right to do it in this, as in others; and no more in others than in this. In this reſpect therefore, whoſoever *offends* wilfully *in one Point*, may be ſaid to be *guilty of all*; that his wilful offending in this Point, is a Rebellion againſt the Authority of God: which toucheth all his other Laws, as well as this one which he tranſgreſſeth. And thus St. *James* himſelf ſeems to explain his own Meaning in the Verſe immediately following the Text, *For He that ſaid, Do not commit Adultery, ſaid alſo, Do not kill. If therefore thou commit no Adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a Tranſgreſſor of the Law.* As if he had expreſſed himſelf thus. The meaning of my charging a Man who ſins in *one* Inſtance, with being *guilty of all*, is this, that the ſame God who forbids the other Sins, forbids this one alſo. Therefore, if thou doſt abſtain from the other Sins, and yet wilfully ſinneſt in this one point; Thou art a Sinner with reſpect to the other Points as well as this: becauſe God claims no greater Authority in thoſe other Points than He doth in this: and Thou, by wilfully offending in this one Point, calleſt in queſtion his whole Authority, and the *Validity* of his whole Law, which hath no more to uphold it in other Inſtances, than what it hath in this which thou neglecteſt. And this certainly muſt aggravate and increaſe the Guilt of one, who wilfully ſins in any *one* Inſtance only, that it reflects highly upon the whole Law; and that, by calling in queſtion, or refuſing to obey, the Authority of God in this one Point, the Sinner effectually calls in queſtion his whole Authority, which is juſt the ſame with reſpect to others. In this Senſe therefore, it may be true, that a Man's Guilt will not be proportionable to the intrinſic Evil of the ſingle Sin which He indulges himſelf in; but aggravated by conſidering this Sin, as forbidden by the Authority of God; and as having a very bad Influence upon that Authority in other reſpects; tending as much to weaken and deſtroy it in *other* Inſtances, as it doth in effect call it in queſtion, and contemn it in *this*.

Again, the *Guilt* of a Man who offends wilfully in *one* Point of God's Law, muſt likewiſe be ſuppoſed to extend, in ſome degree, to all the reſt, becauſe it is certain that the ſame Diſpoſition of Mind which engageth, or permits him to tranſgreſs one Law, when Inclination or Intereſt, Pleaſure or Profit, invite him, would likewiſe prevail with him to tranſgreſs any of the others likewiſe, ſuppoſing him under the Influence of the ſame Inclination or Intereſts, Pleaſure or Profit. For the Occaſion of his wilful Commiſſion of *one* Sin, is that He hath ſome Temptation to it, which He has ſhewn to be too hard for his Faith, and his Senſe of God's Authority, to conquer. If therefore, he had the ſame Temptation to another Vice; if it were accompanied with the ſame Circumſtances, equally grateful to his Senſuality, or Covetouſneſs, or Ambition; is it not plain that He would equally permit himſelf to be carried away with the Temptation to it? So that his Innocence in other reſpects is not owing to his Virtue, or Faith, or Senſe of God's Authority; but to Neceſſity; to his want of the ſame Inclination, and the ſame Temptation to theſe, which He hath, with reſpect to that which He wilfully commits. For if he had that Faith, or Senſe of God's Authority, which is ſufficient to ſet him above the ſame degree of Temptation to other Vices; this would as certainly ſet him above the Power of the Temptation He hath to this one. And conſequently, He muſt be guilty, in ſome degree, with reſpect to all: becauſe He is ſo diſpoſed, as that his Religion, were it to undergo an equal Trial in other reſpects, would moſt certainly yield to it in them, as it doth in this Inſtance, in which it pleaſeth God in a particular manner to try his Faith, and Senſe of his Authority. I do not ſay that Almighty God will actually puniſh ſuch a Man as much in degree, as if He had been tried in all other Inſtances, and wilfully ſinned in all: but I know not whether in ſtrict Juſtice He might not. And this I ſay, that a Man's Guilt muſt be in Proportion to his inward Diſpoſition; which, it is manifeſt (all Circumſtances of Inclination and Temptation being ſuppoſed equal) would produce the ſame Behaviour and Practice in *all* Caſes, which it doth in *one*. *Whoſoever* therefore *offends* in *one Point* only, is *guilty of all*, in this Senſe; becauſe He would as certainly yield in *all*, as He doth in *this*, were He to undergo a Tryal, equal in every reſpect, in all other Caſes.

Again, the ſame may be proved, and explained, by the Caſe of ſuch as wilfully traſgreſs any Humane Law. Would not any Maſter think his Authority, with reſpect to all his Commands, called in queſtion, by a Servant, who ſhould chuſe which He would obey, and which He would not, merely by his own Humour, or Inclination, or Profit; and wilfully refuſe to obey ſuch a particular juſt and lawful Command, becauſe He had no mind to it; or could get more preſent Advantage by diſobeying it? And would not that Maſter think that the ſame Diſpoſition of Mind in ſuch a Servant would carry him to injure and affront him in all other Inſtances likewiſe, could He propoſe to himſelf the ſame Pleaſure, or Intereſt, by ſo doing? Nay, Would not he ſpeak of him, or treat him, as a Perſon to whom he was obliged for no Service performed out of a Senſe of his Authority, or any farther than his own preſent Intereſt directed him? The ſame may be ſaid of any *Lawful Supreme Powers*, and the *Subjects* under them;

who, if they wilfully offend againſt any *one* of their juſt Laws, are in ſome Senſe guilty of *all:* as they rebel againſt the Authority which is the ſame in this Law, as it is in *all* others; and as they would certainly offend againſt *all* others, were they not ſenſible, they could not do it, with the ſame Pleaſure or Profit, the ſame Secrecy or Impunity. And who will reckon the *material Act* of Obedience, in any reſpect, a Virtue: when it is ſo certain from other Inſtances, that it had been Diſobedience, had the ſame inviting Circumſtances attended it?

If therefore, any Perſons do allow themſelves in any one wilful Sin; they may be certain that their *Guilt* reaches beyond this one Sin, as it includes in it a Contempt of that Authority by which other Sins, as well as this, are forbidden; and a Diſpoſition which would end in the Commiſſion of all other Sins, were the ſame Tryals offered them in all reſpects. *Whoſoever* therefore *keepeth the whole Law* beſides, *and yet offends in one Point*, *is*, in this Senſe, *guilty of all. For He that ſaid, Do not commit Adultery, ſaid alſo, Do not ſteal. Now if thou commit no Adultery, yet if thou ſteal, thou art become a Tranſgreſſor of the Law.*

It ſeems there were in thoſe Days certain unreaſonable Perſons, amongſt the Chriſtians, who were very ready to obey the Law of God in ſuch Inſtances as were agreeable to their Inclination or their Intereſt. But then they deſired leave to hope that they might, for the ſake of this Obedience, be excuſed from obſerving it in ſome other particular Inſtance: which to be ſure They would chuſe out for themſelves, according to their own Inclination, and Temper. Thus they would willingly retain a darling Sin; and compound for this, by ſerving God, and obeying his Law, in other Inſtances, in which they did not find ſo much Difficulty. And this, I am perſuaded, is the Caſe of many *Chriſtians* now-a-days, who think, if they obſerve the Laws of Chriſt in moſt Inſtances, eſpecially if they be not guilty of open, and notorious Sins, they may indulge themſelves in *one* Vice, which they hope will be atoned for by their Obſervance of the other Evangelical Laws. This Vice they chuſe for themſelves: not being able to find any Allowance made by *God* to one, more than to another. But, in oppoſition to this unchriſtian Humour, and fatal Miſtake, this Affirmation of St. *James* in the Text, was deſigned: which I have explained to you; and ſhall now proceed, as I propoſed, in the *ſecond place*,

II. To lay down the Doctrine plainly taught, or implied, in theſe Words of St. *James:* and to prove the Juſtice, and Reaſonableneſs of it. Now,

1. The leaſt that can be implied in them is this, that it is not enough for any Man to obey all the other Laws of God, with a ſilent reſerve of ſo much as one Caſe, in which he allows himſelf wilfully to tranſgreſs; that the Authority of God equally extends to all his Laws; and that refuſal of Obedience in one ſingle Inſtance is a Rebellion againſt that Authority; that it is an *Univerſal Obedience* which God requires, to all his Commands equally, and without Partiality; that Obedience in all Particulars except one ſhall not atone for the wilful Neglect of that one; but that whoſoever doth allow himſelf in one wilful Sin, under this Pretence, will find himſelf miſerably miſtaken, and will be judged and puniſhed at laſt, as a Contemner of the Authority of God. This is the leaſt, I ſay, that can be implied in this Declaration of St. *James:* and is no more than what our Lord himſelf declared, *Matth.* vii. 21, where He openly warns all his Diſciples, that nothing can entitle them to an Entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven, but the *doing the Will of his Father which is in Heaven.* But whoſoever wilfully tranſgreſſeth in any *one* Point, certainly cannot be ſaid to do the Will of God, in that Inſtance, though He doth it in all others. Beſides, his Will

is his *whole Will*, taken all together: and this being a part of it; whoever tranſgreſſeth this part of it, doth not do the *Will*, or the *whole Will*, of God. That Man therefore, cannot, upon the Goſpel Terms, hope for an Admittance into Heaven, who allows himſelf in the habitual Commiſſion of any one known Sin; or in any one wilful Tranſgreſſion of the Will of God. Our *Lord* himſelf hath in thoſe Words put our Title to Heaven upon our ſincere Regard to the whole Will of God in all its parts: as his *Apoſtle*, in the Text, hath utterly precluded all who pretend to obſerve ſome parts of God's Law, whilſt they wilfully continue in the Neglect of others, from any Hopes of God's Favour.

2. The Juſtice and Reaſonableneſs of *God's* requiring this *Univerſal Obedience* without any Exception to any one Law, or any one part of his Will more than another, is ſo apparent, that every one can ſee it in the Caſe of others, though He may be ſo weak as fondly to hope for an Exemption in his own Caſe. Put it to the covetous Man, whether the Condemnation threatned againſt the more expenſive Vices be not juſt and fitting; who more ready to join in it than himſelf? Put it to the Voluptuary, whether it be not highly reaſonable that the Wrath of God ſhould be reveled, and executed, againſt ſo vile a Crime as Covetouſneſs; and you need not doubt of his Approbation of it. So will the diſhoneſt Man condemn the Uncleanneſs of another; and the unclean condemn the diſhoneſt; every one thinking (if they think at all of ſuch Matters) that any particular Tranſgreſſion of God's Law muſt in reaſon be puniſhed by God; ſo it be not that of which they know themſelves to be guilty, and for which they have their own peculiar Temper, Inclination, or Intereſt, to plead. This indeed they will inwardly except; out of Self-love and an Averſion to Miſery: but yet even this they do, only with ſome faint Hope; not with any fixed Judgement, that it will not be highly fitting even for this particular Sin to receive its juſt Reward. But ſuppoſe this were their fixed Judgement in their own Caſe; we know their Judgement is biaſed when themſelves are concerned; and much more free when it is the Caſe of others about which they are to judge.

Let, therefore, but the Judgement of Chriſtians be enquired into, about the Caſe of others living but in one known Sin, for which themſelves have no Fondneſs, or Inclination; and you will find them all allowing that this continued Courſe of one particular Sin is a moſt high Provocation to God; a continued Affront to his Authority; and what juſtly deſerves to be puniſhed at laſt, when He ſhall come to judge all Men for their Offences againſt him.

But, farther, if this *Univerſal Obedience* were not the Condition of Eternal Happineſs; what would Men have to do, but to chuſe out the Vice for which they find the greateſt Fondneſs in themſelves, and that which will be moſt agreeable to them; and give themſelves all that Looſe in this, which can be conſiſtent with the Obſervation of the other Laws of the Goſpel? Nay, where would be the Harm, upon this Suppoſition, if each Man choſe to himſelf Two or Three Darlings out of the whole Catalogue of Sins, to love, and purſue? If God can be ſuppoſed to paſs over the continued wilful Violation of his Laws in *one* Inſtance, for the ſake of Obedience in others; why not in *Two* Inſtances, if the ſame Excuſe of Inclination, and Temptation, can be pleaded? Thus every Man may have his Idol, ſet up in the ſame Heart in which God places his Temple: and which do you think will have the greateſt Share of Adoration, and Service in this Competition? Why, it is plain that God Almighty can have only that Service which the Idol can ſpare; no more Love, or Obedience, than what is conſiſtent with the Proſecution of this particular Vice now ſuppoſed to be connived at by God. And can any one think it tolerable to entertain ſuch an

Opinion of Almighty God, as makes his Will to truckle to a beloved Sin: and to accept of ſo much Service only as *that* can ſpare, without being neglected itſelf? Can any one think it pardonable in himſelf to think thus of the wiſe, and holy God, that He can give a Licence after ſuch a manner to any one Vice: much more to think that He can give ſuch Allowance to all Vices?

For I muſt obſerve farther, that this Suppoſition would not only be an Allowance to any one particular Vice; but in general to *all*, and every one. For if Almighty God be ſuppoſed to overlook the Covetouſneſs of one Man, for the ſake of any other Virtues; He muſt, by the ſame Reaſon, be ſuppoſed to connive at the Diſhoneſty of another; at the Uncleanneſs of a third; at the Drunkenneſs of a fourth; and ſo conſequently, at the particular Vice to which any particular Perſon hath addicted himſelf. For by the ſame Right that we chuſe our own Vice, which we think to except from his Anger and Condemnation; by the ſame Right, I ſay, another chuſes another Vice, agreeable to his Temper, Inclination, and Opportunities. And by this means not only our darling Vice is excepted; but the darling Vice of every one in particular: which brings in an Encouragement to univerſal Debauchery, and to every Inſtance of Folly, and Wickedneſs. The Adulterers, Fornicators, Drunkards, Swearers, Extortioners, Covetous, Malicious, Revengeful, Backbiters, Envious, Murtherers; all who are expreſsly excluded the *Kingdom of Heaven* in the *New Teſtament*, may at this rate entertain Hopes of getting into it by this Artifice: if they can but plead an Obſervance of God's Law in other reſpects; and a ſtrong Inclination, and Temptation, to that particular Vice, in which they have indulged themſelves. As unreaſonable then, as it is to ſuppoſe Almighty God to leave room for Hopes of Indulgence, or Pardon, to all manner of Vices, ſo they meet not in *one* Perſon; ſo reaſonable is it, to believe that an *Univerſal Obedience*, without Partiality, to all his Laws, is the only Obedience to which He hath annexed the Promiſe of our inheriting Eternal Life.

Again, if this be not the one only Rule for us to go by, in this Affair; we muſt ſuppoſe ourſelves left to our own Government and Guidance, much more than is really conſiſtent with ſuppoſing God to be our Lord and our Legiſlator. For, according to this Suppoſition, it doth not depend upon Almighty God, what Laws ſhall be obligatory to us; but upon ourſelves, and our own Humour, or Inclination; our Pleaſure, or Profit. For we are to pick and chuſe out of all the Laws, He hath given us, which it is our Pleaſure to neglect; and to except out of all the Sins, which He hath in general condemned, that particular Sin which we have a mind to indulge. And though God hath declared it, amongſt others, to be a damning Sin; yet at this rate we have it in our Power to reverſe this Decree, and to alter the Nature of it: that ſo, what God hath declared pernicious, and fruitful of Miſery, ſhall become, by our own favour to it, of an harmleſs and innocent Nature; only an Inſtance of our Frailty, and a Subject for his future Mercy to exerciſe itſelf upon. He hath told us, that if we be not Doers of his Will, we muſt expect his Wrath, and Eternal Diſpleaſure: and if this be not ſo, then we are our own Directors, and in great Part out of his Juriſdiction; I mean, if we can frame another Rule for ourſelves, and oppoſe it to his. He commands obedience to *all* his Laws. We claim a Right to except *one*. He forbids every *Vice*. We pretend a Privilege to retain *one*: and promiſe him, we will be as careful as can be in other Inſtances, if He will overlook this. After this manner, I ſay, we take ouſelves from under his Government; and aſſume a Dominion over ourſelves in ſome Inſtances, equal to what we pretend to allow to him in others. But nothing can be more abſurd than this: and conſequently, without univerſal, impartial Obedience, we can have no Hopes to inherit his Rewards, or eſcape his Puniſhments.

But, laſt of all, the Suppoſition of his accepting of an Obſervance of *ſome* parts of his Will, from Men who continue in the known Neglect, and wilful Violation of *others*, is directly contrary to the Deſign of Chriſtianity; and deſtructive of the main End of the Goſpel. For it was a Regard to univerſal Holineſs; to a more perfect Obedience to the Laws of Righteouſneſs, and a more perfect Freedom from all Sin, that engaged God to ſend his Son into the World; and that influenced our Lord to undertake his great Work. He appeared to put away and deſtroy, not one, or two, but all *the Works of the Devil.* His *Grace was reveled to teach Men to deny Ungodlineſs, and worldly Luſts*; without Exception, and without any Reſerve to what might be the peculiar Favourite of any Man. And it is a contradicting this Deſign; a fruſtrating this End; if he hath left any Hopes of the Mercy which he purchaſed, to Thoſe who allow themſelves in any one of the Works of the Devil; or continue in any ſort of Ungodlineſs; or in any one worldly Luſt.

Beſides, the Caſe of the Generality, or Bulk, of Mankind being manifeſtly this, that it is one particular darling Sin that enſlaves the Man; that he is devoted to this, and for this often neglects other Sins, as well as his Duty: it was without doubt to engage Men to leave the Sin *which doth ſo eaſily beſet them*; to diſengage them from that Bondage which This kept them in, that the *Son* of *God* appeared in the Fleſh, and inſtituted his holy Religion. I know, there are Men who ſeem, without Diſtinction, to be under the Government and Influence of a whole Body of Sin: to be as covetous, for Inſtance, as is conſiſtent with their other Vices; and as vicious in other reſpects as is conſiſtent with their Covetouſneſs, and worldly Deſigns. But the Caſe of Multitudes is, that it is one Vice which generally enſlaves them ſo much, that they can willingly ſacrifice other Vices, as well as their Virtue, to it. And now put the Caſe, that our Lord can be ſuppoſed to give any Ground for hope of Favour to ſuch Perſons, continuing in this State, upon Condition they do, in other Points, obſerve his Laws: and what Good could his coming into the World be ſuppoſed to do, if He brings along with Him any ſuch Indulgence as gives Encouragement, and Strength to the darling Vice of every Man, who believes in him? Where would be any Endeavours after the *Perfection*, talked of in the Goſpel, and becoming Humane Nature? Where would be the Truth of that Propoſition, that Chriſt came to *call Sinners to Repentance*, and Amendment? How vain muſt his profeſſed Deſign be, and how unworthy of an holy, and wiſe God; if He be ſuppoſed to appear ſo partially in the Cauſe of Virtue! How might the *Heathen Philoſophers* themſelves have boaſted that their own Schemes were more worthy of the Deity! and have drawn an unanſwerable Argument againſt the Divine Authority of an Inſtitution, in which Allowance was given, in effect, to any Sin or Wickedneſs Men would particularly give themſelves up to! But I have ſaid enough upon the preſent Head.

The remaining part of what I propoſed upon this Subject, I muſt reſerve to another opportunity. But from what hath been ſaid it is evident that, if we would not fix the higheſt Abſurdities upon *Almighty God*, and our *Saviour*, and his *Goſpel*; we muſt be firmly perſuaded that it is an *univerſal Obedience* to all his Commands equally, which God requires in order to our Happineſs: and that the continued Allowance of ourſelves in any one wilful Sin, is inconſiſtent with all Hopes of his Mercy, as far as it is reveled and promiſed in his Goſpel.

Concerning the TERMS *of* ACCEPTANCE, &c.

SERMON VII.

St. JAMES ii. 10.

For whoſoever ſhall keep the whole Law, and yet offend in one Point, he is guilty of all.

IN my laſt Diſcourſe I propoſed,

I. To ſhew you the true meaning of theſe Words.

II. To lay down the Doctrine certainly taught, or implied, in them.

III. To anſwer ſome Queſtions which may ariſe upon this Subject.

IV. To draw ſuch Obſervations and Inferences, from the whole, as may be of uſe, in order to our ſucceſsful Endeavours after Eternal Life.

As to the *firſt* of theſe; I then ſhewed you that one who allows himſelf in the wilful Neglect of any known Duty, or in the wilful Commiſſion of any known Sin, may juſtly be ſaid to be guilty, with reſpect to the other parts of God's Law, as well as this particular Inſtance, as he ſins againſt that Divine Authority by which the whole was enacted; and as the ſinning againſt that Authority in one Inſtance doth imply in it a Neglect and Contempt of it in all others alſo, in which it is of no greater force or account, than it is in this Particular: and likewiſe, as the Diſpoſition of Mind which permits or induceth the Sinner wilfully to tranſgreſs in one Inſtance, would inevitably produce the ſame Effect, in other Inſtances, ſuppoſing all the Circumſtances of Inclination, and Temptation, to be equal.

As to the *ſecond* Head; I ſhewed you that the main Deſign of the Paſſage was to aſſure Men of the Folly of imagining that they could atone for the wilful Violation, and continued Tranſgreſſion, of any one Law of God, by the Obſervation of others: and therefore, that the leaſt that could be intended by St. *James* in it was this, that it is an univerſal Obedience to all his Laws which God expects of Chriſtians; that if they think to except any part of his Will from their Obſervation, and that He will excuſe this for the Sake of Obedience to other parts of it, they will find themſelves miſerably deluded; and that nothing can recommend them to his Favour at laſt, but a ſincere, conſtant, and univerſal Obedience to all his Commands, without Partiality, and without Exception; and that upon the Condition of ſuch an Obedience, for the Time to come, any Chriſtian who hath been a Sinner, may hope for his Mercy, through *Jeſus Chriſt:* but not without it; as far as we know of his Will declared in the Goſpel. This I ſhewed you to be plain from theſe Words of St. *James*, as well as others of our *Lord* himſelf: and likewiſe from the many Abſurdities following from the contrary Suppoſition. I come now,

III. To conſider ſome Queſtions, and Doubts, which may ariſe upon this Subject.

Now there are Two which preſently offer themſelves to our Thoughts. The *firſt* is this, Whether it doth not follow from what hath been ſaid that Almighty God requires of us a perfect, ſinleſs, Obedience. To which I anſwer,

1. It is certain that God requires an Obedience to all, and every of his Commands; at all Times, and in all Places equally: and likewiſe that there is no one Sin, or Tranſgreſſion of his Law, in any one Inſtance, but what He diſapproves of,

and abſolutely forbids. And therefore, if our Practice were directed, without Variation, by his Rules; it would be a perfect and ſinleſs Obedience. In this Senſe therefore, it may juſtly be ſaid that He requires a perfect, ſinleſs Obedience at our Hands, free from all wilful Sin. And wilful Sin being that which we could have avoided, if we would; it is certain, He may juſtly forbid, and condemn it in every Inſtance. Nay, this we might be certain of, without any expreſs Revelation, that the ſupreme infallible Underſtanding, the moſt wiſe and holy God, could not but will that every Law of Reaſon ſhould be ſtrictly and conſtantly obſerved by reaſonable Creatures: and could not but condemn all wilful Tranſgreſſions of it, as the moſt unreaſonable and abſurd Practices. But now, ſince this is ſuch an Obedience as was never yet actually performed by any Mortal; every Man in the World having found himſelf ſurrounded with Infirmities, and miſled by Temptations and Trials, in ſome Inſtance or other, ſo as that He cannot but confeſs himſelf guilty of ſome wilful Deviation, in ſome Point or other, from the Rule of right Reaſon, and the Will of God; it remains to enquire what *Condeſcenſion* is ſhewn, by Almighty God, in the Goſpel, through *Jeſus Chriſt*.

2. Therefore, it is certain, from the Goſpel, that every wilful Tranſgreſſion of his Law is not unpardonable: for the Deſign of it, was to offer Pardon upon ſome Conditions to wilful Sinners. This is very conſiſtent with the former Propoſition: For, as a Father may command ſuch and ſuch Particulars; and yet admit his Son to Reconciliation, upon ſome Terms, after he hath tranſgreſſed any of theſe Commands: ſo likewiſe may Almighty God require Obedience to every one of his Commands, at all Times, and in all Places; and yet, after any have been ſo unhappy as wilfully to tranſgreſs any of his Commands, He may forgive them theſe Tranſgreſſions, upon ſome certain Terms and Conditions. It is, therefore, certain that Almighty God forbids every Sin always, and enjoins the Practice of every Virtue at all Opportunities; and in this Senſe may be ſaid to require a ſinleſs Obedience: and it is as certain that there is room left by his open Declarations, for Favour and Mercy to ſuch as have wilfully committed Sin. It appears, therefore,

3. That the Perfection, which is ſo required of Chriſtians, as that they ſhall not be made happy at laſt without it, is Amendment and Reformation in thoſe Inſtances in which they have wilfully failed; and a conſtant Progreſs in Virtue and well-doing. This State of the *Caſe* at once guards againſt that comfortleſs Doctrine, on the one hand, that God will inſiſt at laſt upon that ſpotleſs and abſolute Perfection which never was yet known in a Mortal: and againſt that fatal Miſtake, on the other hand, that He will accept Sinners to Mercy, for the Sake of Chriſt, though they have no Signs in their Lives and Behaviour, of their hearty Repentance, and Deteſtation of Sin.

The Perfection required of Man, in a State of Trial and Probation, cannot be a State uncapable of Improvement: becauſe this ſeems not attainable in ſuch a State by ſuch a Creature; or, at leaſt, never was actually attained by any. And who, according to this Rule, ſuppoſing this to be required, could come to any well-grounded Hopes of Happineſs? For who in his Senſes can think himſelf at any time ſo good, ſo perfectly free from every thing evil, as He might poſſibly be? But it muſt conſiſt in a daily Progreſs, and ſincere Endeavour, after Perfection; in an increaſing Conqueſt over what is evil in us; and in a daily acquiring more and more of thoſe good Qualities, in which we can think ourſelves defective. This progreſſive Motion in the Paths of Virtue, and this increaſing Conqueſt over Sin, will ſufficiently demonſtrate the ſincere Repentance of a Sinner; and will be a good Foundation in his Breaſt, for Hope and Comfort.

In this Senſe therefore, God requires univerſal Obedience to all his Commands equally; and inſiſts upon it as a Condition without which we ſhall not be happy at laſt, that in what Inſtances ſoever we have in Time paſt offended, in *theſe* He expects us for the future to amend; that in what Points ſoever of the Law of Righteouſneſs we are defective, He abſolutely requires an Improvement in them; a Progreſs, or growing, in all that is good; a Departure, or flying, from every thing that we know to be evil. He will beſtow no Happineſs upon thoſe who go on to allow themſelves in any one known Tranſgreſſion of his Law: till Death overtakes them; nor doth He in the Goſpel give us Ground to entertain any Hopes, that they ſhall ever experience his Favour, or be put upon the Level with ſuch as by patient Continuance in well-doing ſeek after Glory and Immortality.

This, therefore, is a ſufficient Anſwer to the *firſt Queſtion*, concerning the Obedience required to all God's Commands; that it cannot be ſo underſtood, as if He would not make any happy who had not arrived in this World at a State of *abſolute Perfection* and Freedom from every degree of Sin, or moral Evil: but muſt be underſtood thus, that He doth abſolutely require of all who know themſelves to have been in any reſpect *wilful Sinners*, that they do ſincerely ſet about the Work of Amendment; and demonſtrate their Sincerity by getting Ground of their Vices: by proceeding to greater degrees of Virtue; and by going ſtill more and more towards the Perfection of rational Creatures; at leaſt, till they are out of the Power and Dominion of any known Sin; and till they are in ſuch meaſure poſſeſſed of the contrary Virtue, as to be juſtly denominated virtuous in that Inſtance in which they know they have been vicious. This is a State of Perfection to which the meaneſt Chriſtian may arrive; if He knows but what Virtue and Vice mean. This is that Condition of our Acceptance, that Law of the Goſpel, which will admit of no Abatements at the great Day. And it is an invaluable Mercy, that God will accept of this Progreſs, and Improvement in Virtue, inſtead of a State of Blameleſs Perfection.

The *ſecond Queſtion* which offers itſelf, now we have been ſpeaking of the *Terms* of *Favour* propoſed in the *Goſpel*, and the Conditions of our Acceptance at laſt, is this, How we ſhall be able to form a good Judgement concerning our own Condition; or to know when we are in ſuch Circumſtances, as to be able to have a well-grounded Hope unto Eternal Life.

What I have ſaid concerning the *laſt Queſtion* will help us in the reſolving this to our own Satisfaction: but I ſhall not refer to that; but be a little more particular. I am ſenſible, indeed, that many deſire to know exactly what is barely enough for their Happineſs, for fear they ſhould do too much for themſelves; not out of any Love to Virtue; but indeed out of Love to Vice, which they would gladly retain ſomething of, if they could with any Safety. This, I believe, is impoſſible to be defined exactly, ſo as to ſuit all Caſes: God having never declared what is the loweſt Pitch of Holineſs that He will accept of at laſt. And I cannot but think it wiſely concealed from Men; that ſo Sincerity may be encouraged, and a Love to Virtue, which ſeems impoſſible to conſiſt with the Notions of ſuch Inquirers; that ſo the more may depend upon Men's own Integrity; and leſt the general Progreſs in the Paths of Virtue, ſhould be more ſtinted than it is already: it being too probable that moſt Men would be content to place themſelves juſt out of Danger, rather than to make any large Progreſs in the Ways of Righteouſneſs. For there is a great deal of difference between the Love of future Happineſs, and the Fear of future Miſery; and much more in the latter that moves the Actions of moſt Men, than in the former; and

Ground enough for Suſpicion, that if Men could but ſecure themſelves from Puniſhment in the Life to come, they would ſtop juſt at that Pitch which they knew would do that, and not greedily aſpire after ſuch Degrees of Virtue as would carry them to great Heighths of Happineſs. But though it be impoſſible to ſatisfy all the Inquiries of ſuch Perſons, as theſe; who indeed cannot be in a ſafe way, whilſt they are of a Temper ſo little a-kin to Sincerity, and a ſerious Love of Religion: yet it may be poſſible to offer ſuch Conſiderations as may help other more truly ſincere Chriſtians to judge whether they have Ground to hope that they themſelves are ſo diſpoſed, and ſo free from Sin, as to be within the Covenant of Grace and Mercy, the Conditions of which I have, in ſome former Diſcourſes, been repreſenting and explaining to you.

He, therefore, who makes no other uſe of the gracious Propoſals of the Goſpel, but to encourage himſelf to recover from any Sin, of which He knows he hath wilfully been guilty; and is ſo affected by any Inſtance of his paſt Weakneſs, as to keep a greater and ſtricter Watch over himſelf for the Time to come; He, who at any time finds, upon a review of himſelf, that, though He be not abſolutely perfect, yet He gets Ground of his Imperfections, and proceeds, by a daily Courſe, farther and farther, in the Paths of Virtue; He, who carefully avoids the Opportunities and Temptations, by which He knows He hath formerly fallen, may reaſonably conclude that He is truly ſenſible of the Importance of Holineſs, and of the Neceſſity of forſaking his Vices, and ſincerely diſpoſed to practiſe the one, and relinquiſh the other. He, who, when He unavoidably, and without any Fault of his own, meets with the ſame Trials, and Temptations, which have formerly vanquiſhed him, finds his Belief of a future State and Senſe of his Duty ſtrong enough to vanquiſh them, and reſiſt all their Arts and Force, hath good ground to Hope that He is in a Way acceptable to God.

In ſome Caſes, the Rule for this Judgement is ſo manifeſt that it cannot be miſtaken. He who hath robbed or cheated his Neighbour after any manner; whether by the Smiles of a Friend, or the Force of an Enemy; cannot but know whether He hath, or hath not, made Reſtitution, to the uttermoſt of his Power, of whatſoever He hath thus obtained by Fraud or Force. This is what removes the Guilt of that Injuſtice: and without this it is impoſſible He can think that He comes up to the *Terms* of *Acceptance*, or is in a ſafe Way to Happineſs. So likewiſe, in all other ſorts of perſonal Injuries, whether reſpecting the Reputation, or Quiet, of our Neighbour; He who doth to his utmoſt make Amends for the Damage received, comes up to the *Terms* of *Acceptance*, as far as this Crime is concerned. So that in this Caſe it is too eaſy to judge, for Men to pretend an Evaſion. In fine, *He* is certainly in a ſafe Way, who, in this State, which, as I ſaid, is not a State of abſolute but of increaſing Perfection in Virtue, is ever ſtudying what He hath to ſubdue in himſelf, and is always ſubduing it by the Power of Religion.

On the contrary; He, who takes Encouragement before ſinning from the Doctrine of Acceptance and Reconciliation, delivered in the Goſpel, to venture ſtill farther in the Paths of Sin, with a fooliſh Hope of coming up to the *Terms* of that *Acceptance* ſome time or other, is as yet in a very unſafe Condition; without any the leaſt Ground of Hope from thoſe Terms of Favour which He thus abuſes to his own vile Purpoſes. He, who finds himſelf led by his ſinning at any time, rather to love the Sin than to deteſt and guard againſt it; rather, to run to the Temptation, than to fly from it, hath too much Reaſon to ſuſpect his own Caſe. He, who finds his Senſe of the Importance of Morality and

Virtue diminiſhing, and the Power of the World, or the Fleſh, increaſing over him, ſo far that he is ſtill every Day carried by their Allurements, or Affrightments, into the Practice of Sin, may be ſure that he is rather laying up for himſelf the Matter of a terrible Repentance to come, than truly repenting at this time of any thing paſt. He, who keeps Poſſeſſion of what he hath unjuſtly obtained; or refuſes to do right, or make Reſtitution, to his Neighbour whom he hath injured; how deep ſoever his Sorrow, how many ſoever his Tears may be, is far from the Way of God, or any well-grounded Hopes of Salvation, upon the *Goſpel-terms*. In a word, He, who finds within himſelf that his Virtue grows leſs, and his Paſſions increaſe in Strength; that he is ſo far from getting Ground of them, that they get Ground of him every Day, is in the worſt Condition we can well imagine. And He, who finds that he is a Captive to any one wilful Sin; that he has not yet made any ſucceſsful Warfare againſt it; that he hath not yet got out of its Power; that his Faith in God, his Senſe of Religion, his Belief of a future State, are not ſufficient to diſengage him from it; but that it keeps its Ground, and is too hard for the Reſiſtance of his Virtue, may be ſure that He is not yet in ſuch a Condition, as that He may at all depend upon the Favour of God, promiſed in the Goſpel to returning Sinners; having not yet made himſelf any more obedient to his whole Will than He hath been in Time paſt.

Theſe Particulars I have laid down briefly: but hope the Conſciences of all, who are any ways concerned, will apply what has been ſaid to their own particular Caſes; without any ſuch fooliſh Partiality as may endanger their own Eternal Salvation. But if they will not act ſincerely with themſelves, when themſelves only are concerned, and when Almighty God hath ſhewn ſuch a tender Regard to their Intereſt; but, on the contrary, will endeavour, and labour hard, to put a Cheat upon their own Souls: how wonderfully ſtrange is this! and how little Thanks will they owe themſelves, when they come to feel the Effect of ſo wilful a Deluſion! After having ſpoken to theſe *Two Queſtions*, I come now, in the laſt place, as I propoſed,

IV. To draw ſuch Obſervations and Inferences from the whole, as may be of uſe to us in our ſucceſsful Endeavours after Eternal Life. Theſe are ſuch as our Thoughts, I hope, have been naturally led into already by my paſt Diſcourſes; and will often run into, when we come to retire, and to conſider of our true and eternal Intereſt. The Time will now permit me to mention but Two or Three. As,

1. From the very Words of St. *James* in the Text, and the loweſt Senſe in which they can be underſtood, as well as from the Abſurdity which I have ſhewn in the contrary Suppoſition, it is evident that, upon the Goſpel-terms, there is no ſuch thing as atoning for the Neglect of one Virtue by the Performance of others; nay, nor by the Performance of every other Virtue.

2. From what hath been ſaid let every one obſerve, that it is not Inclination, or Cuſtom, that can excuſe or bear them out in the continued Commiſſion of Sin, or in the repeated Neglect of any known Duty. For God excepts no Sin from his Condemnation; no Duty out of his Commands. He requires all equally, as we have ſeen: and to pretend to exempt ourſelves, is to put ourſelves out of his Juriſdiction, and Government; and to ſet our Humour and Inclination above his Law, and Authority. Yet how many Men do we meet with, who are apt to think their own Sin, to which they are moſt inclined, and moſt eaſily ſeduced, to be out of the Number of the condemned Vices; or elſe to hope that God will depart from his ſetled Rules, on purpoſe to releaſe their Puniſhment.

ment. They will pray, and hear; and perhaps receive the Sacrament; and do ſeveral good Actions, to the end that their Inclination may be allowed of by God Almighty: and as long as they do what they have no great Temptation to allure them from doing; or omit that Sin to which they are under no ſtrong Bias: they fooliſhly imagine that their Inclination and Bias to another Sin will be Excuſe enough for their Darling and Boſom Vice. But, if St. *James* ſays true, they who are, in one Inſtance, Tranſgreſſors, are Sinners againſt all the Law, and the whole Authority by which it was enacted.

3. Let the very beſt of us be led, by what hath been ſaid, to look narrowly into ourſelves, and to ſee whether there be not ſome latent Root of Vice in us: ſome ſecret and leſs obſerved Inſtance, in which we tranſgreſs the Will of God. The Chriſtian World is come to that paſs, that He who is not guilty of open Acts of notorious Sin, Drunkenneſs, Adultery, Blaſphemy, Revenge, or the like, paſſeth for a good Chriſtian: and many think it well with them, becauſe they cannot accuſe themſelves of ſuch Sins. And ſo far indeed it is well. But alas! Though they be not thus openly lewd, and profligate: yet perhaps, there remains ſomething in them that requires, and is worthy of, a Cure. They are not Swearers, or Drunkards, or Unclean, or Profane: but perhaps, a ſilent Diſcontent eats through their Hearts; a ſecret Grudging and Repining diſcompoſeth their Nights and Days; Envy gnaws upon them; or ſome Paſſion or other torments, and holds them Captive. Some Imperfection or other we may find, if we turn our Eyes more to what we have of Evil in us, than to what we have not. And here lies the Buſineſs of every Chriſtian, to conquer his own proper Enemy. If we have no very great ones; if we be out of the Reach and Power of the moſt formidable: the more Shame and Ignominy, to be led captive and ſpoiled by thoſe of leſs Strength, and leſs Account. Let us not think it beneath us to exert ourſelves againſt the leaſt of God's Enemies, and our own. Since it is a Progreſs towards Perfection that is required of us; let us think and act, as if we thought it our Duty to make this Progreſs.

If through the Happineſs of a good Diſpoſition, and careful Education, we have eſcaped thoſe Pollutions under which ſo many in the World groan: let us thank God: and let us remember that it is from hence that we are to begin our Race: that we have not thoſe Impediments which others have created to themſelves by a long Courſe of wilful Sin; and that we have Incitements, and Encouragements from hence, as well as Obligation, to attempt the greater Heighths of Religion and Virtue. By Religion here I do not mean Devotion, and Prayer; which yet are of admirable Uſe, and of great Neceſſity: but the greater Degrees of all that is good; the more ſure Conqueſt over all our Paſſions; the more quiet Poſſeſſion of our Souls in Patience; the more profound Submiſſion to God's Will, and to all the Diſpenſations of his Providence; the more compoſed Reſignation of ourſelves to his good Pleaſure, the bringing down every Imagination which raiſeth itſelf againſt him; the ſubduing every undue Tendency in us towards worldly Ambition, Honour, or Riches; the quieting every turbulent Motion in our Breaſts; the taking off more and more the Edge of the Mind from all ſenſual Enjoyments; the Diſcovery, and gradual Amendment, of the leaſt Diſlocations, the leaſt irregular Movements, the moſt ſecret Diſorders of our Wills and Affections. This is the Taſk of a Chriſtian, who is paſt the Danger of being immerſed in open Vice and Profaneneſs: to go on from Strength to Strength; from one Degree to another; from one Branch of Perfection to another; till He is called for by God into a State of greater Perfection. And whoever will ſeriouſly look into themſelves, will find Inſtances enough of Imperfection; in the amending of which they will ſhew a ſincere Intention to pleaſe God, and give themſelves a greater Hope of his Mercy than they could otherwiſe have.

But laſt of all, let none of us increaſe our own Miſery by ſuch a Baſeneſs of Temper, as ungratefully to abuſe the Mercy of God, offered us upon the *Terms* of the *Goſpel*, to the Purpoſes of Sin and Wickedneſs. This is a Sin of a deep Hue; and what will indeed be the greateſt Aggravation of our continuing in our Vices. God offers us, for the ſake of his Son, to receive us to Favour, returning to him; and ſincerely practiſing his whole Will for the future, without any Partiality, or Neglect of any part of it. It is a ſervile and ignominious Diſpoſition, for which no Name is bad enough, to take occaſion from the Offer of Mercy to which univerſal Amendment and Holineſs is at any time entitled, to defer our Amendment and Holineſs. The only generous Way; the only ſecure Way for our own Intereſt, (which we pretend to be ſo dear to us;) is immediately and without Delay to endeavour to come up to his *Terms*, that we may obtain his Promiſes; to work out our Salvation *while the Day laſteth: becauſe the Night cometh* (we know not how ſoon) *when no Man can work.* Thus ſhall we find the Way to *Eternal Life*, before it be hid from our Eyes: which God grant we may! *&c.*

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Concerning the TERMS *of* ACCEPTANCE, &c.

SERMON VIII.

HEBREWS x. 26, 27.

For if we ſin wilfully, after that we have received the Knowledge of the Truth, there remaineth no more Sacrifice for Sin: but a certain fearful looking for of Judgment, and fiery Indignation, which ſhall devour the Adverſaries.

I Have, in ſeveral Diſcourſes, ſhewn you, from plainand unconteſtable Paſſages of the *New Teſtament*, what thoſe *Terms* and *Conditions* are, upon which *Almighty God* will finally pardon, accept, and juſtify, thoſe profeſſed Chriſtians, who have been, in any Senſe, or any Degree, *wilful Sinners:* and in my laſt Diſcourſe I ſummed them up in that one Condition of *ſincere*, *univerſal*, and *impartial Obedience* to all the Laws of God, without Exception; or a real and ſenſible Amendment of their Lives and Tempers, in all thoſe Inſtances, in which they know themſelves to have tranſgreſſed any of his Commandments. In order ſtill more to confirm the Truth of what hath been ſaid upon this Subject, I deſign to conſider particularly thoſe ſeveral Schemes, and various Hopes, which the Imaginations of Men have framed to themſelves, more agreeable to their own Humours, and Inclinations; in Oppoſition to theſe ſetled Conditions of God's Favour.

But, before I ſet about this, it will be very proper to take notice of another ſort of Miſtake in this important Affair, equally contradictory to what I have already laid down; equally fatal to ill-diſpoſed Minds; and very troubleſome and afflictive to many well-meaning and honeſt Chriſtians: and that is, the Opinion that their Caſe, as well as the Caſe of all profeſſed Chriſtians who have been at any time *wilful Sinners*, is ſo ſad and deſperate, that it is in vain for them to hope for Pardon ment. They will pray, and hear; and perhaps receive the Sacrament; and do ſeveral good Actions, to the end that their Inclination may be allowed of by God Almighty: and as long as they do what they have no great Temptation to allure them from doing; or omit that Sin to which they are under no ſtrong Bias: they fooliſhly imagine that their Inclination and Bias to another Sin will be Excuſe enough for their Darling and Boſom Vice. But, if St. *James* ſays true, they who are, in one Inſtance, Tranſgreſſors, are Sinners againſt all the Law, and the whole Authority by which it was enacted.

3. Let the very beſt of us be led, by what hath been ſaid, to look narrowly into ourſelves, and to ſee whether there be not ſome latent Root of Vice in us: ſome ſecret and leſs obſerved Inſtance, in which we tranſgreſs the Will of God. The Chriſtian World is come to that paſs, that He who is not guilty of open Acts of notorious Sin, Drunkenneſs, Adultery, Blaſphemy, Revenge, or the like, paſſeth for a good Chriſtian: and many think it well with them, becauſe they cannot accuſe themſelves of ſuch Sins. And ſo far indeed it is well. But alas! Though they be not thus openly lewd, and profligate: yet perhaps, there remains ſomething in them that requires, and is worthy of, a Cure. They are not Swearers, or Drunkards, or Unclean, or Profane: but perhaps, a ſilent Diſcontent eats through their Hearts; a ſecret Grudging and Repining diſcompoſeth their Nights and Days; Envy gnaws upon them; or ſome Paſſion or other torments, and holds them Captive. Some Imperfection or other we may find, if we turn our Eyes more to what we have of Evil in us, than to what we have not. And here lies the Buſineſs of every Chriſtian, to conquer his own proper Enemy. If we have no very great ones; if we be out of the Reach and Power of the moſt formidable: the more Shame and Ignominy, to be led captive and ſpoiled by thoſe of leſs Strength, and leſs Account. Let us not think it beneath us to exert ourſelves againſt the leaſt of God's Enemies, and our own. Since it is a Progreſs towards Perfection that is required of us; let us think and act, as if we thought it our Duty to make this Progreſs.

If through the Happineſs of a good Diſpoſition, and careful Education, we have eſcaped thoſe Pollutions under which ſo many in the World groan; let us thank God: and let us remember that it is from hence that we are to begin our Race: that we have not thoſe Impediments which others have created to themſelves by a long Courſe of wilful Sin; and that we have Incitements, and Encouragements from hence, as well as Obligation, to attempt the greater Heighths of Religion and Virtue. By Religion here I do not mean Devotion, and Prayer; which yet are of admirable Uſe, and of great Neceſſity: but the greater Degrees of all that is good; the more ſure Conqueſt over all our Paſſions; the more quiet Poſſeſſion of our Souls in Patience; the more profound Submiſſion to God's Will, and to all the Diſpenſations of his Providence; the more compoſed Reſignation of ourſelves to his good Pleaſure, the bringing down every Imagination which raiſeth itſelf againſt him; the ſubduing every undue Tendency in us towards worldly Ambition, Honour, or Riches; the quieting every turbulent Motion in our Breaſts; the taking off more and more the Edge of the Mind from all ſenſual Enjoyments; the Diſcovery, and gradual Amendment, of the leaſt Diſlocations, the leaſt irregular Movements, the moſt ſecret Diſorders of our Wills and Affections. This is the Taſk of a Chriſtian, who is paſt the Danger of being immerſed in open Vice and Profaneneſs: to go on from Strength to Strength; from one Degree to another; from one Branch of Perfection to another; till He is called for by God into a State of greater Perfection. And whoever will ſeriouſly look into themſelves, will find Inſtances enough of Imperfection; in the amending of which they will ſhew a ſincere Intention to pleaſe God, and give themſelves a greater Hope of his Mercy than they could otherwiſe have.

But laſt of all, let none of us increaſe our own Miſery by ſuch a Baſeneſs of Temper, as ungratefully to abuſe the Mercy of God, offered us upon the *Terms* of the *Goſpel*, to the Purpoſes of Sin and Wickedneſs. This is a Sin of a deep Hue; and what will indeed be the greateſt Aggravation of our continuing in our Vices. God offers us, for the ſake of his Son, to receive us to Favour, returning to him; and ſincerely practiſing his whole Will for the future, without any Partiality, or Neglect of any part of it. It is a ſervile and ignominious Diſpoſition, for which no Name is bad enough, to take occaſion from the Offer of Mercy to which univerſal Amendment and Holineſs is at any time entitled, to defer our Amendment and Holineſs. The only generous Way; the only ſecure Way for our own Intereſt, (which we pretend to be ſo dear to us;) is immediately and without Delay to endeavour to come up to his *Terms*, that we may obtain his Promiſes; to work out our Salvation *while the Day laſteth: becauſe the Night cometh* (we know not how ſoon) *when no Man can work*. Thus ſhall we find the Way to *Eternal Life*, before it be hid from our Eyes: which God grant we may! *&c.*

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Concerning the TERMS *of* ACCEPTANCE, &c.

SERMON VIII.

HEBREWS x. 26, 27.

For if we ſin wilfully, after that we have received the Knowledge of the Truth, there remaineth no more Sacrifice for Sin: but a certain fearful looking for of Judgment, and fiery Indignation, which ſhall devour the Adverſaries.

I Have, in ſeveral Diſcourſes, ſhewn you, from plain and unconteſtable Paſſages of the *New Teſtament*, what thoſe *Terms* and *Conditions* are, upon which *Almighty God* will finally pardon, accept, and juſtify, thoſe profeſſed Chriſtians, who have been, in any Senſe, or any Degree, *wilful Sinners:* and in my laſt Diſcourſe I ſummed them up in that one Condition of *ſincere*, *univerſal*, and *impartial Obedience* to all the Laws of God, without Exception; or a real and ſenſible Amendment of their Lives and Tempers, in all thoſe Inſtances, in which they know themſelves to have tranſgreſſed any of his Commandments. In order ſtill more to confirm the Truth of what hath been ſaid upon this Subject, I deſign to conſider particularly thoſe ſeveral Schemes, and various Hopes, which the Imaginations of Men have framed to themſelves, more agreeable to their own Humours, and Inclinations; in Oppoſition to theſe ſetled Conditions of God's Favour.

But, before I ſet about this, it will be very proper to take notice of another ſort of Miſtake in this important Affair, equally contradictory to what I have already laid down; equally fatal to ill-diſpoſed Minds; and very troubleſome and afflictive to many well-meaning and honeſt Chriſtians: and that is, the Opinion that their Caſe, as well as the Caſe of all profeſſed Chriſtians who have been at any time *wilful Sinners*, is ſo ſad and deſperate, that it is in vain for them to hope for Pardon and Reconciliation, upon any Terms; even though they ſhould heartily endeavour to come up to the *Conditions* I have heretofore laid down. Theſe are of a differing ſort, and of a differing Temper, from the moſt of their Neighbours. And their Opinion is pretended to be founded upon ſome *Texts* of the *New Teſtament*, which ſeem to ſpeak of the Irremiſſibleneſs of ſome Sins, which perhaps they fancy themſelves to have been guilty of; and particularly upon this Paſſage, now read to you: which, taken by itſelf, and ſeparated from the Context and manifeſt Scope of the Writer of this *Epiſtle*, ſeems to conclude, in general, againſt all Hope of Pardon to ſuch as have ſinned wilfully after the receiving and profeſſing the Chriſtian Religion.

In Oppoſition to ſuch Imaginations, (which render all that I have before advanced of none effect) I ſhall not confine my View to this one Text of the *New Teſtament*: but I ſhall have regard to ſeveral others, which have been in the ſame manner, miſtaken and miſapplied; as well as to ſome Conſiderations taken from the Nature of God, and the End of the Goſpel; deſigning

I. To ſhew the great Abſurdity of fixing upon Almighty God, or the Chriſtian Religion, any ſuch Opinion as that all Hope of Pardon is cut off in the *Goſpel*, from Any *Chriſtians* who have been *wilful Sinners*. And

II. To conſider particularly the Intent of thoſe miſtaken Texts; and the Impoſſibility of fairly fixing upon them any ſuch Opinion as this.

And theſe Points I think it very uſeful to explain. For though the Generality of profeſſed Chriſtians are more apt to preſume upon the Goodneſs and Mercy of God; and to interpret all Texts of Scripture concerning that, ſo much in their own Favour as to receive ſome Support from them, even whilſt they wilfully continue in their Sins: yet, ſince there are, on one hand, ſome others, who may, from a pretended Deſpair of God's Mercy, go on to increaſe the Number of their Tranſgreſſions; and, on the other hand, ſome weak, though honeſt, Chriſtians, who have been brought to the melancholy Condition of thinking themſelves, without any Ground, to be ſuch ſort of Sinners as have forfeited all Title to God's future Mercy; it is very neceſſary to conſider this Point, that ſo the Uneaſineſs of the latter, which is only their preſent Unhappineſs; and the Deſpair of the former, which is their Crime (as it is founded upon their Deſire to continue in their Sins;) may be removed; and ſome Stop put to ſuch deſtructive Imaginations. Nor can it be amiſs for us to deſcend, as near as we can, to the Wants and Occaſions of all ſorts of Perſons; to conſider the Scruples of ſome, as well as the Preſumption of others; and to accommodate our Teaching ſometimes to the more rare and ſecret Caſes, as well as at other times to the more known and common. Nay, it is indeed neceſſary, in order to place beyond all reaſonable Doubt what I have heretofore laid down, to handle this Subject: that ſo it may appear, not only that the *Terms* of God's Favour which I have pointed out, are the only *Terms* upon which He hath promiſed Acceptance; but that there is no reaſon to think but that all profeſſed Chriſtians may be ſure of Acceptance, upon coming up to thoſe Terms, whatſoever their former Condition hath been. To return,

I. I ſhall now endeavour to ſhew the great Abſurdity of fixing upon Almighty God, and the Chriſtian Religion, any ſuch Opinion, as that before mentioned.

1. It is extremely abſurd to ſuppoſe that Almighty God, in condeſcending to make Terms with his Creatures, in the Chriſtian Diſpenſation, ſhould not propoſe ſome Method of Reconciliation to all thoſe who ſin after they have received that Religion, as well as to thoſe who had been Sinners before their believing: becauſe no Man, though never ſo hearty and ſincere in his Profeſſion of that Religion, is

thereby made ſo infallible, that nothing ſhall ever impoſe upon his Judgement; or ſo well-guarded and reſolute as that nothing ſhall be able to ſurprize, or entice, his Will into a Conſent to Sin, in any poſſible Inſtance. It may be true that a Chriſtian hath ſuch a Power, and ſo much Strength, and that He is ſo free from an abſolute Neceſſity of committing any one ſingle wilful Sin, that He may poſſibly, by Watchfulneſs, and Conſideration, and a perpetual Care over himſelf, prevent this. But it is true likewiſe that this is ſo very difficult, that the Experience and Confeſſion of all the beſt Men, in all Ages, have demonſtrated that this ſinleſs Obedience was never performed in Fact.

There is indeed a vaſt difference, and in the Opinion of the World a greater ſometimes than is juſt, between Sins: which hath induced ſome Men perhaps to think themſelves more free from Sin than they really are. Some are apt to imagine, becauſe they do not permit themſelves to be guilty of Drunkenneſs, or Adultery, or Fornication, or Murther, or Covetouſneſs, or Diſhoneſty in their Dealings, that therefore they are clean. But they often forget the Thoughts of Pride and Haughtineſs; of Revenge and Implacability; of Severity and Ill-nature; of Envy and Malice; of Anger and Paſſion; of Ambition and worldly Grandeur; the frequent Miſpence of their precious Time, and the like: in one, or more, of which, they have, ſome time or other, in ſome degree or other, too certainly, indulged themſelves more than they can anſwer for at the Bar of Juſtice. Too certainly, I ſay: for, Is there a perfect Man upon Earth? Is there one, who hath not one weak Side? who hath been always ſo ſtrictly upon his Guard as that He can ſay, He hath reſiſted all Temptations to every ſort, and every degree of Sin? It hath been often obſerved to you, that Men are too apt to paſs over the Conſideration of that particular Vice to which they have found themſelves inclined; eſpecially, if it be not of the Number of thoſe which are called ſcandalous and notorious Crimes: Whereas ſome of theſe I have now mentioned, do in truth defile the Soul; hinder the Perfection of Virtue; render the Man as truly obnoxious to the Divine Anger; and as truly oppoſe the Deſign of Chriſtianity, as ſome of the former ſort; and therefore ought to be eſteemed as Sins, and acknowledged as ſuch by all Chriſtians.

I believe, therefore, it may be truly affirmed that there neither is, nor ever was, a Chriſtian who hath not, in ſome Inſtance or other, ſuffered himſelf to be carried beyond the Bounds of ſtrict Religion, particularly of the Chriſtian Inſtitution; ſo as that He muſt acknowledge himſelf, to the great Judge of the World, and Knower of Hearts, to be, in ſome degree or other, a wilful Sinner, after the Reception of Chriſtianity. St. *Paul* indeed, after his Converſion to the Chriſtian Religion, and his Labours in the Work of the Goſpel, doth ſay, that He is conſcious to himſelf of nothing for which He can condemn himſelf, 1 *Cor.* iv. 4; for that is the meaning of thoſe Words, *I know nothing by myſelf*. But He doth not mean this in any other Senſe, to be ſure, but this, that in the main He had performed his Office after ſuch a manner, as that He had good Ground to hope for the Favour of God, and the Rewards of Heaven: which Aſſurance, others likewiſe may arrive at. That He could intend by this to ſignify that, in any ſingle Inſtance either of Thought, Word, or Deed; either conſidered as an *Apoſtle*, or as a private Chriſtian; He had nothing to accuſe himſelf of; is a Suppoſition without all Ground. For He doth not appear to have had ſuch an Opinion of himſelf: and particularly ſeems to have acknowledged himſelf in an haſty and indecent Paſſion before the High-prieſt, *Acts* xxiii. 3, for the Words cannot be underſtood to mean leſs than that. Nor indeed doth He extend the Expreſſion, 1 *Cor.* iv. 4, to himſelf in all Capacities: but is there conſidering himſelf particularly as called to, and executing, the Work of an *Apoſtle*. St. *Peter* once thought it abſolutely impoſſible that any worldly Conſideration could bring him to a Denial of his *Maſter*, after all the convincing Evidences, to which He had been witneſs, of his being the true *Meſſiah*: and yet, the ſame Night in which He ſhewed this Confidence, He ſhewed his Weakneſs alſo.

This, therefore, being undoubtedly true, that no Chriſtian, ſince the firſt preaching of the Goſpel, hath actually ſo fulfilled the Law of Chriſt, as to be entirely free from all Sin either of *Omiſſion*, or *Commiſſion*; either in Thought, or Word, or Deed: I ſay, it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that Almighty God would leave no room in ſuch a Diſpenſation, for the Recovery and Reconciliation of wilful Sinners, after their believing the Goſpel, without which there could be no Salvation obtained. This would be to bring Men into ſuch a Diſpenſation as muſt only affright and terrify ſome, and throw others into a more profligate Courſe of Sin than they were in, before their believing in Chriſt. This is to ſuppoſe Almighty God calling the World ſolemnly to the Knowledge of the Goſpel; deſcending to treat with his Creatures, in order to beſtow his Mercy upon them after an extraordinary manner: and that the Effect of this Condeſcenſion is, that the ſincereſt Believer that ever embraced his Call to the Chriſtian Faith, cannot have any Hopes of Pardon, if He hath once after that wilfully tranſgreſſed any of his Laws. And what is this but to publiſh a Religion to the World, which hath no Effect towards making any of the Sons of Men happy; but indeed, upon this Suppoſition, makes them all much more miſerable, in the End, than they would have been without it?

Some Men have made it a great Objection againſt the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God, that he ſhould promulgate, after ſuch a manner, ſuch a Religion as that of Jeſus Chriſt; when He foreſaw that ſo many, who have it in their Power to do otherwiſe, would live ſo unworthily of it, in the Practice of groſs, and notorious Sins. But the Love of God, in anſwer to this Objection, is ſufficiently ſeen in the unſpeakable Benefit which the better ſort receive from this Inſtitution; and in the Proof which that affords us that others might receive the ſame, were they not extremely wanting to themſelves. But the preſent Suppoſition takes away all Hopes, even from the moſt ſincere Believer, of acquitting himſelf ſo as to obtain God's Favour at laſt. For the Weakneſs of all Chriſtians, in ſome Inſtance or other, proving ſuch a Difficulty of abſolute Perfection, as no Chriſtian ever yet conquered; this Suppoſition repreſents Almighty God as inſtituting a Religion entirely fruitleſs and ineffectual. Which is ſo great an Abſurdity, that from hence it may certainly be concluded that there is a Method of Pardon and Reconciliation for thoſe who have wilfully ſinned after their receiving the Chriſtian Religion. And this with reſpect to all ſorts of wilful Sinners in that Religion: becauſe, as it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that God ſhould not mean and ſpeak Conſolation to the better ſort of Chriſtians; ſo, on the other hand, it is equally abſurd to ſuppoſe that He ſhould, by cutting off all Hopes of Favour on any Terms, urge and force the worſe ſort of Chriſtians into a more reſolute and uninterrupted Proſecution of their Vices. And this brings me to another Conſideration, *viz.*

2. That, as the contrary Opinion, is, in itſelf, abſurd and ſhocking: ſo, it is expreſly contrary to the declared Deſign of the Goſpel: which is, that all Sinners ſhould be called and invited to Repentance and Reformation; and that Virtue ſhould have an Encouragement annexed to it, ſufficient to work upon Men to forſake Vice, and return to the Practice of their Duty. But now, this End could not poſſibly be anſwered, if it were certain that, if once men arrived to ſuch a Pitch of Wickedneſs, they ſhould never be accepted by Almighty God, even though they ſhould forſake it for the Time to come. For, as I obſerved in a former Diſcourſe, the Certainty of this, nay, the probable Suſpicion of this, would incline all Sinners, eſ-

pecially habitual Sinners, to ſtrengthen themſelves in their Sins; and to take Courage from their Deſpair of Mercy, or of any other ſort of Happineſs, to take as much as they poſſibly could of the Pleaſures of a Courſe of all manner of Sin; and ſo to engage themſelves, more inextricably than ever, in a vicious Habit of Life.

But becauſe ſome have built ſo pernicious an Opinion, not upon the Reaſonableneſs of the thing itſelf; or upon the main End and Deſign of Chriſtianity; but upon ſome particular Texts and Paſſages of the *New Teſtament*; and argued from them, againſt the Acceptance of ſome Sinners, who are profeſſed Chriſtians, upon any Terms whatſoever: I ſhall now therefore, in order to remedy the Miſchief of ſuch a Miſtake,

II. Endeavour to ſhew that theſe Paſſages of the *New Teſtament* prove not the Point, for which they are alledged. And of theſe Paſſages I ſhall take particular Notice of *Three*; upon which the whole of the preſent Debate entirely depends.

1. The *firſt* is that Paſſage, recorded in the *Goſpels*, in which our Saviour ſpeaks of *ſinning againſt the Holy Ghoſt*; and declares it unpardonable; particularly, *Matth.* xii. 31, 32, which ſome well-meaning Chriſtians have been ſo unkind to themſelves, as, in their deſponding Minutes, to apply to their own Caſe. The particular handling all the Circumſtances of this important Paſſage would require a long Diſcourſe on purpoſe. But all that is neceſſary to my preſent Deſign is to ſhew that the Sin there ſpoken of, is a Sin in which ſuch Perſons as we are now ſpeaking of, cannot poſſibly be concerned. For whatever it was that was there intended by our Lord; this is manifeſt, that He ſpeaks to, and of, ſuch Perſons as themſelves ſaw the Courſe and Series of his wonderful Works; and did, out of mere Malice, and an incorrigible Diſpoſition of Mind, aſcribe all that He did to the Power of evil Spirits: though there was not the leaſt Sign of that, but manifeſt Demonſtration that He was acting directly againſt the Intereſt of all evil Spirits. It is upon this Occaſion, and of ſuch ſort of Sinners, that He there ſpeaks. And from hence it appears that, whatever the Nature and Malignity of that Sin was, it cannot be a Sin which it is poſſible for any Perſons to commit, who profeſs Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and believe Him to have been ſent into the World by God; nay, nor for any who did not themſelves ſee with their own Eyes his mighty Works, and, out of mere Malice and Perverſeneſs, aſcribe them to the Devil. It follows, therefore, that, ſuppoſing the *Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt* (whatever be the full Nature of it) to be unpardonable; (which probably muſt ariſe from the perverſe Diſpoſition of Mind from which it proceds, uncapable of Alteration for the better, and not from any Reſolution of Almighty God never to pardon it upon ſuch Alteration for the better;) ſuppoſing, I ſay, this Sin unpardonable: yet it follows from what hath been ſaid, that, notwithſtanding this, the wilful Sins of all who profeſs Faith in Jeſus Chriſt may be pardoned, upon ſome Terms; and that they may be capable of coming up to thoſe Terms. For it appears that no profeſſed Chriſtian, or ſincere Believer in *Jeſus Chriſt*, is capable of being guilty of this Sin: and it is of *Chriſtians*, who have been, or are, wilful Sinners, that we are now diſcourſing. This is fully ſufficient for our preſent Purpoſe, concerning this Paſſage about *ſinning againſt the Holy Ghoſt*, *viz.* That profeſſed Chriſtians are not, and cannot be, concerned in it.

2. The ſecond Paſſage I ſhall mention, is that in the *Sixth* Chapter of the *Epiſtle* to the *Hebrews*, from ver. 4, to ver. 7. For *it is impoſſible for thoſe who were once enlightened, and have taſted of the heavenly Gift, and were made Partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and have taſted the good Word of God, and the Powers of the World*

to come, if they ſhall fall away, to renew them again to Repentance: ſeeing they crucify to themſelves the Son of God afreſh, and put him to an open Shame; concerning which *Paſſage*, I have the following Obſervations to offer.

1. This is ſpoken only of a wilful and open Apoſtacy from the Faith of Chriſt, and a public Denial of Jeſus Chriſt, perſiſted in for ſome Time: and this Apoſtacy is the Apoſtacy of ſuch Perſons as had taſted, and been endowed with ſome of the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, ſeen in thoſe firſt Days; and had been witneſſes to the great and wonderful Gifts which others in the Church likewiſe enjoyed, and to all the Wonders of the *Goſpel-age*, called here by a Jewiſh Phraſe, *the World*, or Age, *to come.* Theſe are the Perſons, and this is the falling away, here ſpoken of: and ſuch a falling away it is, as may juſtly be ſaid to be, in effect, an Acquittance of thoſe who crucified our Lord: and a joining with the Infidel World in bringing a publick Shame upon Him, and his Religion. This then is vaſtly different from the Caſe of any who are ſtill profeſſed Chriſtians; and cannot poſſibly be applied to any, who have not, by open Apoſtacy, fallen from a State of ſuch Gifts, and ſuch Powers, and ſuch Illuminations.

2. The Impoſſibility of the Acceptance of ſuch Perſons is not here fixed upon any Reſolution, on the part of Almighty God, not to accept them; ſhould they again ſincerely turn to Him and come up to his Terms: but it is declared to ariſe from the Impoſſibility of ſuch Perſons ever recovering themſelves, ſo as to come up to the Terms of the Goſpel. It is ſaid to be impoſſible to *renew them to Repentance:* not to be impoſſible for them to be pardoned and accepted, ſuppoſing them to come to true Repentance. But we are now ſpeaking of the Pardon of ſuch profeſſed Chriſtians, though never ſo notorious Sinners, as may, and do, come up to the Terms required: and this Paſſage, you ſee, cannot be meant of Sinners, during their Chriſtian Profeſſion; or of Sinners of any ſort, who do at any time come up to the *Terms* offered in the Goſpel. But then,

3. The *Impoſſibility* here ſpoken of, is not a natural or abſolute Impoſſibility: but only a very great Difficulty; which in the ordinary way of ſpeaking, is often ſaid to be impoſſible; and repreſented by Similitudes taken from natural Impoſſibilities. At this Day, we ourſelves often call a difficult Matter, an impoſſible thing; without meaning it in the ſtrict and accurate Senſe of the Word: and in the Eaſtern Nations, their Ways of ſpeaking were much more exorbitant, and their Figures of Speech more ſtrange, than thoſe amongſt us. *Can the Ethiopian change his Skin, or the Leopard his Spots?* ſaith the *Prophet*, *Jer.* xiii. 23; *then ſhall ye alſo, who are accuſtomed to do evil, learn to do well.* If one were here to follow the *Letter* of the Expreſſion, one would think that the *Prophet* was repreſenting it to be as impoſſible, in the nature of the thing, for the habitual Sinner to turn to the Practice of Virtue, as it is for the *Blackmoor* to alter the Colour of his Body. Whereas it is manifeſt that this could not be intended, becauſe it was the ſame Prophet's Buſineſs and Deſign, (as it was that of others alſo) to perſuade thoſe very Sinners, to whom He ſpeaks, to reform their Ways: which certainly was the abſurdeſt Thing imaginable, ſuppoſing it a Matter which He knew, and repreſented to them, to be abſolutely impoſſible.

Thus our Saviour himſelf repreſents the Difficulty of a Rich Man's embracing the Goſpel, and arriving ſafe at the Place of future Rewards, (a Difficulty ariſing from the ſtrong Temptations there are in the Poſſeſſion of Riches, to Covetouſneſs, or Pride, or Luxury;) by a Similitude taken from a thing abſolutely impoſſible: and goeth ſo high, in the figurative way of ſpeaking, as to ſay, *It is eaſier for a Camel to go through the Eye of a Needle, than for a rich Man to enter into the*

Kingdom of Heaven, Matth. xix. 24. And yet his great Deſign was to call theſe rich Men themſelves to ſuch an uſe of their Riches, as that they might prove the Occaſion of their greater Reward hereafter. Which ſhews that it was not his Intent, in thoſe Words, to ſpeak literally; or to ſignify any more than his Senſe of the very great Difficulty of rich Men's behaving themſelves ſo here, as to attain Eternal Happineſs hereafter.

From all this it appears that Things are, in Scripture, ſaid, or repreſented, to be impoſſible, by an uſual manner of ſpeaking, which are only extremely difficult: and conſequently, that the Word *impoſſible*, in the Paſſage now under Conſideration, (taking into the Account likewiſe the nature of the thing ſpoken of) doth not ſignify any more; and that the *Apoſtle's* Deſign in that *Paſſage* was no other than to ſignify the extreme Difficulty of the true Repentance of ſuch as do totally renounce the Chriſtian Faith, and publickly diſown their Maſter, Jeſus Chriſt, after they have received themſelves, and ſeen in others, the greateſt and moſt miraculous Proofs that he is the true *Meſſiah*.

And thus we ſee that, whether we conſider the Perſons concerned in this Paſſage; or the thing affirmed of them in it; it hath no reference to the Sins of profeſſed Chriſtians, continuing ſuch; and doth not prove any thing of the Impoſſibility of their Repentance, and Acceptance.

3. The *third* and laſt *Paſſage* of the *New Teſtament* which I ſhall mention, as quoted, and applied, by ſome, to the ſame purpoſe, is that which I read to you, at the Entrance of this Diſcourſe, out of the ſame *Epiſtle* to the *Hebrews*, ch. x. ver. 26, 27. *For if we ſin wilfully after that we have received the Knowledge of the Truth, there remains no more Sacrifice for Sin, but a certain fearful looking for of Judgment, and fiery Indignation, which ſhall devour the Adverſaries.* Now,

1. To put ſuch an Interpretation upon this Paſſage, as to take away all Hopes of Pardon, from ſuch profeſſed Chriſtians as have been, in any degree, wilful Sinners, even ſuppoſing them to return and amend; is to contradict the main Deſign and Tenour of the Goſpel: as I have juſt now ſhewed. And whatever contradicts the main Deſign of the Goſpel, cannot poſſibly be the true meaning of any particular Paſſage in it: whether we be able to find out the exact meaning of the Paſſage, or not. The Form of Expreſſion, upon which the Suppoſition is founded, equally precludes from Mercy the ſincereſt repenting Chriſtian, who hath once wilfully tranſgreſſed God's Law, and the *vileſt* Sinner who is hardened in his Iniquities. So that, if it excludes any Sinner from Pardon; it excludes *all* who ever once ſinned. And who can put ſuch a Senſe upon this Paſſage, as will render vain the whole Chriſtian Diſpenſation; and debarr every one, who ever named the Name of Chriſt, from all Title to any Benefit from Him? This it is impoſſible to conceive, or embrace, as the Intent of the Apoſtle. And as for the true Intent of it,

2. It will be obvious, I believe, to every one's Obſervation, upon the reading the whole Context, that this *ſinning wilfully*, in ver. 26, is the total and open forſaking the Chriſtian Aſſemblies, in the Verſe before: which was accounted a renouncing and being aſhamed of, the Chriſtian Faith, in Compliance with the Infidel World about them. And that this *ſinning wilfully*, here ſpoken of, is to be underſtood of a publick Renunciation of Chriſtianity, and Apoſtacy from the Goſpel, ſeems plain from the 29th Verſe, in which the *wilful Sinner*, mentioned here, is oppoſed to one amongſt the *Jews that deſpiſed Moſes's Law*, and profeſſedly oppoſed it; and is farther deſcribed to be one who hath *trodden under Foot the Son of*

of God, and hath counted the Blood of the Covenant, wherewith He was ſanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done Deſpite unto the Spirit of Grace: Phraſes, very like to thoſe by which the *Author* of this *Epiſtle* deſcribes an open Apoſtacy from the Chriſtian Faith, in the *Paſſage* which I laſt conſidered; and which cannot agree ſo well to any other ſort of wilful Sins, as to that of a Departure from the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and, as much as in Men lies, giving an open Affront to that Diſpenſation, and bringing a publick Diſgrace upon it. So that the *wilful Sinners*, here ſpoken of, are not the *wilful Sinners*, of whom we are now treating; *viz.* thoſe who are ſo, at any time, during their Profeſſion of Chriſtianity.

3. What is affirmed of theſe Sinners, in the *Paſſage* now before us, is that *there remaineth no more Sacrifice for Sin:* that is, either that the Force of *Chriſt's* Sacrifice ſignifieth nothing to ſuch as have renounced his Religion: or that there is no other Sacrifice of any Force, beſides that which they have renounced; which cannot profit them, whilſt it is publickly renounced by them. But certainly this is ſaid of them, conſidered as continuing in their Apoſtacy; and not as returning ſincerely again to their former Profeſſion. And this indeed may be ſaid of any wilful habitual Sinners, continuing ſuch, that the Sacrifice of Chriſt will profit them nothing: but this, without taking from them the Hope of the Favour of God, upon the Alteration of their Lives, and their coming up to his Terms.

It appears, therefore, I think, very plainly, that the Perſons here ſpoken of, are not *wilful Sinners*, who are ſuch, during their open Profeſſion of *Chriſtianity*; and that, ſuppoſing the thing here affirmed, to be affirmed of all *wilful Sinners* in general, it is not an utter Excluſion of any of them from all Hopes, but as remaining in their Sins: and conſequently, that this *Paſſage* proves nothing againſt the Poſſibility of *wilful Sinners*, of all Degrees, amongſt ſuch as profeſs Chriſtianity, obtaining the Favour of God, upon the Terms appointed by Himſelf in the Goſpel: *viz.* the forſaking what is evil; and the ſincere, univerſal Amendment of their Lives, in all thoſe Inſtances, in which they can diſcover themſelves to have been formerly ſinful, or defective.

And it being ſo evident, from what I have heretofore diſcourſed, that theſe are the only Conditions of their final Juſtification, and Acceptance; and ſo plain from what I have now ſaid, that, upon their coming up to theſe Conditions, they need not doubt of that Juſtification and Acceptance: what remains, but that we all ſhake off every Pretence of Deſpair and Deſpondency, on the one hand; and every vain Hope and fruitleſs Expectation, on the other; and heartily ſet ourſelves to amend whatever is amiſs in our Tempers, or Practice; to run our Chriſtian Race in that Path which *Chriſt* himſelf hath marked out to us; and, *by patient continuance in well-doing, to ſeek after Glory and Immortality?* Which God grant we may all obtain, for the Sake of his Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, our Lord!

The

The Miſtake, of relying upon Faith, conſidered, &c.

SERMON IX.

EPHESIANS ii. 8.

For by Grace are you ſaved, through Faith; and that not of yourſelves: it is the Gift of God.

I Now come to the *Second part* of that *Deſign*, which I have, for ſome Time, had in View; *viz.* to examine particularly the principal of thoſe falſe Pretences, and miſtaken Notions, concerning the *Terms* of our Acceptance with God, by which Men ſupport themſelves in their Continuance in their beloved Vices; and endeavour to elude the Force, and arm themſelves againſt the Power, of thoſe plain Texts of *Scripture*, and thoſe convincing Arguments, by which I have already proved that the Method laid down in the Chriſtian Religion, by which Sinners may hope to be reconciled to *God*, through Jeſus Chriſt, is the actual Amendment of their Lives and Tempers in all ſuch Inſtances as they know to be contrary, in any reſpect, to the Law of God; and that this is indiſpenſably required of them in order to their final Juſtification at the great Day of the Lord.

The *firſt* of theſe Miſtakes which I ſhall take notice of, and examine, is the Miſtake of thoſe Men who appear to be induced, by ſome Texts of the *New Teſtament*, to rely upon *Faith*, or their believing in *Jeſus Chriſt*, and confident Application of his Merits to themſelves; and to expect Salvation from this, conſidered as diſtinct, and ſeparate, from Obedience to the Moral Laws of the *Goſpel*. And amongſt the reſt, the Text which I have now read to you, hath been often heretofore, and is very likely to be often again, alledged to this Purpoſe, by Men who are thus diſpoſed to lay hold on any thing rather than heartily to ſet about the uneaſy Taſk of reforming what is amiſs in themſelves. In the Examination of this great and fatal Miſtake, I deſign

I. To lay before you the plain meaning of St. *Paul* in the Text.

II. To ſhew that no ſuch Pretence as this can fairly be built upon theſe, or any the like Words in the *New Teſtament*.

III. To obſerve that St. *Paul*, doth, in this very Epiſtle, as well as in many other Places, ſufficiently declare againſt any ſuch Pretence: as our *bleſſed Lord* did likewiſe before Him in the plaineſt Words.

IV. To ſhew you in what Senſe, *Faith*, or believing the *Goſpel*, is ſaid to ſave us.

I. It will be very proper to lay before you the plain meaning of St. *Paul* in the *Text*.

And, if you look into the *Chapter*, you will find that He is there ſpeaking of the former Condition in which the *Epheſians* were, before their Converſion from a State of Heatheniſm, to the Belief of the Goſpel; and magnifying God's Mercy, and the exceeding Riches of his Grace, or Favour, towards them, from the *firſt* Verſe to the *eighth*: in which He therefore goes on to make them ſenſible of their Obligation to that God who had thus *quickened* them *who were dead in ſins*. *For by Grace are ye ſaved:* that is, *For it is very fit you ſhould know and conſider that* *it is by the mere Grace and Favour*, or Mercy of God (as the Word ſignifies) *that ye are ſaved through Faith*; that ye are put into a Method, and State of Safety and Salvation, by means of your receiving the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. It is his own Act, his mere Mercy, that you have Terms of Acceptance offered you, upon your believing in Chriſt. The being ſaved in this Method is by the Grace or Mercy of God, I ſay; *not of yourſelves*, that is, no Contrivance, or Appointment of your own; not owing to yourſelves: but it is the Gift, the free Contrivance, and Offer of God to you, that you ſhould be put into this happy State by the Goſpel. This is the meaning of the Expreſſion, *and that not of yourſelves*; not, as it may ſound in our Tranſlation, *and that Faith* or *believing*, *not of yourſelves*, but entirely *the Gift of God*; (for the Word *That* in the *Greek* is of the Neuter Gender, and ſo cannot ſo eaſily be ſuppoſed to relate to the Word *Faith* going before:) but, *that*, or *this* whole Matter, *this* your being *ſaved by Faith*; this being called into a State of Salvation by the Goſpel, is *not of yourſelves*, but the Gift, the Favour, the Offer of God, previous to all Deſign, and Thought of your own. Then follow theſe Words, *ver.* 9, *Not of Works, leſt any Man ſhould boaſt*, i. e. And as the Propoſal of this gracious Method of Salvation was not owing to yourſelves, and your Contrivance: ſo neither was ſuch a Favour merited at the Hands of God by any paſt Perfection, by any good Behaviour of your own, preceding it. For, as I told you already, *ver.* 1, and 5, *you were dead in Treſpaſſes and Sins*, when you were called to the Knowledge of this merciful Diſpenſation. And this I add, leſt any of you ſhould boaſt, as if you had deſerved of the Hands of Almighty God, by your paſt good Behaviour, ſo merciful a Diſpenſation, ſo gracious a Propoſal, as is made to you in the Goſpel. Then he goes on to aſſure them farther that their happy Condition is owing entirely to God, who had, without any Contrivance or Deſert of theirs, ordered Affairs ſo by his good Providence, that they were now Believers in *Jeſus Chriſt*; and had the Offers of Salvation, upon the Terms of the Goſpel, brought home to them.

This, therefore, is the manifeſt Deſign of the Apoſtle in the Text, to raiſe the Gratitude of the *Epheſians* to *Almighty God*; and to inſpire them with all poſſible Regard to Him; by putting them in mind that they were formerly in an helpleſs and miſerable Condition, *dead in Sins*, void of the true Life of reaſonable Creatures; that they had no Thought themſelves of ſuch Salvation as had been offered them by the Chriſtian Religion; that they had no Merit to engage God Almighty to make them ſuch an Offer, and preach ſuch a State of Reconciliation and Salvation to them; that it was of his *Grace*, or Favour, that they were *ſaved* from their former evil Condition of Sin and Ignorance, by believing and receiving the Goſpel: for which they were obliged therefore to magnify the exceeding Riches of God's Mercy towards them in Chriſt; and not to attribute this Happineſs to themſelves, who were before this void of every thing that could be pleaſing to Almighty God, or influence him to ſhew them ſo great and remarkable a Kindneſs. It is by *Grace* that ye are delivered from your former miſerable Condition; it is an Act of Grace that *ye are ſaved through Faith*, or put into a State of Salvation by believing the Goſpel: and this being *ſaved* in this Method, and by means of this believing, is *not of yourſelves*; but wholly owing to the good Will of God, whoſe free Offer, and Gift it is. This being ſo manifeſtly the Intent of the Apoſtle in this Place; it appears from hence what I propoſed in the ſecond place, *viz.*

II. That no ſuch Pretence as that which makes Faith alone, ſeparated from a good Life and Converſation, the Condition on which we ſhall be accepted at laſt; that no ſuch Pretence as this, I ſay, can be built upon this Paſſage of the

New Teſtament: which will lead us likewiſe to the farther Conſideration of this Miſtake; and to give a true Account of what St. *James* and St. *Paul,* upon other Occaſions, have affirmed upon this Subject.

As for the Paſſage now before us; we have ſeen already that by our being ſaved by, or through Faith, is meant our being put into the true Way of Salvation by believing in Jeſus Chriſt: and therefore that it cannot be laid upon any ſuch Expreſſion as this, that it is this Faith or believing taken by itſelf, and conſidered without any Influence upon our Lives, that will at laſt be accepted by God; if we had Opportunity of practiſing Righteouſneſs, and have refuſed to do it. Beſides, every thing neceſſary to Salvation muſt be repreſented as the Method that leads to it: and becauſe Faith in Chriſt, believing in Him, and receiving Him for our Maſter, is one and the firſt Requiſite; therefore we may be ſaid to be ſaved by *Faith,* without any ſuch meaning as that other Things may not be as neceſſary, and as indiſpenſable, as that.

But here it may be ſaid, Doth not St. *Paul* expreſly in another place attribute Juſtification to *Faith* without the Works of the Law? *Gal.* iii. 6, 11. To which I anſwer, Doth not St. *James* in his *Epiſtle,* ch. ii. 14, expreſly combat that Opinion which ſome Men may falſly build upon this, *viz.* that *Faith,* without Moral Works conſequent upon it, is ſufficient to Salvation? And is not St. *James's* Epiſtle of Authority with Chriſtians, as well as St. *Paul's?* And is not this a Demonſtration to all who acknowledge this, that St. *Paul* could not intend any ſuch thing as ſome have fathered upon Him? But this is not all that is to be ſaid. For it is manifeſt that St. *Paul* is there ſpeaking of ſuch Works of the Law, as Circumciſion; and arguing, that ſuch are not neceſſary, from *Abraham's* being juſtified by the eminent Faith which He had before Circumciſion: and this againſt ſome Perſons who would ſtill pretend that the Obſervation of ſuch Things was neceſſary to the Favour of God. Add to this, that St. *Paul* uſes the Word Faith for the Goſpel-diſpenſation preached by Jeſus Chriſt; and is only arguing that That is ſufficient without the Obſervation of the Moſaical Ceremonies. But He is never arguing with deſign to make Men believe that a mere empty Faith, void of good Works, the Works of Righteouſneſs, can ſave any Man at laſt: but ſaith much to the contrary in all his Epiſtles. But with reſpect to what is ſaid both by *Him* and St. *James,* concerning the Faith and Juſtification of *Abraham* and of *Chriſtians*; it may be proper to obſerve as follows:

I. St. *Paul* ſaith that *Abraham* was juſtified without, and before, ſuch Works as *Circumciſion.* St. *James* ſaith that *Abraham* was not juſtified by an empty Faith without Works of Obedience; and would never have been accepted of God, unleſs He had ſhewn the reality of his Faith by Obedience to the Call and Command of God. Here is no Contradiction between them. So likewiſe *Chriſtians* will be juſtified by means of believing the Goſpel-diſpenſation, without any ſuch Works as Circumciſion, or any other Works of the Ceremonial Law; as St. *Paul* argued: But they will never be juſtified, and finally acquitted by any Belief in Chriſt, without bringing forth, as they have Opportunity, ſuch good Fruits, and walking in ſuch good Works, as the Goſpel of Chriſt directs, and commands them to practiſe; as St. *James* ſaith. Again,

2. *ABRAHAM* was, for one ſignal Act of Faith and Truſt in God, called by Him *righteous*; taken for ſuch, and reputed as a Perſon free from the Guilt of his paſt Sins: as ſaith St. *Paul.* But it is manifeſt, ſaith St. *James,* that this Faith of *Abraham* was not ſuch an empty Faith as ſome Chriſtians pretend to rely upon: nay, that He would not have been juſtified finally by God, unleſs He

had, when He was tried by God, ſhewn by the Obedience of his Life, that his Faith was real, and ſincere. Neither in this is there any Contradiction between them. So likewiſe it is true that a Chriſtian, upon his firſt believing the Goſpel, and receiving Jeſus Chriſt as the Meſſiah and Saviour of the World, is acquitted from the Guilt of his paſt Sins; and reputed at this time, and for the ſake of this *Faith*, as a juſt and righteous Perſon, clear from all paſt Guilt: as St. *Paul* always taught the firſt Chriſtians, who were converted at ripe Years from a Life of Infidelity and Sin. And ſo likewiſe it is true that no Chriſtian who hath Opportunity, after his Converſion, to practiſe Holineſs, and yet continues unfruitful, or wicked; that no ſuch Chriſtian, I ſay, ſhall be finally juſtified and acquitted, at the laſt Day, for the ſake of his believing in Chriſt; as St. *James* teacheth: but that the final Juſtification of ſuch Chriſtians depends upon their ſhewing their Faith by their Works, as St. *James* expreſſeth it; and upon their bringing forth good Fruit in their Lives and Converſations.

Thus may it eaſily be ſeen that theſe *Two Apoſtles* perfectly agree concerning the Neceſſity of a good Life, and of every Branch of the Law of Virtue. But St *Paul* had to deal with a ſort of Jewiſh Chriſtians, who retained an Affection for the Works of the Law, and Circumciſion particularly: and therefore found occaſion to tell them that their Father *Abraham* himſelf was juſtified without ſuch Works; that his eminent Faith was one time counted to him for Righteouſneſs, or Juſtification; that for the ſake of that Faith He was eſteemed by God free from all the Guilt He had contracted by Sin before that Time; and that therefore it was nothing but what was agreeable to that great Example which they pretended to love and honour, that God ſhould accept ſuch as believed in his Son Jeſus Chriſt, without their adhering to ſuch Works as Circumciſion; and for the ſake of that Faith in Reward, and for Encouragement of it, ſhould acquit them from the Guilt of all their Sins committed before that Time. But St. *James* found that ſome miſunderſtood and perverted ſuch Doctrine as this: and that ſome Chriſtians began to pretend that no Works at all, not thoſe of Piety, and Charity, were neceſſary to their Juſtification at the great Day; and that their believing in Chriſt would acquit them from the Guilt of all their Sins that they ſhould commit after this Belief, and during the Time of their Chriſtian Profeſſion. And therefore He found it neceſſary to tell them, that *Abraham* ſhewed his Obedience to God's Will in the higheſt Inſtances, and and truſted not in an empty *Faith*; but, though He had been once acquitted from paſt Sins by an eminent Degree of it, yet that he did not expect to continue in Favour with God, unleſs by obeying all his Commands, and ſhewing himſelf ready to fulfil his whole Will; and ſo likewiſe that *Chriſtians* cannot expect to continue in the Favour of God, or that State of Juſtification and Acceptance which their firſt believing put them into,. without imitating *Abraham's* Obedience, and and following his Steps in good Works, as well as in Faith; or rather, that there can be no ſuch thing as true Faith without good Works, any more than there can be a good Tree without good Fruit.

Theſe were the different Reaſons for the different, though not contradictory, *Poſitions* of theſe Two *Apoſtles*; and for their different manner of handling this Point. And in this Matter great Account is to be had of the following Diſtinction; that believing in Jeſus Chriſt acquits from the Guilt of Sins committed before ſuch Belief; and this merely in order to a better Life for the future; which was St. *Paul's* frequent Affirmation: but that believing in Jeſus Chriſt doth not acquit from the Guilt of any Sins continued in, after this Belief, and during our Chriſtian Profeſſion, but indeed add to it extremely, as St. *James* in effect affirms; and as St. *Paul* often taught. Which will appear more plainly from what will be ſaid under the Third Propoſition, *viz.*

3. That St. *Paul* doth, in this very Epiſtle, as well as in many other places, ſufficiently declare againſt any ſuch Pretence as that which I have been now examining: and this in Imitation of his great Maſter, who did the ſame before him. Our Lord, you cannot but remember, ſet himſelf againſt this very Deceit, by which He foreſaw that many of his profeſſed Diſciples would endeavour to elude the great Deſign of his coming into the World. The Words you have often had in your Ears, *Not every one that ſaith unto me, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: but He that doth the Will of my Father which is in Heaven:* a Declaration which, in other Words, expreſſeth this very thing, that it is not believing in Him, or acknowledging him for our Maſter, or applying his Comforts to ourſelves, that ſhall avail us at laſt; but the *doing the Will of his Father*; or a conſtant univerſal Obedience to the Commands laid upon us in his Goſpel. This I repeat to you, under this Head, becauſe it is ſo expreſs a Declaration againſt Men's relying on *Faith* only for Salvation, or final Juſtification; that a more expreſs one could not have been made in Words.

After having remarked this, I come to ſhew that St. *Paul* himſelf guards againſt the ſame fatal Miſtake in this very Epiſtle, in which He declares that *We are ſaved through Faith.* He doth indeed profeſs to the *Epheſians*, ch. i. ver. 9, that their being in ſo happy a State came not *of their Works:* but that is meant of their Works before their Converſion; that they had no Merit to invite or induce Almighty God to offer them ſuch Salvation. But in the very next Words, ver. 10, He declares that we Chriſtians are *God's Workmanſhip, created in Chriſt Jeſus unto good Works*; that we are, by Converſion to Chriſtianity, as it were a-new created by the Will of God, calling us to it; and created for this End, that we may perform good Works. So that you ſee He immediately guards againſt any ſuch Notion, as they might weakly entertain, of his attributing our final Salvation to Faith ſeparated from good Works, in the Goſpel Senſe of good Works. And indeed, though in ſome Places St. *Paul* doth vilify the Merits of the World and their Behaviour, before the coming of the Goſpel; and though in others He vilifies the Works of the *Law* of *Moſes*, with which ſome would have burthened the Evangelical Profeſſion: yet no one can ſhew any one Text, or any one ſingle Paſſage, in which He vilifies, and ſets at nought, the Works of Evangelical Righteouſneſs, or Obedience to the Moral Laws of Virtue.

To vilify and decry the Behaviour and Works both of *Jew* and Gentile, before the Faith of Chriſt prevailed, was not to ſet at nought *good Works*, but bad ones; and only to obſerve the corrupt and ſad Eſtate of Mankind. To vilify the *Ceremonial Law*, after the coming in of Juſtification by *Faith* (or the *Goſpel)* was not to vilify ſuch Works as we are ſpeaking of: but indeed to take Men's Minds off from Shadows and Ceremonies; and to fix them upon good Works that are more ſubſtantial. Nay, when He ever toucheth upon the Moral Duties: with how much Vehemence doth He recommend them! When He ſpeaks of the *Epheſians*, or other Chriſtians, having improved in Virtue, ſince their Converſion to Chriſtianity; what Commendations doth He give them! And with how much Joy doth He offer up his Thanks to God for it! But we never find him depreſſing that ſort of Works; or ſetting up *Faith* againſt them; or taking off the bent of Men's minds from them: but preſſing them into the love and practice of them with all the Earneſtneſs poſſible. And then, if He mentions the Sins of any profeſſed Chriſtians; doth He do it, as if He thought their Faith would avail them? Or rather, doth He not do it with ſuch a Spirit and Zeal againſt them, as if no Words were bad enough for them? And yet they had an eaſy Reply to make to Him, had He taught them any ſuch Doctrine, as that a ſtrong Faith would ſave them at laſt, though ſeparate from good Works.

But particularly, in this Epiſtle, how many Moral Duties and good Works doth He preſs upon the *Epheſians*! And how ſolemnly doth He aſſure them, *ch.* v. 5, 6, that the Immoralities there mentioned will exclude all, who are guilty of them, from Heaven! And adds, *Let no Man deceive you with vain Words: for becauſe of theſe Things the Wrath of God cometh upon the Children of Diſobedience.* He puts them in mind, ver. 8, that they *were ſometimes Darkneſs; but now Light in the Lord: walk as Children of the Light. For the Fruit of the Spirit is in all Goodneſs, and Righteouſneſs, and Truth,* ver. 9, and ſo on. Doth all this, and an hundred times more of the ſame ſort, that might be urged from his Writings: Doth all this look like the Doctrine of a Man who taught them that *Faith,* without Goodneſs and Virtue, would ſave them at laſt? Or rather, Is not all this plainly inconſiſtent with that Suppoſition? And doth it not all ſhew that it is impoſſible He ſhould intend to teach any ſuch Doctrine; however his Words may ſound at firſt hearing.

I mention not here, what I have often mentioned upon the like Occaſion, that it is contradictory to the declared Deſign of the Chriſtian Religion to ſuppoſe any ſuch thing as this. For if the mere believing in Chriſt ſhall ſave us at laſt; though during that Belief we have wilfully perſiſted in Diſobedience to his Commands: then is it not true that He came to *call Sinners to Repentance*; then is it not true that the *Grace of God hath appeared to Men in the Goſpel, teaching us to deny Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly, in this preſent World*; then is it not true that our Lord expects us to bring forth Fruit; or to be prepared for his coming by good Works; or that He will judge us according to what we have done, whether it be good or evil. But on the contrary, theſe Things are true; and moſt expreſly, and poſitively aſſerted in the New Teſtament: and conſequently it cannot be true that Faith, without good Works, will ſave us at laſt: nor can any thing be true, that takes away the abſolute Neceſſity of an holy, and virtuous Converſation.

But now, after I have thus guarded againſt that bad and pernicious Senſe in which any Chriſtians may underſtand ſome Expreſſions of Holy Scripture concerning our being *ſaved by*, or through, *Faith*; it is time,

4. To conſider a little in what Senſe it is that Chriſtians may be ſaid *to be ſaved by Faith*, or by believing in Jeſus Chriſt. And

1. This may be well ſaid of Them, becauſe it is Their Faith, or believing, which ſaves them from the Guilt of all their Sins committed before this Faith: a Privilege which peculiarly belonged to the firſt Chriſtians converted, at Years of Diſcretion, from a Life of Sin and Impurity. And therefore, this firſt Juſtification is often ſpoken of by St. *Paul* in his Epiſtles, and attributed to Faith. But this doth not concern thoſe who have been educated, and inſtructed, in the Knowledge of the Chriſtian Religion. The guilty Sinner in thoſe Days knew not whither to fly from the Guilt of his Sins, till his Belief entitled him to this Favour; which God had annexed to it, and the Apoſtles always promiſed in his name.

2. We may be well ſaid to be *ſaved through Faith*, becauſe it is by believing in Jeſus Chriſt, that we come to know and embrace thoſe Terms which are offered by God for our Salvation and Happineſs. He came to ſave us; and by cloſing in with his Propoſals we muſt be ſaved: and this we cannot do, without believing Him to be ſent of God, and receiving him as ſuch. This, therefore, being ab-

ſolutely neceſſary; we may well find Salvation attributed to this, which is the firſt moving Principle towards it; and without which we ſhould not go one Step forward in that Way to Salvation which He came to point out to us. *He is the Way, the Truth, and the Life*; and without knowing him, and believing in him, how ſhould we know the Way, or the Path, to that Eternal Life which He came to unfold to us; who otherwiſe might have wandered, every one after the peculiar Imagination, or Inclination, or Humour, of our own Hearts? As Salvation therefore, comes in the Method propoſed by Chriſt: ſo may it well be attributed to believing in Him; becauſe that alone can put us into the Method propoſed by Him.

3. Chriſtians are *ſaved by Faith*, becauſe it is the Foundation of their Obedience, and of all their good Actions. It is the *Tree* which bears good Fruit; without which good Fruit there could be no Salvation: and conſequently, what is ſo neceſſary, and ſo uſeful, to the Production of good Works, is itſelf entitled to thoſe Rewards, and happy Conſequences, which follow good Works. This is what St. *James* ſeems to think, that the only way of proving that we have Faith, is by our good Actions, *Ch.* ii. 15. Will any one, ſaith He, believe that you wiſh them well, or that you are willing to relieve them, if, when you ſee their Diſtreſs, you only tell them ſo; and at the ſame time deny them what you can afford them towards their Relief? From hence He argues, As there is no true Sign of this charitable Diſpoſition, but the Fruit of Beneficence which it produceth; and as one who is always hard-hearted hath no Pretence to it: ſo, is there no Proof of a real Faith, but the Works it produceth: of which Works, therefore, a ſincere Faith is never deſtitute. Thus will even *He* allow that *Faith may ſave us*, by influencing our Actions; but no otherwiſe.

Let any one likewiſe turn to the xi*th chap.* to the *Hebrews*; there indeed he will find an Account of the Excellencies and Advantages of Faith; of its Acceptableneſs to God, and its Efficacy towards our own Happineſs: but He will find that the Argument muſt be reſolved into this at laſt, that *without Faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God*, becauſe without Faith it is impoſſible to live a Life of Virtue, or to do ſuch Actions as are there recorded: and that by *Faith* is meant a vital active Principle, moving us to behave ourſelves agreeably to our Faith. And therefore, with reſpect to Chriſtians, *Faith* muſt be an active Principle, influencing and ſtrongly moving them to ſuch a Behaviour, and Conduct; ſuch a Life and Converſation, as their believing in ſuch a Maſter naturally directs to. If we believe in *God* truly; we cannot but love and honour him above all things. If we believe in *Chriſt* ſincerely; we cannot but endeavour to obey his Commands; obſerve his Precepts; and follow his Example. And thus ſhall we be *ſaved through Faith* or believing in Him; becauſe this Faith, if it be ſincere, will be the Foundation of ſuch an univerſal Obedience as He requires of us.

In theſe Senſes, therefore, and on theſe Accounts, great Things might well be ſaid of Faith in the New Teſtament; and Salvation attributed to it. But the great Point, in which we are concerned, is, not to be deceived in a Matter of ſuch Importance; and to that End, not to interpret any one Expreſſion of the *New Teſtament* ſo as to contradict the plaineſt and moſt repeated Declarations of it. Let the Concluſion of the preſent Subject, therefore, be to this effect, *Faith* is an Act of the Mind moſt acceptable to God. Faith in his Son ſaves us, as it puts us into the ſecure Way to Salvation, if we be ſincere; and as it is the Foundation of all our Chriſtian Practice, and of all our beſt and moſt Godlike Behaviour. This *Faith* alone, that is, the Method propoſed in the Goſpel, without the Works of the Ceremonial Law of *Moſes*, is ſufficient to ſecure to us our future Happineſs: but *Faith* alone, that is, a Belief in Chriſt, without Obedience to his Laws; an empty, unfruitful Faith, accompanied with an ungodly Life, will condemn us at laſt. We are ſaved through Faith; or by believing in Chriſt; no otherwiſe than by being influenced by it: for Faith is required in order to Practice. *Faith* is indiſpenſably neceſſary in order to Salvation: and ſo likewiſe is a good Life indiſpenſably neceſſary in order to Salvation. Or, in other Words, a *Faith* working by Love, and manifeſting itſelf by good Works, is that alone which will be of any Account to us, at laſt. *For as the Body without the Spirit is dead; ſo Faith without Works is dead alſo.* Now to God, &c.

The Miſtake of relying upon external Performances conſidered.

SERMON X.

ROMANS x. 13.

For whoſoever ſhall call upon the Name of the Lord ſhall be ſaved.

I Have frequently obſerved to you that when Men are reſolved to retain their Sins, and go on in their evil Practices; and yet not to caſt away all Hopes of future Happineſs; they are ready to lay hold on any obſcure, or miſtaken, Text of the New Teſtament: and to draw it to their own Purpoſe, without conſidering the Purpoſe of the Writer, or laying the whole Tenour of the Goſpel together. One of this ſort of Paſſages, relating to Faith, I conſidered in my laſt Diſcourſe; and endeavoured to ſhew that no Encouragement could be deſigned in it for any to rely on a bare Belief of the Goſpel, without the bringing forth thoſe good Fruits, and practiſing thoſe Moral Duties, which the Goſpel itſelf recommends.

Another of the like ſort, is That which I have now read to you; which ſome Men of weak Underſtandings, or ſtrong Paſſions, may be apt to ſeparate from the reſt of this *Epiſtle*, and conſider it ſo much by itſelf, as to imagine that it was the Apoſtle's Deſign in it to make the *Calling upon the Name of God*, or of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the whole of the Goſpel-covenant; and to affix Salvation to the mere outward joining in the publick Acts of Chriſtian Profeſſion, and Worſhip. This is a very great Error: and muſt prove at laſt a very fatal Miſtake. And though it be indeed ſuch a Miſtake as one would think no one who conſiders the Nature of God, or all his Declarations in the Goſpel, could permit himſelf to be guilty of; yet we find by Experience that many profeſſed Chriſtians do at leaſt ſeek for Eaſe this way; and find as much as any ſuch poor Pretence can give to the Conſcience of ſuch a Creature as Man is.

It cannot therefore be accounted unneceſſary or improper, to conſider the Caſe of ſuch profeſſed Chriſtians as allow themſelves in the Commiſſion of known Sins: and yet receive Comfort, and entertain Hopes of future Happineſs, from their devout, and repeated Performance of ſome outward Acts of Chriſtian Profeſſion, and Worſhip. They know that they continue in the Practice of Sin. But becauſe they feel a Warmth of what they imagine to be Devotion in the Worſhip of God; becauſe they frequent the publick Prayers, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; becauſe they hear his Word with ſome Attention and Zeal; upon ſuch Accounts as theſe, they hope for his Favour at laſt, and perceive ſome Satisfaction

tiſfaction and Reſt in that Hope for the preſent: imagining, perhaps, that St. *Paul* is on their ſide, and hath given it as his Judgement, that whoſoever ſhould *call upon the Name of the Lord*, as they do, ſhould be *ſaved*.

Only, before I come to ſpeak particularly to the Caſe of ſuch Chriſtians, I muſt give you a true Account of St. *Paul's* Deſign in this part of this Epiſtle; which will at the ſame time lead you to the true meaning of the Words of the Text: *viz.* that He is here diſputing againſt Two Errors of the *Jews*. The one is, their ſeeking Juſtification by the Law of *Moſes*; and rejecting the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Goſpel preached to them as the only Method of Juſtification: and the other is, their imagining that the Meſſiah, whom they had been taught to expect, was to be of Benefit only to themſelves; and that the *Gentiles* were to have no part in his Bleſſings. Theſe two Errors, you may ſee, gave St. *Paul* no occaſion of ſpeaking particularly in this place of the Neceſſity which profeſſed Chriſtians lay under, to practiſe all Virtue; or any otherwiſe than in general Terms, of the Chriſtian Faith, in Oppoſition to theſe Miſtakes. It was enough for his Purpoſe to put them in mind that, according to the Law itſelf, they muſt ſeek for Juſtification in another Method, diſtinct from that of the Works of the Law of *Moſes*; that this Juſtification had been declared by their own Prophets to be of ſuch a nature, as that it muſt be effected by means of Faith; and that the ſame Prophets had enlarged the Bounds of the Kingdom of the Meſſiah, and had promiſed this Bleſſing to all true Believers whereſoever diſperſed through the World.

The firſt of theſe He doth, *ver.* 4, *For Chriſt is the End of the Law*; that is, the Law itſelf leads to Juſtification by the Goſpel: becauſe, as it follows, *ver.* 5, *Moſes* himſelf propoſeth Juſtification by the Law upon no other Terms, but that of a perfect fulfilling the whole Law in every Tittle. Now, none of you can pretend to this: and therefore you ought to be willingly led to ſeek for Juſtification, or Acquittance from your paſt Sins and Failings, by believing and embracing the Goſpel.

As to the ſecond; He puts them in mind, *ver.* 11, that *Iſaiah* himſelf, one of their own Prophets, ſpeaking of the *Meſſiah*, had declared long ago, that the true Method of obtaining the Aſſurance of God's Favour was by believing in Him, when He ſhould appear; and by entering into his Religion. And then He argues, from the Latitude of this Declaration, that *whoſoever*, whether *Jew* or *Greek*, takes this Method, *ſhall be ſaved*; alledging another of their Prophets, who had likewiſe, in ſpeaking of the Kingdom of the Meſſiah, declared that *whoſoever*, without any Exception of *Gentile* more than *Jew*, *ſhall call upon the Name of the Lord*, that is, truly receive his Religion, let him be of what Nation or Family ſoever, *ſhall be ſaved*; ſhall be ſaved by this from the Guilt of his paſt Sins; and, if He be ſincere in this Profeſſion, will infallibly be put hereby into a State of Salvation, and obtain it moſt certainly at the great Day of Accounts.

It very plainly, therefore, appears that St. *Paul's* Deſign was not to fix the Terms of final Salvation; or to tell Chriſtians exactly what was required of them: but, in general, to tell the *Jews* that it was the Voice of their Law, and their Prophets, that Juſtification could not be by their Law; and that the true Method in which they muſt come to be acquitted from the Guilt of their paſt Sins, and made happy at laſt, is the believing in Jeſus Chriſt, and ſeeking this Happineſs in the Ways propoſed in the Goſpel; and that in this Method the *Gentiles* had as real a Right to God's Mercy, as themſelves.

Having thus given you a View of the *Apoſtle's* Deſign in this part of his *Epiſtle* to the *Romans*; I ſhall now conſider the Pretence of ſuch as are led by this, or any other like Paſſage in the New Teſtament, or by any falſe Motive, to place their Confidence in the external Parts of Religion, whilſt they manifeſtly refuſe to permit it to have any vital Influence upon their Minds; and openly allow themſelves in an habitual Courſe of Sin. And,

1. From what hath been ſaid already, it cannot but appear abſurd to take a general Expreſſion of St. *Paul's*, uſed upon quite another Occaſion; and to apply it to what was not then in his Thoughts, or in his Deſign. He doth ſay, indeed, that the true Way to Salvation is the believing in Jeſus Chriſt: and the external Profeſſion of that Belief: in Oppoſition to ſuch as ſought for Juſtification by *Moſes's* Law. But it is very unfair to argue from hence, that therefore *whoſoever* doth *call upon the Name of the Lord Jeſus*, though He live in conſtant Rebellion to his Laws, ſhall at laſt be made happy by Him; and that nothing but this external Act of Religion is required of Chriſtians. So that St. *Paul's* manifeſt Deſign forbids us to apply his Words to what was not at all his Intent in this place.

2. If the plain Drift of his Argument did not ſuppoſe this; that it would be the higheſt Abſurdity to deduce any ſuch Conſequence from his general Declaration of God's Favour to ſuch as ſhould come in to the Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion. For ſuppoſe a Perſon ſhould be commiſſioned to aſſure a Company of Rebels, that whoſoever of them ſhould reſign themſelves up to the Mercy of their rightful Prince; and own him publickly; and call upon his Name in their Petitions, and Submiſſions; ſhould be ſaved from Puniſhment: would it not be the moſt unfair and abſurd Concluſion, if they ſhould argue from hence, that the Prince required nothing from them but this external Act of Submiſſion; and that this would be for ever ſufficient to ſecure his Favour; though they ſhould after this reaſſume their former Behaviour; openly violate his juſt Commands; and affront his Government? Who would not join in condemning ſuch an hypocritical Submiſſion as this? And who would not think it juſt, that their Puniſhment ſhould be doubled upon them, even for the ſake of this pretended Submiſſion? And yet, Are the Dealings of many Men with God Almighty's Declarations, in the leaſt degree, better, or more juſtifiable? He ſends his Son to entreat thoſe who are Rebels againſt Him, to be reconciled to Him: and he declareth by Him that whoſoever comes in to Him, and believes, and calls upon him, ſhall be in a ſafe Condition, and kindly received by him. And they argue from hence, that this external Act of Submiſſion, or Homage, is enough; and that they may ſafely rebel againſt Him for the future: ſo they do but in Words acknowledge Him. Whereas the Submiſſion required, is a ſincere, and hearty Submiſſion: which it cannot be, if it be accompanied with Diſhonour, Diſreſpect, and Diſobedience, in Actions. In this Caſe, Men ſhould be convinced by their own Maxims, and Principles. For if they abhor the Man who pretends Friendſhip, or Submiſſion, whilſt he neglects all Opportunities of doing them Service; or perhaps employs his Time in affronting and injuring them: how can they poſſibly imagine that any ſuch general Declaration of God's Favour to ſuch as *call upon his Name*, or perform any outward Acts of Religion, was intended to make Men eaſy under a Courſe of Sin; or to be applied to any Performances but what proceeded from a ſincere and upright Mind, full of a true Senſe of Religion, and bringing forth ſuch Fruits as Sincerity cannot be void of? So that were this Declaration in the Text ſeparated from the Deſign of the Apoſtle; and taken entirely by itſelf: it is contrary to all the Maxims, and all the Rules of proceeding amongſt Men, to interpret it ſo, as to take Courage from it to affront Almighty God by the Diſobedience of our Lives; and to hope in his Mercy

merely on Account of ſome external Performances of religious Worſhip. But, to proceed to other Conſiderations.

3. This *Pretence*, which I am now examining, doth really debaſe the Value of Virtue, in the Eyes of God, under the *Goſpel-diſpenſation*, below what it was under the Influence of the Ceremonial Law itſelf. When that Law was in force, one would have thought, that Men might then, if ever, have truſted to make themſelves acceptable to God by the Externals of Religion; by *Rivers of Oil, and Thouſands of Rams:* yet we find even then, the Queſtion aſked, *What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do juſtly*; *and to love Mercy*; *and to walk humbly with thy God?* The Moral Virtues were the Things, even then, inſiſted on, when the Aſſiſtances, and Motives to them were not ſo great, or not ſo apparent; and when the Minds of the *Jews* could not but be more amuſed, and diverted from them, by their numerous and coſtly Services. And can any one believe that, under the Goſpel, in which God hath declared a Day of Judgement to come, and pronounced his Wrath more openly, than ever, againſt Sin; and in which He hath promulgated the greateſt Motives and moſt powerful Aſſiſtances; that, under this Goſpel, I ſay, God ſhould put ſuch a Value upon the external Performances of Religion, as to make inſignificant the more *weighty Matters* of it? That He, who ſaid under the Law, *What doth the Lord require of thee*, but to practiſe the Moral Duties? ſhould, under the Goſpel, ſay, *What doth the Lord require of thee*, but to *call upon his Name*, or to hear his Word? That He, who laid ſuch Streſs upon Holineſs, and Virtue, even when He had conſulted Pomp and Ceremony in the *Jewiſh* Religion, ſhould now in effect diſengage Men from all ſtrict Obligation to that Holineſs and Virtue; and turn all their Thoughts upon external Acts of Devotion, and Religion, when He hath called the World to a Spiritual Religion, void of all that unneceſſary Pomp, and Ceremony? Who can believe this? Or who can fix ſo great an Abſurdity upon the Chriſtian Religion? And if we cannot in Words fix ſuch an Abſurdity upon it; let us not entertain, even in our moſt retired Imaginations, any ſuch Opinion, or Notion, as doth effectually lay this Scandal upon the moſt holy Religion that ever yet appeared in the World.

4. Give me leave to put you in mind of thoſe many plain, unexceptionable, Texts of the *New Teſtament*, by which I ſo fully proved, in the former part of my preſent Deſign, that the actual Amendment of our bad Lives, and the Practice of all Holineſs and Virtue, was indiſpenſably required of us in the Goſpel-diſpenſation; and to argue from thence that it cannot be the Intent of any Paſſage, in the ſame *New Teſtament*, to fix Salvation upon any external Acts of Religion unaccompanied with Holineſs; or paid to Almighty God in order to appeaſe him for our Continuance in our Sins. Remember particularly Two Paſſages: the one of our bleſſed *Lord* himſelf; the other of St. *Paul*, the ſame *Apoſtle* who applies to *Chriſtians* this general Declaration in the Text.

The firſt is that in *Matth.* vii. 22, 23, *Verſes:* where, after our Lord hath declared that it is not the calling upon his Name, without doing his Father's Will, that can ſave us at laſt; He goes on farther, *Many will ſay to me in that Day, Have we not propheſied in thy Name*; *and in thy Name have caſt out Devils*; *and in thy Name done many wonderful Works? and then will I profeſs unto them, I never knew you. Depart from me, ye that work Iniquity.* So that, ſuppoſing Perſons can even plead at laſt that they have not only profeſſed his Religion; but done many Things, beyond the common Pitch of Believers, by the Power of his Name: yet they are in a deſperate Condition, if they be found to be *Workers* *of Iniquity.* And if it ſhall fare thus with Profeſſors of ſo extraordinary a Rank: what ſhall we ſay to Thoſe who truſt to be accepted at laſt for the ſake of much more inconſiderable Performances? Muſt not *they* expect as certainly to hear the ſame Sentence; *Depart from me, ye that work Iniquity.*

The other Paſſage is in St. *Paul's* Second *Epiſtle* to *Timothy*, in the Second *Chapter*, the 19th Verſe: *Let every one that nameth the Name of Chriſt, depart from Iniquity:* from whence it is evident that this *Apoſtle* could not be of that Opinion that *naming the Name of Chriſt, or calling upon the Name of the Lord*, in the Words of the Text, was ſufficient for Salvation, without *departing from Iniquity*. For if He had taught any ſuch Doctrine, it might have been eaſily retorted upon him by any profeſſed Chriſtian, who had a Reſolution of continuing in his Sins. What neceſſity is there for *departing from Iniquity*, when it is declared that *whoſoever calleth upon the Name of the Lord*, or *nameth the Name of Chriſt*, ſhall be ſaved, without this Departure from Iniquity?

Multitudes of other Paſſages might be alleged from the ſame St. *Paul*, for the Neceſſity of Holineſs; and the Condemnation of Sinners at laſt: which all contradict the Pretence of ſuch as would fix the contrary upon ſome of his Expreſſions. But I muſt not be always repeating them. Yet it is worth while to remember that theſe are the profeſſed Chriſtians, of whom He forewarns *Timothy*, ch. iii. ver. 5, under the Character of thoſe who *have a Form of Godlineſs, but deny the Power thereof:* whom he eſteems no better than Scandals to the Chriſtian Profeſſion; *Enemies to the Truth*; *Men of corrupt Minds*; *and reprobate concerning the Faith*, ver. 8.

5. If we conſider the Nature, Tendency, and Deſign, of all thoſe external Acts of Religion and Worſhip, in which ſome Chriſtians are inclined to place ſo great a Confidence; we ſhall find it a great affront to Almighty God; and the moſt groſs Abuſe and utter Perverſion of their Deſign, to reſt in them; to place our Hopes in them; and to make the Performance of them the Ground of our Expectation of the Favour of God, whilſt we continue in the Practice of known Sins. For the great End of the *Chriſtian Religion* is not that Men ſhould pay external Homage to Almighty God, but that their internal Tempers, and the whole Courſe of their Lives, ſhould be regulated by a deep and conſtant Senſe of God, and of a Judgement to come. To keep up this Senſe, and render it effectual; and to encourage others to profeſs, and carry forward, the ſame End; publick Aſſemblies of Chriſtians were inſtituted, and appointed, for the united Acknowledgment of God, and their Saviour; for the more ſolemn Obligation of themſelves to the Duties of their Religion; for the praying to God, the hearing his Word, and the partaking of the *Lord's Supper*.

Now what is Prayer to God, if it be not a ſincere Acknowledgment of his Sovereignty, and our Dependency; of his Authority, and our Duty? And what is this, but an Affront, if we know, and own, our Obligations to ſerve and obey him; and yet continue wilfully to diſobey and diſhonour him? Or, if we imagine to put a Cheat upon him, and to ſatisfy him with the *Fruit of our Lips*, whilſt our Hearts are far from him, and entirely indiſpoſed to render him that Service which our Mouths own to be due to him? What is this Prayer, unleſs it influence us to Obedience? And why can we be ſuppoſed to aſk of God his Aſſiſtance, and Holy Spirit; if we be reſolved not to make uſe of it, and continue to ſtand out againſt all its Motives and Offers?

Again, what can we conceive that hearing God's Word could be intended for; unleſs for the Practice of what we hear? Now, ſuppoſe that a Servant of an Earthly Maſter ſhould run with Zeal every Day to receive his Commands, and hear his Will; eagerly attending to it, and ſeeming to imbibe it greedily; whilſt all the time He is reſolved, not to perform it, or conſtantly goes away to his former Courſe of Negligence and Diſobedience: would not this be juſtly eſteemed the higheſt Affront, and greateſt Indignity, to his Maſter; and the utter Abuſe of his Maſter's Deſign in Calling upon him to hear his Duty? And thus it muſt be in Religion. Hearing can be only in order to our knowing our Duty; and knowing our Duty can be for no other End, but the doing it: and in all Caſes, both of them are ſo far from excuſing any who neglect it, that they are ever eſteemed by Men the great Aggravations of that Neglect. *To whom much is given, of Him much will be required. He that knows his Maſter's Will, and doth it not, ſhall be beaten with many Stripes:* proportionable to his Knowledge, ſhall be his Puniſhment. How contrary to ſome of his Diſciples, who pretend to ſcreen themſelves with their Knowledge! They hear greedily, and know a great deal: and from hence argue that they are what He approves; and that this their Zeal in *hearing*, ſhall cover their Crime in not *doing* his Will.

This is what St. *James* warns all Chriſtians againſt; the reſting in the external Action of hearing. *Be ye doers of the Word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own ſelves*, James i. *ver.* 22; and he goes on to compare a Man, who comes to hear his Duty, and goes away and neglects it, to a Man that looks into a Glaſs; and preſently goes away, and forgets his own Countenance. The Man can conſult the Glaſs with no other Deſign, but to ſee ſomething relating to his own Face; which he preſently forgets, as much as if he had not conſulted it. The Chriſtian can hear the Word for no other End, but to know his Duty: and yet, his Behaviour ſhews that he goes away and immediately forgets it. And thus the End of hearing; the only End to which it can ſerve; is totally neglected and perverted.

Of ſuch *Hearers* as theſe, remember what our *Lord* himſelf pronounces, *Matth.* vii. 26, at the end of the longeſt Diſcourſe, He is recorded to have made; and that, in which it was plainly his Deſign to preach Morality, and reſcue Virtue from the Cloud which had been caſt over it. *Every one*, ſaith He, *that heareth theſe Sayings of mine, and doth them not, ſhall be likened unto a fooliſh Man which built his Houſe upon the Sand; And the Rain deſcended, and the Floods came, and the Winds blew, and beat upon that Houſe; and it fell, and great was the Fall of it.* Such is the Man, we ſee, who builds his Hope of Salvation upon his bare hearing the Word of God with Greedineſs, without a conſcientious Practice of what he hears. The Woman in the Goſpel who heard with Delight the Words of Life, as they proceeded out of our *Lord's* own Mouth, lift up her Voice, and ſaid unto him, *Bleſſed is the Womb that bare thee.* But he ſaid, *Yea rather, Bleſſed are they that hear the Word of God, and keep it*, Luke xi. 27, 28. So ready was He to lay hold on every Opportunity of aſſuring his Diſciples, that their Happineſs depended upon their doing what they heard, and knew, to be their Duty.

The like may be ſaid of partaking of the Lord's Supper: which was intended for the united Profeſſion of our Faith in Chriſt; and the open Acknowledgment of our Obligations to live as becomes his Diſciples. And what then can it be, to rely for Salvation upon the outward Act of communicating; or the preſent Fit of Devotion in which we find ourſelves, ſeparated from, and void of, all Influence upon our Lives, and Practice: what can this be, I ſay,

but

but to mock our bleſſed Saviour; to celebrate his Sufferings, and join in afflicting him; to own ourſelves his Diſciples, and behave ourſelves as his Enemies; to contradict the Deſign of the Duty; and to fly to that *Religious Rite* for Refuge from the Puniſhment of Sin, which was inſtituted for a perpetual Memorial againſt Sin, and deſigned as one of the greateſt Motives againſt the Dominion and Power of it?

Nothing, I think, can be plainer than that thus to depend upon the external Acts of Devotion and Religion, for Salvation; without that Holineſs of Life which they were deſigned to further and promote; is one of the greateſt Inſtances of Ingratitude and Preſumption that can well be thought of; a formal Mockery of Almighty God and our bleſſed Saviour; a Contradiction to the *End* and Deſign of the external Duties themſelves; and a fatal Deluſion and Deceit upon our own Souls: it being certain that our Performance of theſe external Duties is ſo far from being an Excuſe; that it will be the greateſt Aggravation of a wicked Life.

And now, if theſe Things be ſo; what muſt we ſay of ſome ſort of Chriſtians? They come to theſe external Parts of Religion for Comfort. With Hands, and Eyes lifted up, and an Air of the higheſt Devotion, they will call upon the Name of the Lord, perform the publick Acts of Worſhip; hear his Word with Greedineſs; and perhaps partake of his Table. But here they reſt. The ſame unmortified Luſts and Paſſions which they bring with them, they carry back again: and return, day after day, to take their Rounds of what they call Religion; in order to flatter themſelves, the more plauſibly, into a Fancy that they are not wholly devoted to Sin, and the World. And if they be a little eaſy themſelves in this Method; they are apt to think that Almighty God is eaſy with them likewiſe. But it is high time to awake out of this Dream. It is the Paradiſe of Madmen; and a State of the deepeſt Folly and Miſery. It is high time to conſider what Religion is: that it is not the being profeſſed Chriſtians; or Members of the beſt Church in the World; or Frequenters of the publick Worſhip; or attentive Hearers of God's Word, that can at laſt avail us; without living as becomes Chriſtians; without adorning the Church we boaſt of, by an exemplary Holineſs; without manifeſting a deep Senſe of God in all our Converſation; and without doing that Will of our heavenly Father, which we pretend to hear with ſo much readineſs.

And God grant that all of us may ſo conſider theſe Things, as to let them have their due Influence upon all our future Behaviour, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord! *Amen!*

The Power of Charity to cover Sins, conſidered.

SERMON XI.

1 PETER iv. 8.

And above all things have fervent Charity among yourſelves: for Charity ſhall cover the multitude of Sins.

THE Deſign which I am now proſecuting, obligeth me to take notice of ſuch Paſſages of Scripture as any profeſſed Chriſtians may, on any Account, be apt to interpret to a very bad Purpoſe: that is, to the giving themſelves Encouragement to hope for God's future Mercy, for the Sake of his Son: even whilſt they continue in the habitual Practice of known Sins. And the Words which I have now read to you, as well as ſome others in the *New Teſtament* to the ſame purpoſe, ſeem at firſt reading, and taken by themſelves, to be as likely to be abuſed this way, as any we can well pick out: which, therefore, I now deſign carefully to conſider; in order to prevent any ſuch fatal practical Miſtake as may endanger the Salvation of thoſe who profeſs the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt.

The *Apoſtle* is, in this Verſe, after the moſt earneſt manner, preſſing upon the Chriſtians to whom he writes, the moſt fervent and unconfined Love towards one another, *Above all things, have fervent Charity among yourſelves*: as his great Maſter had frequently, in the moſt pathetick manner, exhorted his Followers to love one another. From which Words, *Charity among yourſelves*, it is evident that He is not in this place, preſſing upon them Love in the moſt comprehenſive Senſe poſſible; or the Love of God, which is a diſtinct part of the Law of Chriſt; but particularly the Love of one another.

Nor is it any Objection againſt this (which is indeed plain from the very Words) that the form of Expreſſion, with which the *Apoſtle* introduceth them, ſeems too much for this. For the Phraſe, *above all things*, in the common uſe of it, is not deſigned to be underſtood, as making the thing ſpoken of, of greater Importance than every other Point whatſoever: but only to ſignify that the Matter is of great Importance; and that there was great Occaſion, perhaps from ſome manifeſt Failure amongſt the Perſons ſpoken to, to preſs upon them this Particular, at this time, above all others. Thus, to give one plain Inſtance, St. *James*, in the *fifth* Chapter of his *Epiſtle*, at the 12th verſe, brings in the Prohibition of Swearing, after the ſame manner, *But above all things, my Brethren, ſwear not.* Not that any one can imagine but that other Crimes, condemned by the Goſpel, were full as much to be avoided by Chriſtians, or were of a leſs heinous nature than this: but that He had ſome more than ordinary preſent Occaſion to remind them of their Duty in this Particular; and in an eſpecial manner to charge them not to be guilty of this Vice, So likewiſe, in the Caſe before us, there may be ſuppoſed very good Reaſon for St. *Peter*, at that time, to preſs upon the *Chriſtians* to whom He wrote, the Love of another, *above all things*; becauſe they either had offended particularly againſt this Law, or were moſt likely to do ſo; without putting ſuch a Senſe upon this common Form of Expreſſion, as if He muſt mean by it any thing more, and greater, than what his own Words profeſs; *viz. fervent Charty among themſelves.*

This might ſuffice to account for the manner of his introducing this but it is fit likewiſe to conſider that the Love of one another, conſidered as a Duty diſtinct from the Love of God and all other Duties; the Forgiveneſs of one another; the bearing with, and tenderly regarding one another, is ſo peculiar a Branch of Chriſtianity: is ſo much inſiſted on by Chriſt himſelf, as the indiſpenſable Condition of our Happineſs, and that which He came down from Heaven in an eſpecial manner to implant, and encourage in the Minds and Manners of Men; that an Apoſtle, and Preacher of the ſame Goſpel, might well, in ſpeaking to Chriſtians, put them in mind, in a very particular manner, to regard this peculiar Branch of their Profeſſion; that Love of one another, by which all Men were to know they were Chriſt's Diſciples, and to ſee them diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of an unfriendly, and ſelfiſh World about them.

It is, therefore, without doubt, as the Words themſelves ſhew, Love to one another, peculiarly ſo called, or *a fervent Charity among themſelves*, that St. *Peter* is preſſing upon them with ſuch Vehemence: and which he urgeth farther by this Conſideration; *for Charity*, i. e. this Charity to one another, of which He is ſpeaking, *ſhall cover the multitude of Sins.* With reſpect to which words, all my preſent Deſign is to guard againſt any fatal practical Miſtake, by conſidering in what Senſes they may poſſibly, or probably, be underſtood; and ſhewing that no Encouragement can be drawn from theſe or the like Words, taken in any Senſe of which they are capable, to induce Chriſtians to hope for Salvation on account of their *loving* one another, or forgiving one another, without forſaking their own Sins, and entering upon an holy Courſe of Life in other reſpects.

Indeed, it is very obſervable that there are none leſs likely to ſtand in need of the Abuſe of this Text than ſuch as are truly charitable; and ſincerely love their Neighbours; and are heartily diſpoſed to forgive their Offences againſt themſelves: that none have fewer Faults to cover, than ſuch as theſe; or are leſs likely to take Refuge in their *Charity*, to indulge themſelves in any thing evil. For, Did any of us ever know one truly charitable Man; I mean, charitable in a regular and ſtated Courſe, and in an eminent Degree; who willingly allowed himſelf in the habitual Practice of any known Vice; or in any ſort of Tranſgreſſion of God's Law? On the contrary, though we may have known a very vicious Man do particular Acts of Liberality, and ſhew an uncommon Generoſity upon ſome uncommon Occaſion; perhaps out of an ill-gotten Stock, and to ſupport a great Temporal Intereſt: yet, did we ever know any Man, who continued in a courſe of a *multitude* of known *Sins*, to be regularly charitable in a great degree; and always diſpoſed and ready to forgive and overlook all Offences againſt himſelf? But yet it is fitting ſometimes to do more than may be ſtrictly neceſſary, in order to take away all Pretext from ſuch Men, as may fancy themſelves poſſeſſed of a Charity which they have not; and take Courage from thence to preſume upon the Mercy of God. To return, therefore, to what I propoſed,

I. It is not at all improbable that the *Apoſtle*, when he declares that our *Charity ſhall cover*, or covers, *the multitude of Sins*, means that it will, or doth, cover the Sins of *others*; and not our own: which Interpetation at once cuts off the Ground of the Miſtake, ſuppoſed to be founded upon this Declaration. And ſuppoſing him to ſpeak of the Sins of others; it may be, as it hath been by ſeveral Interpreters, underſtood two ways.

1. It may ſignify that our Charity and Love to others will incline us to *cover*, that is, to hide ſo as to forgive, and not to revenge or puniſh, all the Offences of others againſt ourſelves. So that the Apoſtle may exhort the Chriſtians to have a fervent inward Affection for one another, on this Account; becauſe this fervent Love of one another will incline them to overlook and forgive all the Offences of others againſt themſelves: which is ſo main a part of the Evangelical Law, and ſo acceptable in the Eyes of God. Againſt this Interpretation there may be *Two Objections* raiſed:

1. The firſt is, that the Phraſe, which is rendered *to cover Sins*, is always in other places uſed with reſpect to God's covering our Sins, and not to our covering the Offences of others againſt ourſelves. But this will not be of great force, becauſe, though this may poſſibly be found true, yet, it is to be looked upon as a Matter purely accidental; and not ariſing from any Impropriety in applying the Word to the Sins of others: it being of that nature, that it is full as apt to expreſs our covering, ſo as to pardon the Offences of others, as it is to denote God Almighty's covering, ſo as to pardon our Offences. Juſt as the Word *Forgive* is uſed both of God's forgiving our Sins, and of our forgiving one another: So may the Word *Cover* be, in itſelf, equally proper in both caſes; and the Circumſtances or Words of any particular Paſſage of Scripture be reaſonably left to determine to which it is deſigned by the Writer to belong. If the Word which is tranſlated *Forgive*, had happened to have been generally uſed in ſpeaking of God's forgiving us; this would not have been a Proof that it might not have been uſed, in one or two places, where our Forgiveneſs of one another was ſpoken of: and the ſame may be ſaid with reſpect to the Word *Cover*; which is equally applicable to both Caſes. From whence it follows, that no Argument can be drawn from hence to prove that it may not as properly and juſtly be ſaid that Charity *covers* the Offences of others againſt us, as that it *covers* our Offences againſt God. Indeed, if there were any thing peculiar in the Word, which made it abſurd to apply it to any thing but our own Sins againſt God; a critical Argument might be drawn from hence againſt this Senſe. But when the Word is frequently uſed in many other Caſes, and applied to many other Things; nay, is only in a metaphorical Senſe uſed for Forgiveneſs, or taking no notice of, Sins; nothing can be urged from hence againſt uſing it in all Caſes, in which it is equally proper. Beſides, as I hope to make out by and by, this very Word and Phraſe is uſed by St. *James*, with reſpect to the Sins of others.

2. It may ſeem to ſome a little abſurd to make the *Apoſtle* preſs Chriſtians with ſo much Vehemence to mutual Love; not by declaring the future Reward of it, but by laying before them one main Effect and Branch of it, as a Motive to engage them to endeavour after that Love. But if we conſider what a Streſs the Goſpel layeth upon our Placability, and Forgiveneſs of one another; we ſhall not much wonder to find an *Apoſtle*, earneſtly preſſing Chriſtians to labour after that inward Diſpoſition, which will produce ſuch an Effect; ſo neceſſary to their own Happineſs. Let us labour after a fervent Charity, or Love, for one another; for this will diſpoſe us readily to *cover*, to paſs by, overlook, and forgive, the greateſt Number of Offences of others againſt ourſelves: This, I ſay, is no ſmall Argument to Chriſtians, who know that this is the way to their own Forgiveneſs, and Happineſs; and a Condition, without

which they cannot hope to have their own paſt Sins covered by Almighty God. The like way of ſpeaking is uſed by St. *Paul*, Rom. xiii. 8, where He exhorts the Chriſtians to *love one another*, becauſe *He that loveth another* may be ſaid to have *fulfilled the Law:* that is, becauſe, if we truly love one another, this will induce us to do no Miſchief, but all poſſible Good, to our Neighbour; and ſo to come up to what is required of us by God, with reſpect to our Neighbour, which muſt be a great and ſubſtantial Motive to any Chriſtian to endeavour after ſuch a Love, and Charity.

2. The ſecond way, in which the Words of the Text may be interpreted, with reſpect to the *Sins* of *others*, is this; that, if we have a *fervent Charity* for others, this will engage us to ſeek after the Converſion of ſuch as are Sinners; and ſo our Love to the Souls of Men, ſhewing itſelf by turning many to Righteouſneſs, will be the Occaſion of God's covering, or pardoning, their Sins, who are ſo turned from a Life of Sin, to all holy Converſation, and Godlineſs. This is, indeed, a ſafe Senſe of the Words. But, I cannot think it ſo probable that the Apoſtle could mean this; becauſe it is unlikely that the Chriſtians to whom He wrote ſhould ſo underſtand him: ſince He doth not make the leaſt mention, or give the leaſt hint, of that Converſion of Sinners, upon which this Interpretation wholly depends. If this had been the thing in his View; it is hardly poſſible to ſuppoſe but that He would have once mentioned what He principally intended.

I grant, indeed, that there is a Paſſage at the latter end of St. *James's Epiſtle;* which in Words is parallel to this in St. *Peter:* about which it is now fit to ſay ſomething. The very laſt Words of that *Epiſtle* are theſe, *Let him know that He who converts a Sinner from the Error of his way, ſhall ſave a Soul from Death, and ſhall cover a multitude of Sins*, the very Words uſed by St. *Peter*. Where indeed it is very natural to interpret the Words to ſignify, that by converting a Sinner to Righteouſneſs we *ſave a Soul from Death*; and are the Occaſion of God's not puniſhing thoſe many Sins, which if they had been continued in, muſt have laid the Sinner open to the Divine Vengeance: which is a Conſideration enough to move any ſincere Chriſtian to that Work. Nor is it any Objection againſt this Interpretation, that *ſaving a Soul from Death, and covering a multitude of Sins* in this Senſe, are the ſame thing, in other Words; when the Apoſtle ſeems to propound them as two diſtinct Motives: becauſe there are numberleſs Inſtances, in ſacred and profane Writers of the beſt Rank, of the like Tautology to this; *viz.* the expreſſing the preſent Sentiment of their Minds, at the ſame time, after ſeveral ways, and yet ſtill to the ſame Purpoſe.

But here, we ſee, when St. *James* meant particularly to ſignify to Chriſtians that it was by Converſion of Sinners that they might be Inſtruments of *covering a multitude of Sins*, which was a great and Godlike Work; that He doth not ſpeak of Charity in general: but very particularly and plainly points out to them that particular Branch of it, by which *a multitude of Sins* might be *covered.* And this is an Argument why St. *Peter* probably had not this in his View: becauſe, if He had, there is no reaſon to think but that He would have ſaid ſo, as plainly as St. *James* did; or, at leaſt, that He would have given ſome Hint, ſufficient to have led us to underſtand Him to the ſame Purpoſe. Nor is the uſe of the ſame expreſſion ſufficient to ſhew that they both meant the ſame thing: it being full as proper for St. *Peter* to tell Chriſtians that their Love to one another would engage them to forgive one another's Offences, without reſenting or puniſhing them; as for St. *James* to tell other Chriſtians that their converting a Sinner would be the means of his paſt Sins being covered, ſo as to be forgiven by God. This ſhews us that, as the Word *Cover* is applied to ſeveral other things as well as *Sins*; ſo, may the Expreſſion of *covering Sins*, or a *multitude of Sins*, be uſed with reſpect to very different Caſes, and with very different Views.

This, therefore, is the firſt general Propoſition I lay down, that theſe Words may be ſo interpreted, at leaſt one way, very probably, as to reſpect only the covering the Sins of others from Puniſhment; and not our own. And if this be the Intent of the Apoſtle in this place; the Inference is plain, that all Ground is removed of building upon it any ſuch Opinion, as that any degree of any ſort of Charity will *cover our own* Sins: ſince, according to this Interpretation, all that is here ſaid, is that our Charity will cover, and overlook, the Failings and Offences of others. Nay, if this be but a poſſible Interpretation of the Words; as long as it is free from all Hazard; who would be ſo weak as to venture his Eternity, and Salvation, upon the Poſſibility of any other Senſe, not ſo certainly ſafe, and ſecure? But leſt any Sinner ſhould think himſelf too hardly dealt with; and not indulged and ſoothed, ſo much as he may imagine this *Paſſage* to have indulged him: let us proceed farther, and, in the *ſecond place*,

II. Let us ſuppoſe that the *Apoſtle* intended in the Text to exhort and allure *Chriſtians* to *Charity* amongſt one another, by telling them that *Charity* would *cover the multitude of* their own *Sins*: and yet we ſhall find, upon a due Examination, how ſmall a Conſolation this, or any the like Aſſertion, rightly underſtood, can afford to any *Chriſtian* who continues in his Sins. And under this Head, it is my Deſign to take notice of *three* or *four* ſeveral Paſſages, which may give unſtable Men occaſion of impoſing upon themſelves.

As to the Words of the Text; ſuppoſing it be affirmed by St. *Peter* that *Charity ſhall cover the multitude of* our own *Sins*; I ſay,

1. It is highly unreaſonable to interpret this, as if He meant that it ſhould atone for the wilful Sins in which we ſtill continue: becauſe to ſay this of any thing, is to contradict, as I have often obſerved, the whole Tenour of the Goſpel, in which *the Wrath of God is revealed*, without Exception, *againſt all Unrighteouſneſs*. This therefore, cannot be fixed upon any obſcure Words of the firſt Preachers of the Goſpel: whoſe Buſineſs it was to declare this *Wrath of God*: it being one certain Rule to go by, not to fix a Senſe upon any particular Paſſage, contrary to the main Deſign, and Tenour, of the whole.

2. It is contrary to St. *Peter's* own Declarations, and moſt earneſt Exhortations, in this very Epiſtle: who beſeecheth the Chriſtians to whom He wrote, *to be holy in all manner of Converſation, as He that called them is holy*, ch. i. 15. *And to abſtain from fleſhly Luſts which war againſt the Soul*, ch. ii. ver. 11. and the like. Now in vain did He do this; and to no purpoſe were all his Exhortations: if He can be ſuppoſed to tell them after all, that though they ſhould *not be holy in all manner of Converſation*; though they ſhould *not abſtain from fleſhly Luſts*; yet they might be ſecure of the Favour of God; that, if they did but take care to love one another, that would cover all. So that if we would not make St. *Peter* contradict and deſtroy his own Deſign; we muſt not make him ſpeak after this manner.

But if any ſhould ſay that St. *Peter* means it of a moſt comprehenſive and extenſive Love of God, and Man: I anſwer, that He ſaith himſelf, He means it of *Charity among themſelves*; and that St. *James* hath uſed the very ſame Words of one ſingle Branch of Brotherly-love, which are ſuppoſed, by thoſe who alledge this, to be exactly parallel in meaning to theſe in St. *Peter*. This wholly takes away the Benefit of this Obſervation; and affixeth Salvation to one ſingle Branch of Charity, diſtinct from other Virtues.

And here, having mentioned the *Paſſage* in St. *James* again; I muſt obſerve of *that* likewiſe, that, ſuppoſing the *Apoſtle* to mean by it, that a Chriſtian by *converting a Sinner doth cover*, or make an Atonement, for his own Sins; yet, it cannot there be underſtood of the Sins he continues in; but only of thoſe which He hath forſaken: becauſe the particular Branch of Charity ſpoken of there, ſuppoſeth the Neceſſity of all Sinners being converted, in order to the ſaving their Souls. If therefore, I convert a Sinner; yet, if I myſelf remain a wilful Sinner againſt God's Laws in other reſpects; there is the ſame Neceſſity of my being converted, in order to the ſaving my Soul, that there was for the Converſion of the other, about whom I have been labouring. But if it were ſufficient to convert another; though the Converter himſelf remain a wilful habitual Sinner; ſuppoſing that another ſhould afterwards convert this Man himſelf from his Sins; it cannot be ſaid, as this Paſſage affirms, that He *ſaves a Soul from Death*, becauſe it was ſaved before by his having converted another: and then likewiſe, all the Buſineſs any Man hath to do, is to endeavour to chuſe out ſome Sinner, and by all means to labour his Converſion; upon which He may be ſure of God's Favour, let his own Life be what it will. But what then ſignifieth the *Goſpel* of *Jeſus Chriſt?* and the Terrors of the Lord diſplayed in it againſt Sinners; if ſuch a Senſe can be fixed upon any part of it? It remains, therefore,

3. That, if St. *Peter* meant the Words of the Text with reſpect to our own Sins, all his Intention was to ſay that our loving one another; our kind Regards; our Placability and Good-nature; our Forgiveneſs and Forbearance of one another, would engage Almighty God to forbear the Puniſhment of us, or to forgive to us ourſelves thoſe manifold Sins, which we have ever been guilty of towards Him, in Time paſt: not thoſe which we ſtill indulge ourſelves in; but thoſe which we have forſaken. For I muſt obſerve to you that this is the Peculiarity belonging to that great Virtue of loving one another, ſo as to be ready to forbear, and forgive; *viz.* that, for the ſake of *that*, God will forgive us the Sins which we have forſaken: but that, without it, (that is, unleſs we forgive others, our Neighbours and Brethren;) even thoſe Sins which we have formerly been guilty of; though we have forſaken them, and though God had, upon that, heretofore forgiven them; ſhall be remembred againſt us, ſolely on the Account of our implacable and unforgiving Temper of Mind.

If St. *Peter*, therefore, ſpeaks of *our own Sins*, as *covered* by our Love to others; I take him to ſay what our Lord himſelf affirmed, *Matth.* vi. 14, *If ye forgive Men their Treſpaſſes, your heavenly Father will alſo forgive you:* to the right Interpretation of which Words, what I have already ſaid will lead all Chriſtians who are not reſolved to impoſe upon themſelves. The Interpretation which I mean is this, that, if they forgive the Treſpaſſes of others, God will likewiſe forgive them the Sins which they have forſaken, and amended: but, if they do not forgive others, that even thoſe Sins which God had formerly remitted to them, on Account of their firſt Faith, or Amendment, ſhall be again accounted for, and ſeverely puniſhed upon them in the other World. And thus *Chriſt* himſelf ſeems to have explained it in the Parable, *Matth.* xviii. 3; in which the *Lord* puniſheth his Servant for the Debt which He had once forgiven him, only becauſe afterwards He would not forgive the ſmall Debt of one of his Fellow-ſervants.

To draw towards a Concluſion; If our Lord, in his Account of the great Day, ſpeaks of *Alms-giving* only; we ſee, by the forementioned Text, and multitudes of others, that it was not his Deſign there to ſpeak of every thing neceſſary;

but only to ſhew the great Acceptableneſs of that Branch of Charity to God Almighty; and what ſtrict Enquiry there would be made, at the great Day, into the Practice of this Virtue: but that we muſt not ſo interpret it, as to render void his other plain Declarations about the abſolute Neceſſity of all the other Inſtances of Goodneſs and Holineſs.

If, in any other Places of Scripture, or in the Apocryphal pious Writers, *Alms-giving*, or any ſort of Charity, be ſpoken of as an *Atonement for Sins*; or particularly, in any of the firſt Chriſtian Writers: it is evident how a Chriſtian muſt underſtand ſuch Expreſſions. Every thing that is commendable; Every ſingular Act of Piety, or Charity, may be, by a Figure of ſpeech, called a *Sacrifice*, as it is offered to the Honour and Service of God by thoſe who perform it rightly: or an *Atonement*, as it may be ſaid to make ſome Amends for a paſt Life of contrary or Vicious Actions; juſt as a preſent Regard and Friendſhip, and the ſerving any Man in a very remarkable Matter of Importance, may be called an Atonement for a paſt State of Diſſervice and Diſreſpect; without ſuppoſing any ſuch ſingle Actions to be any Satisfaction, or Atonement, for multitudes of Affronts which we continue, upon many more Occaſions, ſtill to offer Him.

If any Writers, of good Authority, have paralleled the *Atonement* of *Mercy* with that of *Baptiſm*; this ſhews ſtill farther that they could mean it with reſpect to nothing but paſt Sins, forſaken and abandoned. For, as *Baptiſm* atones not for any Sins, but ſuch as were committed before it, and are utterly renounced in it; not at all for ſuch as the baptized Perſon continues in, after his Baptiſm; ſo, in like manner, cannot *Mercy*, or *Charity*, by any one who uſeth this Similitude, be thought, or ſaid, to atone for any Sins, but what are forſaken by the merciful Perſon: not at all for ſuch as He ſtill continues to be guilty of.

From all which there cannot be any Conſolation, or hope of Salvation, drawn, to any ſuch Chriſtians, as ſtill go on to allow themſelves in the wilful Violation of any of the Laws of Chriſt: but, on the contrary, this Conſolation of making ſome ſort of amends to *God Almighty*, by ſignal Acts of *Charity*, belongs only to ſuch as, though Sinners in Time paſt, yet have now actually reformed their Lives.

This, therefore, is the Chriſtian Doctrine about *Charity*; or rather, about that part of it which conſiſts in Forgiveneſs of others: that, on account of this, for the ſake of *Jeſus Chriſt*, God will cover and forgive our Sins, which we have forſaken; and not without it. And this is ſo far from releaſing us from the Obligation of forſaking them; that it ſuppoſeth it done, and adds to it the Obligation of our imitating God Almighty in forgiving one another: Which God grant we may all do, *&c.*

Of relying upon the Merits of Chriſt, for Salvation.

SERMON XII.

Firſt Epiſtle of St. John, Ch. II. part of the 1ſt and 2d Verſes.

If any Man ſin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the righteous: and he is the Propitiation for our Sins.

IN this Paſſage, the *Apoſtle* declares that it is for the ſake of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and on account of his ſufferings, that the Sins committed by his Diſciples will be forgiven by Almighty God. Now from this, and the like Declarations in the *New Teſtament* many profeſſed Chriſtians have taken occaſion to frame to themſelves ſuch Notions concerning the Merits of Chriſt, and the Sacrifice of his Death, and his Interceſſion with the *Father*, founded upon theſe; as may comfort themſelves in their Continuance in Sin, and take off from their Minds all that Uneaſineſs which might otherwiſe ariſe from the Reflexion on their own wilful Demerits, and Unworthineſs. Which fatal Proceeding of Chriſtians addicted to their Luſts and Paſſions, makes it neceſſary particularly to conſider this Point; in order to rectify ſo pernicious a Miſtake. And to this End, I propoſe at this time

I. To lay down the Doctrine of the *New Teſtament*, concerning the Merits of *Chriſt*; or the Effect of his Sufferings, with reſpect to the Pardon of our Sins, and our future Happineſs.

II. To take more particular notice of that unworthy Abuſe of this Doctrine, of which Chriſtians in theſe later Ages eſpecially, have been, and are guilty.

III. To ſhew the Baſeneſs and Abſurdity of this Abuſe. And,

IV. To point out to you the true, and good Uſes that Chriſtians ought to make of this Doctrine.

I. The Doctrine itſelf, concerning the *Merits* of *Chriſt*, or the Effect of his Sufferings towards the Pardon of our Sins, and our eternal Happineſs, I have heretofore in effect propoſed: when, under the former part of my preſent Deſign, I ſhewed you that, in order to our Acceptance and final Juſtification, through *Jeſus Chriſt*, it is abſolutely required of us in the Goſpel, that we forſake thoſe Sins which we have been guilty of; and practiſe ſincerely an univerſal Obedience to the whole Will of God, any ways made known to us. This having been plainly made out from the moſt expreſs Declarations in the *New Teſtament*; it is enough to obſerve from hence, that, in the Words of the Text, *Jeſus Chriſt is the Propitiation for thoſe Sins*, which we carefully and conſcientiouſly endeavour to avoid, and forſake; not for thoſe which we wilfully continue in: that the *Merits of Chriſt*, ſo much talked of by ſome, are ſo great, that, for the ſake of his Sufferings, God will accept to his Favour and Mercy, ſuch as lay hold on the Terms offered by the ſame *Jeſus Chriſt*; ſuch Chriſtians as relinquiſh and abandon their Vices; and come up to that Condition of univerſal Holineſs required by Him; but not ſuch as ſtill continue, notwithſtanding all his Calls, and all his Denunciations, to proſecute their own vile Luſts, and to oppoſe and contradict the Will of God.

This, I ſay, moſt manifeſtly follows from the plain Proofs formerly given, out of the New Teſtament, concerning the indiſpenſable Neceſſity lying upon Chriſtians to forſake their Sins, in order to their Pardon; and to practiſe all Virtue, in order to their Happineſs. For if theſe Conditions be plainly and expreſsly required in the Goſpel-covenant; then it is apparent, beyond Contradiction, that, upon the Goſpel-covenant, ſealed by the Blood of Chriſt, and entered into for the ſake of his Merits, there can be no Pardon, nor Salvation, demanded, or hoped for, but by ſuch as forſake their Sins, and obey the Moral Laws of the Goſpel: and, in other Words, that the Sufferings of Chriſt have actually procured theſe *Conditions* to be granted by Almighty God; that ſo thoſe Sinners who have forſaken their Sins, and entered upon a new Courſe of Action, may obtain Juſtification from the Guilt of their former Sins, and Eternal Happineſs in the Kingdom of Heaven.

And who will not ſay that this is ſufficient Satisfaction to any well-diſpoſed Mind, to be aſſured, in ſuch a way, that He is accepted by God, and hath a Title to Happineſs? without which Aſſurance, the Mind of a conſidering Perſon muſt be perpetually diſturbed with Fears and Jealouſies. And who will not own that this is all that could be expected, or reaſonably wiſhed for, from a God of Holineſs, and Wiſdom, as well as of Mercy; to offer Pardon and Salvation upon theſe Conditions only? ſince by this Method He gives all the Comfort to Sinners that is poſſible, without encouraging them to continue in their Sins; and all the Diſcouragement poſſible to Vice, without making every Inſtance of it abſolutely unpardonable.

If any reply to this, that the Merits of ſo divine, and ſpotleſs a Being as *Jeſus Chriſt* are infinite; and therefore every thing may be hoped for from them: I anſwer, that the Queſtion is not, what the *Merits* of *Chriſt* are in themſelves; or what they might poſſibly have procured; but what the Goſpel declareth that they have actually procured for all ſincere Believers. Let them be what they will in themſelves; They can be no more to us, than what God Almighty thinks fit to make them, agreeably to the eternal Laws of Reaſon, and Wiſdom. The Mercy of God is, in a good Senſe, infinite: that is, it is bounded by nothing but his own perfect Wiſdom, and Holineſs: againſt the Laws of which Wiſdom and Holineſs it cannot act; and beyond which, it would not be a Perfection, but a Weakneſs. So likewiſe, ſuppoſing the Merits and Value of Chriſt's Sufferings to be unbounded, and infinite, conſidered without ſuppoſing the Goſpel-covenant actually made: yet, when it pleaſed God to be moved to make a Covenant by theſe Sufferings; the Merit of theſe Sufferings, with reſpect to ſuch as God enters into this Covenant with, muſt be bounded by the plain *Terms* and *Conditions* of this Covenant. It depends upon God's Will, and his Wiſdom, what theſe *Conditions* ſhall be: and conſequently what is procured for us by theſe Sufferings can be no more than what God ſees fit; and what He declareth, they ſhall procure for us. And therefore, I ſay, let the Merits of Chriſt be never ſo unbounded, before this Covenant is ſuppoſed; let the Value of his *Propitiation* be infinite; yet it is plain they are bounded, as to us, as ſoon as God declares what He will do, and what He will not do, for the ſake of theſe Sufferings: which is the Buſineſs of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt.

Now, when it is declared by this very Perſon, whoſe Merits are ſo much pleaded by ſome, that God will accept returning Sinners, upon their Amendment; and that ſuch as continue in their Sins ſhall be excluded from his Kingdom: I ſay, when He himſelf declareth this; He doth in effect declare to Chriſtians, in other words, that He hath no Merits available for any who are not reformed according to his Moral Laws; that, though He be the *Propitiation for* their *Sins*, yet it is for their paſt, and forſaken Sins; that the Extent and Effect of his Merits, with reſpect to his Diſciples, is this, that, for the ſake of his Sufferings, God will forgive the Sins of ſuch as do at any time ſo turn to him as heartily to abhor and forſake them; and make happy all ſuch as do ſincerely ſet themſelves to the Practice of Righteouſneſs, and make an actual Progreſs in the Ways of his Commandments. Let any one but read the New Teſtament with a well-diſpoſed Mind; and He will find that This is the whole Doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, concerning the Merits and Value of his Sufferings, and their Efficacy towards the Pardon and Salvation of his Followers. But though this be ſo manifeſt, yet,

II. It is as manifeſt, that there have been, eſpecially in theſe later Ages, and ſtill are, (in a very vicious Generation of Men) Multitudes of Chriſtians, who are not content with this, that God ſhould pardon the Sins which they have forſaken, for the ſake of the Merits of Chriſt: but profeſs to believe that He will pardon all the Sins which they can poſſibly continue in, till Death overtakes them; if ſo be they can but have Time to declare their Truſt in Chriſt's Merits to this Purpoſe; or, in the uſual Phraſe, to apply to themſelves, with abundance of Confidence, the Merits of their Saviour, or the Promiſes of God made to Chriſtians for the ſake of his Son Jeſus Chriſt. They ſeem to think that Chriſt's Merit excuſeth them from attempting to have any Merit in themſelves: nay, that it would derogate from, and diſparage his Merits, if they ſhould pretend to have any thing in themſelves ſo much as agreeable to the Will of God; that it would be a piece of unpardonable Preſumption in them, to pretend to imitate the Moral Perfections of God, though they are called *to be holy, as He is holy*.

Sometimes they urge that there is nothing perfect here; and no Man but what ſins: and that, if they themſelves ſtand in need of the Merits of Chriſt to ſcreen them from the Divine Vengeance; ſo do their Neighbours likewiſe. As if, becauſe the Value of Chriſt's Sufferings will atone for the Failings, and the forſaken Sins, of a ſincere Chriſtian; therefore, they muſt needs atone for the wilful and continued Tranſgreſſions of ſuch as go on to diſgrace that holy Name by which they are called, by a moſt unholy Life, and are every Day wilfully affronting their God and Saviour. How unaccountable is this! And yet there is hardly any thing more common, than for the moſt notorious and wicked Chriſtians to profane his Merits, and his Sufferings, by openly profeſſing their Truſt, and entire Confidence in them. And, what is very remarkable, the more unchriſtian and profligate Men have been in their Lives, the more ſtrong and confident ſhall you often find them in that which they call *Faith*, and in their fooliſh Truſt in that which belongs not to them. So that, whilſt many good Chriſtians, through Exceſs of Modeſty and Humility, or through bodily Indiſpoſition, are almoſt ſunk with the Imagination that they have not done enough to give their Hearts Ground for Confidence in the Mercies of God: you ſhall frequently find many of thoſe, who have ſtood out againſt all the Calls of God to Repentance and Amendment, and perſevered to the End in Vice and Immorality, as ſecure of his Favour at laſt, and as ſatisfied with their Proſpect into another State, by the help of their groundleſs Confidence in Chriſt's Merits, as if the Goſpel had been calculated, not to engage Men to *deny Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly*; but merely to ſpeak Peace, and Quiet, and Comfort, to the Minds of the moſt notorious Sinners, even whilſt they know themſelves not to be amended in any reſpect.

But how great muſt the Power of the World, the Fleſh, and the Devil, be upon the Hearts of Men, when they can influence them to believe, (as it hath happened to ſome) that the way to glorify the Grace and Mercy of God is to multiply their Sins and Vices; that the way moſt largely and effectually to partake in the Merits of Chriſt, is to add Sin to Sin, that there may be the more to be pardoned, and the more Thanks due to him who pardons! Theſe, and the like Abſurdities, contrary to the whole Tenour of the Goſpel, hath a Love to Sin impoſed upon ſome Men; as a Refuge from the Reproaches, and Forebodings, of a guilty Conſcience; and theſe are often found to be fixed, without the leaſt Ground, upon ſuch general Declarations of the Value of the propitiatory Sacrifice of Chriſt, and the Merits of his Sufferings, as that in the Text.

Becauſe He is declared to be *a Propitiation for our Sins*; to be our *Advocate*, by virtue of that Propitiation, *with the Father*; *to have purged our Sins upon the Croſs*; *and to have died for us Sinners*; becauſe, in conſequence of theſe Declarations, it hath been delivered and taught by the Churches of Chriſt, that, *by his one Oblation of himſelf upon the Croſs once offered, He hath made a full, perfect, and ſufficient Sacrifice, and Satisfaction, for the Sins of the whole World*: therefore, they argue that their Sins cannot be too many for ſuch a Sacrifice to atone for; therefore they plead that theſe Sins, thus atoned for, are of all ſorts; as well thoſe which they indulge themſelves in, to the laſt Period of their Lives, as thoſe which have been forſaken, and abandoned; abuſing the Mercy of God, and the Merits of their Saviour, to their own eternal Perdition; as will appear, if we conſider ſeriouſly,

III. The great Unreaſonableneſs, Baſeneſs, and Abſurdity, of this Abuſe. That Chriſtians ſhould ſo far forget the nature of their Religion, which hath, in the plaineſt Words, made an univerſal Holineſs indiſpenſably neceſſary; that they ſhould be ſo far from being led by the Goodneſs of God to Repentance and Amendment, that they ſhould rather take occaſion from his Love to treaſure up for themſelves Wrath againſt the Day of Wrath; that thoſe very Sufferings of Chriſt, which were deſigned as the greateſt Argument to affright them from all Sin, ſhould be made as it were the Incentive and Motive to them to continue in Sin; that the greateſt Inſtance of Love ever diſplayed before the Eyes of Men ſhould be returned in Affronts, and Diſobedience to God, and to his Son: Theſe are ſuch aſtoniſhing Marks of abſurd Confidence, and Baſeneſs of Temper, as cannot be paralleled.

The Nature, and End of the Chriſtian Religion, plainly eſtabliſhed, muſt direct us in all our Interpretations of any of its general Declarations. And this Religion being holy, pure, and ſpotleſs; revealed by the Son of God from Heaven for the Converſion and Amendment of the World, and to teach us to forſake all Sin, and to live in all holy Obedience to God; the Wrath of God being often declared in it againſt all Unrighteouſneſs of Men: it is impoſſible that any Comfort ſhould be adminiſtred in it to ſuch as continue in Sin; becauſe this would be to deſtroy its own main Deſign, and to fruſtrate its own great End. From hence therefore it follows, that it is the higheſt Abſurdity to argue from its general Declarations concerning a Sacrifice for Sins, and a Propitiation of invaluable Merit, that this Sacrifice will be available for thoſe Sins of Chriſtians in which they ſtill wilfully continue: becauſe this is to contradict the great End of their Religion: to make all Virtue unneceſſary; and to turn all Chriſtianity into a confident Appeal to the Merits of Chriſt.

Again, It is the moſt abſurd and unreaſonable thing in the World, to fix ſuch a thing as this upon Almighty God: or to ſuppoſe that He ſhould ſend a Perſon from Heaven, to live and dye here on Earth, and to teach Mankind an excellent Doctrine; and at the ſame time declare, that it is no great Matter whether they imitate his Example, or obey his Precepts, if ſo be they do but truſt in his Merits, rely upon his Sacrifice, and put their Confidence in the infinite Value of his Sufferings; that this ſhall be their Comfort here, and their Reward hereafter. Who can believe this poſſible, I ſay, that knows and conſiders what God is; an holy, and wiſe Being; at an infinite diſtance from all Sin and Iniquity? For what would this be, but to reveal a Religion from Heaven, with the greateſt ſolemnity, on purpoſe to aſſure Men that Virtue is of no great Importance; and on purpoſe to encourage Vice, and Immorality in the World? I ſay this becauſe, in truth, ſuch Pretences of Chriſtians do manifeſtly, and effectually, tend to nothing elſe, but to render vain all the moral Precepts of the Goſpel; and to bring a Contempt upon all that is ſubſtantially good in Religion.

And if this be ſo abſurd in any reaſonable Creature, to fix ſuch an Abſurdity upon God; how much more abſurd and intolerable muſt it be in a Chriſtian, after this Revelation is made, in which the Nature of God, and his Hatred of Sin, are made known to him, to affront Almighty God with a Suppoſition which a very Heathen would be afraid to make! Nay, it receives a great Aggravation, when it is conſidered that it is by the Declaration of the Goſpel only that we can know what the Merits of Chriſt's Sufferings are to us; and that in this they are ſo plainly limited, as to the Extent, and End of them, that a ſincere Mind cannot miſtake. I have already obſerved to you what is declared there; and, with how much Plainneſs all who continue in their Sins, are debarred in that from any Benefit from the Sufferings of Chriſt; nay, how plainly they are aſſured that this very Goſpel, and the Sufferings of Chriſt, ſhall be an aggravation to their Puniſhment hereafter. And if, notwithſtanding all the Limitations which God himſelf hath ſet to his Mercy, and to the Merits of his Son; theſe Perſons will make a new Covenant, and a new Compact, for themſelves: what muſt we think of ſuch an egregious and groundleſs piece of Folly and Abſurdity?

Beſides, how baſe and ungrateful a Temper muſt this proceed from; to make uſe of the Goodneſs of God, and thoſe Sufferings which were the higheſt Inſtance of Chriſt's Love to them, as an Encouragement to themſelves to take part with the great Enemy of God and of Chriſt! How would it ſound in the Ears of any Man of the meaneſt Capacity, to hear Chriſtians ſpeaking thus, *God ſo loved the World that He ſent his only begotten Son*; and this Son of God hath declared his Love in dying for Sinners, after an unparalleled manner; therefore, let us affront him, and join ourſelves to his greateſt Adverſary; ſtill truſting that his Merits, and Sufferings, will make him look upon us, and treat us as his Friends? Yet, after this manner doth every Sinner argue, who reſolvedly continues a Sinner; and yet pretends to truſt in the Merits of his Saviour, for Pardon, and Salvation.

To make the matter yet more plain: Put the Caſe that any Prince ſhould ſend his own Son to a Company of profeſſed Rebels; and for the ſake of what He ſhould do and ſuffer amongſt them, offer to be reconciled to ſuch of them as ſhould be influenced by this Method to repent, and return to their Obedience: what greater Affront, or Indignity, can one well imagine, than, if theſe Perſons, profeſſing to lay hold on his Offers, ſhould yet continue to affront him, and diſobey all his juſt Commands, as much as ever; and yet all the time plead before him the Sufferings of his Son, and argue that his Merit muſt ſcreen them from Puniſhment, which was deſigned merely to make their future Obedience accepted;

and which greatly increaſeth the Guilt of their continuing ſuch Affronts, and Injuries? Would not this Appeal to thoſe Merits appear only a piece of formal Mockery; and juſtify to all the World the ſevereſt Puniſhment of thoſe who ſhould have nothing elſe to plead? Let us therefore,

IV. Laſtly, from what hath been ſaid, learn the true and good Uſes which Chriſtians ought to make of the *Merits of Jeſus Chriſt*, and of the Value of his Sufferings.

1. In the firſt place, we may lawfully and juſtly plead before God the Merits of his Son, and his invaluable Sacrifice, as what He hath been pleaſed to declare that He accepts, as an Atonement for thoſe Sins which we forſake, and abandon: and for the ſake of this, we may beg, with a well-grounded Aſſurance, that He will pardon all our paſt Offences, and whatever is amiſs in our whole Frame; and accept of our ſincere Endeavours after an univerſal Conformity to his Will in all Things. This is a ſort of *Truſt*; and indeed the only *Truſt* in the Merits of Chriſt, which we can juſtify, or from which we can reap any Comfort, or Advantage: becauſe indeed this is the only Truſt agreeable to the Nature and Deſign of the Goſpel; and to the many plain Declarations of the New Teſtament.

There is nothing in that ſacred Book, of the great Efficacy of applying the Merits of Chriſt to ourſelves, in all Circumſtances, with an undaunted Confidence. This is a new and modern Addition to the Goſpel of Chriſt. But if we look into any Page of it, we cannot but learn from thence, that we have no Encouragement to apply theſe Merits to ourſelves, nor any juſt Ground of Satiſfaction from them, unleſs we find in ourſelves a perſevering Reſolution to forſake all Vice; and a conſtant Endeavour to perfect Holineſs, whilſt we have Opportunity: and that it is the uniform Doctrine of the ſame *New Teſtament*, that thoſe who have wilfully continued Sinners to the laſt, have no part in the revealed Promiſes of God; nor conſequently the leaſt Right in the World to apply the Merits of Chriſt to themſelves in particular, which are declared to belong only to ſuch as have forſaken, and renounced their Sins. And if this be not true; then it muſt be true that the Goſpel makes no difference between a virtuous, and vicious Life; but makes Eternity depend upon ſuch a Confidence as the beſt Chriſtians often want, and the worſt generally have moſt of.

2. In the next place, we ought all to draw a ſtrong Argument againſt all Sin, and for all holy Obedience, from thoſe very Merits, and Sufferings of *Jeſus Chriſt*, under which ſome Chriſtians would hide their continued Iniquities. For if Chriſt be the Propitiation for our Sins; then what muſt Sin be to Almighty God, who took ſo ſevere a Method to be reconciled to Sinners? and what ought it to be to Chriſtians, who know this? How hateful, and how abominable! If *God ſo loved the World, that He ſent his only begotten Son*; if this Son voluntarily humbled himſelf to the vileſt Death for us: how ought we to ſtudy to do every thing pleaſing to him; and to avoid every thing which He hates and abhors! If ſo invaluable a Price were paid; that we might be reconciled to God upon any Terms: how ought we to be moved, by the Greatneſs of this Price, to come up to all his Terms, and Conditions; and not to think ſo long upon the Price, as to forget the End for which it was paid!

Ye are bought with a Price; therefore glorify God in your Body, and in your Spirit, which are God's: ſaith St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. vi. 20. The *Price* paid by Chriſt to buy Us into his Service, is, in his Account, the greateſt Motive why we ſhould ſerve ſuch a Maſter faithfully. *Paſs the Time of your Sojourning here in Fear*, ſaith St. *Peter*, *foraſmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible Things, as*

Silver, and Gold, but with the precious Blood of Chriſt, 1 Peter i. 17, 18, 19. This is the *Uſe*, which the *Apoſtles* earneſtly direct *Chriſtians* to make, of the Merits of their Saviour: but they never once adviſe, or command, or ſo much as permit, them to think that they ſhall be ſaved by theſe merits, after a Life ſpent in continual Diſobedience to his Moral Laws.

Let this Doctrine, therefore, be fixed in our Minds. The Merits of Chriſt's Sufferings are ſo great, that they will atone for the longeſt Courſe of Sins; provided we have forſaken, and utterly abandoned them: but of ſuch a nature, as terribly to aggravate the Guilt and Puniſhment of thoſe Chriſtians, who take occaſion to continue in their Sins, becauſe *Chriſt* is declared to be the *Propitiation for them.*

Miſtakes about Man's Inability, and God's Grace, conſidered.

SERMON XIII.

2 COR. iii. 5.

Not that we are ſufficient of ourſelves, to think any thing as of ourſelves: but our Sufficiency is of God.

THE *Apoſtle*, in this *Epiſtle*, was led, by the cunning Management of ſome evil-minded Perſons amongſt the *Corinthians*, to aſſert his own *Apoſtleſhip*; and his own Right to be their Director and Inſtructor, as He had been the Founder of their Church, and of their Faith. But leſt they ſhould think that He boaſted of himſelf above meaſure; as if from Him, conſidered by Himſelf, came all their Good, and all their Happineſs of being made Partakers of the *Goſpel*; He thinks fit in this Verſe to obviate this Inſinuation, and to aſſure them, that by what He had now, or any time before, ſaid to that purpoſe, He did not deſign to arrogate to himſelf the Glory of being the chief and principal Agent in this Matter; but that it was to the great Original of all Things, even to God himſelf, that they were obliged for ſo great and unſpeakable a Bleſſing. *Not that we are ſufficient of ourſelves to think any thing as of ourſelves: but our Sufficiency is of God.* That is, Not that We *Apoſtles*, of ourſelves, did or could lay this Scheme of Salvation: not that it is to us that the Contrivance, and Adminiſtration of this, is to be aſcribed. But our *Sufficiency*; our being able thus to contribute to your Happineſs, and thus ſucceſsfully to miniſter to your Good, by preaching the *Goſpel*, is owing to God.

That this is the meaning of the *Apoſtle*, in theſe Words, will be evident to any one who will be at the Pains to lay together what goes before, and what follows after this Verſe. For whoever doth that, will find that the *Apoſtle* is not here ſpeaking, or thinking of the Duty ordinarily required of Chriſtians, in order to their final Acceptance; but of a Subject entirely different from this; *viz.* of the Work of an *Apoſtle*; of the firſt Original of that *Scheme* of *Salvation* which the *Apoſtles* preached to the World; and of that Knowledge and Sufficiency which the firſt Preachers of the Goſpel had in order to the Performance of their great Work. But though this be ſo plainly the meaning of the Words; yet many Chriſtians, of later Ages, have been led from this Text, and others of the like Sound, into ſuch Errors, as tend, in their own natures, to obſtruct and hinder the great Deſign of the Goſpel; and to make Men eaſy and careleſs about the Performance of thoſe Terms of Acceptance, Holineſs and univerſal Righteouſneſs, which are ſo plainly required in the Goſpel.

It is, therefore, of great Importance, to examine, and confute ſuch pernicious Miſtakes; and to ſhew that there is nothing in the *New Teſtament* to favour them. The Miſtakes at which I now particularly point, are ſuch as are founded upon a very fatal Notion of the Weakneſs, and Inability of Man; and of the part which Almighty God is to act in the Buſineſs of Reformation, and Holineſs. For many Perſons have not been content with ſaying that their Natures are weak and frail; too eaſily carried away by the Force of that multitude of Trials which ſurround them in this State; that the *Fleſh is weak*, and their Inclinations directed with a ſtrong Bias towards Sin and Wickedneſs; but are likewiſe pleaſed with repreſenting themſelves in ſuch a State of Inability, and Inſufficiency, as that all Motives, and all Calls to Repentance are in vain; in ſuch a State, as that it is impoſſible for them, by any Act of their own Mind, either to pray effectually to God; or ſucceſsfully to bear any part, in the great Work of their Salvation, themſelves.

So likewiſe, with reſpect to *Almighty God*; they are not content with acknowledging that the great Deſign of their Happineſs is owing originally to Him, and is his Work; or that all their Powers and Faculties come from Him, who made them what they are; or that He is ready to aſſiſt their Endeavours, whenever they exert them; to anſwer their ſincere Prayers, and to impart to them whatever is neceſſary to their ſucceſsful running the Race that is ſet before them: but they take a ſort of Delight in thinking, and ſpeaking, as if Almighty God were to do all for them; as if He, in his own Time, will irreſiſtibly move them to do his Will; and as if, unleſs he thus interpoſeth, they have no Power, or Strength, to do any thing towards forſaking thoſe Sins to which they have made themſelves captive.

In theſe Senſes do they think it for their Purpoſe, to underſtand the Words of the Text, and ſome other Expreſſions of the *New Teſtament*, concerning the Inſufficiency, and Weakneſs of Man; and the Sufficiency, and Power of God, in the Matter of Salvation. In order, therefore, to put a Stop to ſuch Notions as theſe, which naturally tend to render Men indiſpoſed to all Attempts and Endeavours to do their Duty; I have the following Obſervations to make:

1. St. *Paul* himſelf builds no ſuch Doctrine upon that great and ſtrong Notion He had of his own Inſufficiency; and of the Sufficiency of God. This *Inſufficiency*, I have ſhewn already, had reference to the Work of his *Apoſtleſhip*; and to his ſucceſsful Performance of it; that is, to his publiſhing and enforcing the Terms of Salvation, amidſt a Thouſand Difficulties, and a World of Hazards. But becauſe this great Work of Redemption was originally the ſole Deſign and Contrivance of Heaven; becauſe his being an *Apoſtle* was owing immediately to God; and the Succeſs of his Labours, and his own Courage and Conduct in his Office, depended upon the Providence, and the Favour of God: He doth not preſently infer that nothing was to be done by Himſelf, conſidered as diſtinct from his great Patron. But, in this very *Epiſtle*, He repreſents Himſelf, and the other *Apoſtles*, as *Workers together with God*, ch. vi. 1; and often ſpeaks of his indefatigable Endeavours to anſwer the Ends of his Office. And if He were a *Worker together with God*; He had certainly a part of his own diſtinct from that of *Almighty God*, in this great Affair. And conſequently, as He had

God Almighty's *Sufficiency* to ſupport Him, and make up his Deficiencies; ſo He had likewiſe ſome Strength and Ability of his own, for his own part. And as *God* was the *Architect*; the chief Builder, Director, and Encourager of the whole; ſo likewiſe was the *Apoſtle*, a *Worker*, under and *together with*, Him.

If, therefore, in that great Work of the *Apoſtleſhip*, encompaſſed at that time with ſo many Difficulties and Hazards, St. *Paul* did not mean by ſuch Expreſſions to ſignify that he himſelf had no part to act, but as forced, and impelled irreſiſtibly, by *God Almighty*; but left a part for himſelf, as well as gave to God the chief Part, and Glory, in it all: much leſs will it follow, that he meant theſe and the like Expreſſions, to ſignify that, in the Buſineſs of every ordinary Chriſtian, ſo much leſs difficult than that in which he was engaged, God Almighty was to do all, without the Concurrence of the Man himſelf; and without his having Strength and Power to bear any part in his own Happineſs. If the *Apoſtle* had ſuch Power, as to be a *Worker together* with God, in that vaſt and boundleſs Office; much more may Chriſtians, in their ordinary Spheres of Action, be ſuppoſed to have Ability to bear ſome part in the carrying forward their own Perfection here, and Salvation hereafter.

2. But ſuppoſing that St. *Paul* had referred the whole to Almighty God, in the literal and ſtrict Senſe of the Word; and left himſelf nothing but a paſſive Character; and repreſented himſelf as irreſiſtibly moved by his Almighty Arm: this having been ſaid by him merely with reſpect to ſo great, and difficult a Taſk, as was that of an *Apoſtle*, in thoſe firſt Days; it will not at all follow from hence, that the ſame is true, with reſpect to an Office, or Buſineſs, not ſo difficult, and hazardous. It will not ſo much as follow, that the ſame is true with reſpect to ſucceeding Miniſters, and Paſtors of the Church, in the ordinary Courſe of God's Providence; much leſs will it follow, with reſpect to the Body of Chriſtians, whoſe Taſk doth not take in ſo great a Compaſs. It doth not follow that becauſe Almighty God takes the whole upon himſelf in a great and immenſe Difficulty; therefore, He likewiſe takes the whole upon himſelf, in a Matter of much leſs Difficulty, and of a much more confined Importance.

3. The Aſſiſtance which God affords to Chriſtians, and the part which He bears in the Work of their Salvation, is ſo far from being a Proof, that they can do nothing towards it themſelves; that it is a moſt powerful Argument, and made uſe of in the *New Teſtament*, to engage them to do ſomething for themſelves. *Work out your own Salvation*, ſaith the ſame St. *Paul*, *with Fear and Trembling: for it is God that worketh in you both to will, and to do*, Phil. ii. 12, 13. On this very account, uſe your own Strength and Power, in the Affair of Religion; becauſe God himſelf, in the Chriſtian Diſpenſation, affords you his Influences, and his Aſſiſtances. And indeed, what more powerful Motive can there be thought of, to engage us to hearty and uninterrupted Labour, in our Chriſtian Warfare, than this, that we are carrying forward a Work, in which God himſelf is engaged; that if it fail at laſt, the Gracious Deſign of God will fail through our Negligence; that we have ſo powerful an Aſſiſtant and Patron, that the Difficulty of our Work need not diſcourage us from attempting it, or preſevering in it; that we are *Fellow-workers* together with God; and therefore ſhould be animated to exert ourſelves, as all are incited to do under the Eye and Encouragement of their Superiors; and to do even more Work,

and with more ſollicitous Concern, than we could do, if we had not ſuch a *Patron*, and ſuch an *Aſſiſtant*?

To take away the Deſpair of Succeſs, is ſo far from Encouraging the Idleneſs or Neglect of any Perſon engaged in an Enterprize, that it is abſolutely neceſſary towards their having any Heart, and Courage, for the Execution of it. This *God Almighty* takes from us, by repreſenting himſelf as our Director, and Aſſiſter: and it is this which ſhould fill us with more Concern leſt the Enterprize ſhould fail; and animate us with a ſtronger Reſolution to uſe all our Endeavours. It is becauſe we have ſuch Hope of good Succeſs, under the Patronage of ſo much Wiſdom, and ſo much Power, that we ſhould be much more vigorous, and reſolute, than if we had not ſuch an Encouragement as is included in God's *working in us both to will, and to do*. And,

4. How weak ſoever we may be; ſince it is plain, from what I have already ſaid, that the Goſpel doth not ſuppoſe us in a State of utter Inability to bear any part in our own Happineſs; I ſay, our Weakneſs, or Inability to perform the whole, ourſelves, is no Argument why we ſhould leave the whole to Almighty God; and not think ourſelves obliged to work together with Him. And yet this ſeems to have been the Ground of Miſtake in this Caſe, that the Evangelical Diſpenſation, and conſequently the Salvation of Men, is repreſented as the ſole Contrivance and Work of God, in which we bear no part, and were uncapable of bearing any. This, without doubt, is true; that we could not have thought of, or entered into, ſuch a Scheme for our own Happineſs. But it doth not follow that, when He offers this Happineſs to us, He offers it to Beings, as uncapable of laying hold on it, as the very Stocks and Stones. It doth not follow, becauſe our great Benefactor prevents us with his Kindneſs, and voluntarily offers us his Benevolence, and his helping Hand to free us from the greateſt Evils, and enſtate us in the moſt complete Happineſs; that therefore we are unable to accept this Kindneſs, and to help forward ſo good, and ſo merciful a Deſign. No, let us acknowledge, as much as we pleaſe, our own Inſufficiency, and Inability, for ſo God-like a Work as that of recovering us from Miſery to Happineſs; to the Glory of Him who is the *Author, and Finiſher of our Salvation*: but let us not ſooth ourſelves in Vice, under the Pretext of a falſe Humility; and look upon ourſelves as too weak to do the leaſt thing towards our own Pardon, and Salvation. For our Inability to do ſome Things, doth not infer our Inability to do others; nor doth our being incapable of the whole, taken all together, prove that we are incapable of any part.

But, in return to what hath been ſaid under theſe two laſt Heads, I am ſenſible that ſome other Expreſſions of the *New Teſtament* may be objected. As,

1. It may be ſaid that the whole of this great Work of Repentance, and Salvation, ſeems, in ſome Expreſſions, to be aſcribed to God: and He to be repreſented as the ſole Agent in it. In anſwer to this I have already obſerved, that the Contrivance, and Scheme, of the whole Diſpenſation in which we have Salvation offered us, and the making and proclaiming the Terms of it, are wholly owing to Him, and to his Goodneſs; previous to any Work, or Merit, of ours: and conſequently, it is no Wonder that *this* is wholly attributed to Him, which is, indeed, literally ſpeaking, ſolely, and wholly, his Work. When any ſuch Expreſſions, therefore, come in our way, we ſhould conſider whether the Writer be not ſpeaking of this *Chriſtian Diſpenſation*, as the Work of God: And if he be, we may be ſure that this ſignifieth nothing to the preſent Queſtion. For God might be the ſole Author of this Offer, and this whole Scheme: and yet we may have Strength and Ability to do ſomething to-

wards the laying hold on the Terms of it; towards the complying ſincerely with his Offers; and towards the finding out, and Performance, of his Will.

But if ſuch Expreſſions ſhould be uſed, concerning *Almighty God*, with reſpect to our receiving Benefit from this Diſpenſation, and the like; it is to be conſidered farther, that there is nothing more common in all ſorts of Writers, than to ſpeak of the chief Leader, Director, and Performer, of any Work, as if no other deſerved to be mentioned. Thus God Almighty's Favour and Holy Spirit, being the great Support and Strength of Chriſtians; it is no wonder if, according to the general Cuſtom of ſpeaking, the great Affair of Salvation be ſpoken of, as all owing to that. Juſt as any great Action, though executed by a great many in Conjunction, is yet frequently ſaid to be owing to *Him* particularly, who was the great Diſpoſer of all Things concurring to it; and had the chief Hand in it: ſo may it be in this Caſe, without inferring that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, no one beſides him hath any Concern in it. It is becauſe, comparatively ſpeaking, He bears the chief part; and becauſe without his favourable Concurrence nothing could ſucceſsfully be done, that He may well, agreeably to the Rules of ſpeaking, be ſometimes repreſented as the Doer of the whole. But it doth not at all follow, from ſuch cuſtomary Forms of ſpeaking, that He neither expects, nor requires, the Concurrence, and hearty Endeavours, and Pains, of thoſe to whom He is ſo good.

Again, It is proper to conſider that whatever Powers, and Capacities, we have, are orginally his Gift, and therefore all the good Effects of them may juſtly be aſcribed to *Him*, as to the firſt and original Author of all that we have, and all that we can do; that it is to the Concurrence of his daily Providence, and to the Diſpoſition of all Circumſtances, which is his Work, that we are indebted for every thing. Without this, we could not have the Opportunity, or Poſſibility, of knowing the *Terms* of *Chriſtian Salvation*; or of complying with them. And therefore, it may juſtly be aſcribed to Him, whatſoever is done towards our Happineſs, even by ourſelves. And, in this Senſe, without *Him*, we could neither think, nor act, to any purpoſe, in our great and moſt important Concerns. But all this is very conſiſtent with our being moved, after the manner of free Agents, by the Motives he propoſeth; and by the Circumſtances in which he is pleaſed to put us.

And then, in all thoſe parts of our Chriſtian Duty, and in all thoſe Caſes, in which his Interpoſition is requiſite to our Succeſs, He hath promiſed his Holy Spirit to them that aſk it, and make uſe of it: a Spirit, which, as it was to be the Support of his *Apoſtles* in their greater Work; ſo is it, in proportion, to be the Guide, and Aſſiſter of all Chriſtians, who are ſincerely deſirous to follow it. But this implies in it that we are able, at leaſt, to aſk for this *unſpeakable Gift of God:* becauſe otherwiſe it would be but mocking us to promiſe it to our Prayers. It implies indeed that this Spirit is the great Agent; the great Help to Perfection; and to a Renovation of the Mind of Sinners, and a Reformation of their Practices; ſo that great things may be ſpoken of it: but it doth not imply that thoſe to whom it is given are only the mechanical Inſtruments of it, or any thing to that effect; any more than the Aſſiſtance of one Man granted to another, in any Affair, in which without it he could not ſucceed, ſuppoſeth that this other muſt do nothing himſelf, and make no Steps, as a voluntary Agent, towards the accompliſhing his own Ends.

Whatever, therefore, is ſaid, in the *New Teſtament*, or ſuppoſed to be ſaid, of *Almighty God*, as the *ſole Author* of all relating to our Salvation, may, we ſee, very juſtly be accounted for, by the common Uſage of ſpeaking, without drawing ſo ſtrange and abſurd a Conſequence from it, as diveſts Men of all Pretence to any part in it: eſpecially conſidering, in the laſt Place, that in the ſame *New Teſtament*, the greateſt Care is taken, when any parts of it are addreſſed to Chriſtians themſelves, to urge, and preſs, and incite them, as free Agents, to the performance of their Duty; to deal with them as if on themſelves, and on their own Endeavours, depended their Happineſs; to charge them not to be ſo ungrateful to God, as to think of leaving all to Him to do: and to threaten them with eternal Damnation, if they neglect to do what is required of them. This likewiſe will help us,

2. To anſwer the *Objection* which may be made to what I have ſaid concerning the part of Chriſtians themſelves in the Affair of Salvation: *viz.* That the *New Teſtament* ſeems to repreſent them in a *dead* and *lifeleſs* Condition; unable to help themſelves; and the like. For, ſuppoſing this, yet, that theſe, and the like, Expreſſions were not deſigned to be underſtood in any Senſe contrary to what I have ſaid, is plain from thoſe multitudes of Addreſſes, and Appeals, to Chriſtians themſelves; and from thoſe many earneſt Entreaties, Motives, Promiſes, Threatnings, in the ſame *New Teſtament:* all contrived to make them exert themſelves; all ſuch as are inconſiſtent with the Suppoſition that *God* will help them without their own Help; or that they are not able to do that part, which God requireth, and inciteth, them to do.

But I muſt remark farther, that, if you conſider thoſe Paſſages which have this Appearance, you will find that they are chiefly, if not always, ſuch as reſpect only the State of Mankind, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, before the Light of the Goſpel brake in upon them; and before the Offers of Salvation were made, or accepted. Before that, the World was univerſally *dead in Treſpaſſes and Sins:* and the Motives, to induce them to ariſe from this Death, came ſolely from God; not from themſelves. But yet the very offering them *Spiritual Life*, ſuppoſed them capable of accepting it; the very preſſing, and inciting them to revive from that Death of Sin, ſuppoſeth that they could do what they were ſo incited to. Almighty God quickened them by theſe Motives, and Offers; but then, even in this, their accepting and complying with them muſt be, in part, their own Work; or it could never be made their Reward. As a Man that is ſtupid and inſenſible, in ſome conſiderable worldly Concerns, may be ſaid to be *dead*, and *lifeleſs*; and as the Motives, and Arguments, and Perſuaſives, of Men can quicken and put Life into him, actuating him into good Reſolutions, and ſetting his Zeal on fire; and yet the Man himſelf not ſuppoſed to be unable to do any thing for himſelf, but the contrary: ſo, in the Caſe before us, a Man may be called *dead in Treſpaſſes and Sins*; and the Wrath of God, or the Joys of Heaven, and all the Offers of the Goſpel, may quicken him; and to theſe may the thing be aſcribed; yet, all this while, without ſuppoſing him *dead*, in a literal Senſe, or uncapable of bearing any part in the accepting theſe Offers, in the regarding theſe Motives; and in helping forward his own Happineſs. This is a figurative Expreſſion, applied to the State of Sinners: who, as they are ſaid to be *quickened* by God and his Goſpel; ſo are they very frequently called upon to conſider their Ways; to rouze themſelves out of their ſupine, and ſlothful ſtate; to *forſake that which is evil, and practiſe that which is good.* Neither, therefore, is the great Part which *Almighty God* bears in our Salvation, an Argument that *He* will do all, without *Us:* nor is our Weakneſs, and Inability, a total Incapacity to join with Him, in our hearty Endeavours and Labours. But as his Hand is neceſſary; ſo is our own. As his Arm is powerful to ſave; ſo is our own requiſite to our Happineſs. As our

Weakneſs is nothing without his Strength; ſo his Strength will be nothing to us without our Weakneſs. As he is the great Contriver, and Diſpoſer, of the whole Scheme of our Salvation, and is ready to give the *Sufficiency* of his Spirit to all who ſincerely aſk it; ſo we are required, and conſequently, are able, both to aſk it heartily, and to join our own Endeavours with it: on which, together with God's Aſſiſtance, our Holineſs now, and Happineſs hereafter, moſt certainly depend.

Miſtakes about Man's Inability, and God's Grace, conſidered.

SERMON XIV.

2 Cor. iii. 5.

Not that we are ſufficient of ourſelves, to think any thing of ourſelves: but our Sufficiency is of God.

IN my former Diſcourſe upon theſe Words, I ſhewed you that it was the ſole Deſign of St. *Paul* in them, to declare, that, in the ſetting about, and executing, the difficult and laborious Work of an *Apoſtle*, He did not arrogate to himſelf the Power, and Ability, and Succeſs, which he had: but that he aſcribed his Sufficiency for this great Work, as well as his being deſigned to it, to God himſelf, who was the great Contriver of the whole Scheme of Chriſtianity; who miraculouſly called the *Apoſtles* to the carrying forward his Deſign in it; and who endowed them with Powers from above for the Execution of it. This being laid down, as the true meaning of the *Apoſtle's* Words; I did from hence take occaſion to examine and confute the Miſtakes of ſuch Chriſtians, as have pretended to be led, by this and ſuch like Expreſſions in the *New Teſtament*, into ſuch Notions of their own Weakneſs and Inability to perform the Will of God; and of the part God Almighty is to bear in their Reformation and Amendment; as induce them to indulge their vicious Inclinations, and retain their evil Habits, under the Pretext of waiting for the Interpoſition of Heaven, and the irreſiſtible Motions of God's Spirit: without which, they think, they can do nothing towards their Salvation; and for the obtaining of which, they imagine that nothing can be done on their Parts.

I hope, I then made it appear that what was ſaid by St. *Paul* with reſpect to the Work of an *Apoſtle* in thoſe Days, in which almoſt inſuperable Difficulties attended it, ought not to be applied to the common Duty of all Chriſtians, in the ordinary Courſe of God's Providence; that St. *Paul* himſelf never ſpake of the Obedience of Chriſtians to the Moral Commands of the Goſpel, after ſuch a manner as to give Encouragement to any ſuch Opinion, as that of ſome who are not content with the Help of God, but would willingly have all irreſiſtibly done by Him; and that the Aſſiſtance afforded by God to all the honeſt Endeavours of ſincere Chriſtians, in the Goſpel-diſpenſation, is ſo far from being an Inducement to them to leave all to be effected by *that*, that it is the moſt powerful Argument poſſible to them to exert themſelves to the utmoſt for their own Good; and made uſe of to this Purpoſe by the *Apoſtles* themſelves, and particularly by St. *Paul*.

After this, I anſwered more particularly to *Two Objections*: for the preſent, ſuppoſing that in the *New Teſtament* there are ſome Expreſſions which aſcribe the whole Work of Salvation to God, and repreſent Men as dead and unactive in it. And I ſhewed, either that thoſe Expreſſions were deſigned ſolely to give to God the Glory of deſigning and contriving the Diſpenſation of the Goſpel, and the Work of Redemption; and to deſcribe the State of the World before the Goſpel, buried in Sin, and without any Proſpect of Help, or any Poſſibility of ſuch a Relief unleſs it had come firſt from Him: or, if any high Expreſſions of this ſort be uſed concerning the ordinary Taſk of the Body of Chriſtians, that they may be juſtly interpreted, by all the Rules of ſpeaking, without recurring to ſo great an Abſurdity, ſo deſtructive to the Cauſe of Virtue; and particularly that they muſt be explained by the Tenour of plainer Texts, which all repreſent a great deal to depend upon the Endeavours of *Chriſtians* themſelves, as well as upon the Aids of God's Spirit; and are conſtantly preſſing the labouring part upon all who pretend to be in Purſuit of Happineſs.

There is one more *Objection* which deſerves a very ſerious Conſideration in this Debate: and which, therefore, I deſign particularly to anſwer before I proceed; and that is this, that it is more for the Glory of God, that the whole Work of our Amendment, and Reformation, and Salvation, ſhould be left to *Him*, than that any part of it ſhould be claimed by ourſelves; and that upon this Account it ſeems more probable that it all depends upon his irreſiſtible Arm; and more pious and humble for Men paſſively to permit it to do ſo. But all this is founded upon Two Errors; *firſt*, the not judging rightly what is the true Glory of Almighty God; and *ſecondly*, the imagining that to ſuppoſe Man capable of acting together with God in this great Work, is to exclude God from being the Original Fountain of every thing: and therefore, may be fully anſwered by ſome Obſervations, relating to theſe two Points. And,

1. The Glory of God is to be meaſured by his Nature, and Attributes; and by the Declarations of his Word. If we conſider his *Attributes*; we muſt fix nothing upon him but what is perfectly conſiſtent with the united Harmony of them all. He is perfectly wiſe; perfectly juſt; and perfectly holy. Now it is a greater Glory to his Wiſdom, to make Creatures capable of Freedom in their Actions, than to make only Clock-work, and Machines, to be moved by the immediate and conſtant Interpoſition of the Artificer. It is a greater Glory to his Holineſs, (that Attribute by which He is repreſented as a Lover of Virtue, and Hater of Vice,) to aſſiſt Men in their Endeavours after Perfection; than to force them to be perfect, whether they will or no. Nay, the contrary ſeems utterly inconſiſtent with the Suppoſition of his loving Virtue more than Vice. For if Virtue be not ſomething, in ſome degree depending upon ourſelves; there is no reaſon why he ſhould love it, as it is in us, more than the contrary. For Juſtice requires that every one ſhould be valued, and rewarded, according to what is in himſelf good, or evil. Now, if Virtue be nothing but the irreſiſtible Operation of God upon us; there can be no Reaſon in the World aſſigned why he ſhould hate and puniſh a wicked Man, and love and reward another: becauſe, as to themſelves, they are exactly alike.

The only difference here ſuppoſed is this, that God is pleaſed, after an arbitrary manner, to work upon one: and wholly to paſs by the other. If any Parent ſhould heap his Favours upon one Child, and then ſhew the greateſt Fondneſs to him, merely becauſe thoſe Favours have been heaped upon him; and abſolutely refuſe to beſtow the leaſt degree of the ſame upon another of his Children, and yet hate and puniſh him, becauſe he had not what he could not have without his

Will; would not all the World condemn ſuch a Parent of the moſt partial Fondneſs, and of the moſt arbitrary Proceeding; and attribute it to nothing but Weakneſs of Underſtanding; or Strength of Paſſion? And yet this is what we are not afraid to lay upon Almighty God, when we repreſent Him as doing all for ſome, with an irreſiſtible Arm; and then loving them for what they have no part in: and, on the other ſide, as paſſing by others, and refuſing them that ſame Strength, without which they cannot move; and yet hating and condemning them for not being what they cannot be, and not doing what they cannot do. If we could not think of this in any Earthly Parent, without calling in queſtion his Wiſdom; or his true Regard to what is praiſe-worthy: how can we fix it upon Almighty God? It is indeed to call in queſtion his Wiſdom; or his Impartiality; or his Love to what is truly lovely; or his Averſion to that only which is truly the Object of it. But if a Father hath an equal Regard to all Children; and is ready to aſſiſt them all in their honeſt Endeavours; to put them in the way of pleaſing him; to encourage them to do it; to deter them from the contrary; and to reward, or puniſh them, according as they have voluntarily choſen to make uſe of, or to abuſe, his Favours: This we account Wiſdom, and Equity; and a true Notion of Virtue; and a true Love to what is Praiſe-worthy; and a true Abhorrence of what deſerves Hatred and Diſcouragement.

We cannot help having ſuch Notions of Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Holineſs; and if, whilſt we have ſuch, we can fix any thing upon God contrary to theſe; we certainly rob Him of the Glory of what we conſtantly account Perfections; and of what we ever eſteem to belong to Wiſdom, Equity, and Holineſs. Let any one therefore think, whether it can be a Glory to God, to repreſent Him as acting a Part amongſt his Children, and Creatures, which we ſhould ſeverely blame in any Earthly Parent? *If I be a Father*, ſaith Almighty God, upon a different Occaſion, *where is mine Honour?* It may be ſaid, if God be a Father, and ſo thought by us; where is the Regard to Him under this Notion, when that Conduct is attributed to Him, which would not be ſeen in an earthly Father, without great Deteſtation, and Abhorrence? If we think, therefore, of God, as of a Being veſted with all Perfection of Wiſdom, Equity, and Holineſs; we ſhall find it greater Glory to ſuch a Being, to ſuppoſe Him aſſiſting his Creatures in the Way to Happineſs; joining his Strength to their Endeavours; and expecting their ſincere Endeavours to be joined to his Strength; than to repreſent Him as doing all irreſiſtibly for them; and then loving them and rewarding them, for what was forced upon them whether they would or no: and, on the other hand, as neglecting many others, who could not ſtir one ſtep without the ſame irreſiſtible Arm to work for them; and, after this, hating and condemning them for lying in a State, in which they could not but lie, unleſs He himſelf forced them out of it. The one is the Glory of an equitable Diſtributor of Favours, and Frowns; of Rewards, and Puniſhments: the other is the Glory of a Tyrannick and Arbitrary Mind, which raiſeth to itſelf Favourites out of Humour; and loves and hates entirely at the Influence of Prejudice, and without Regard to any thing, but what is in itſelf baſe and unreaſonable.

And, as we ſhould not fail to judge thus in the Caſe of an Earthly Parent; ſo we cannot help it in the much higher Caſe now before us: nay, we muſt loſe all Notions of good, and equal, and wiſe; and leave off to ſpeak of God at all, if we can think otherwiſe. If, therefore, we have any Regard to the Glory of God; *the Glory due unto his Name*; the Glory of his real and unalterable Perfections: let us not, under Pretence of making Him great and powerful, diveſt Him of Wiſdom, and Equity; let us not, under Pretence of making Him the ſole Actor in the great Affair of Salvation, rob Him of the Glory which is much greater; the Glory of regarding, and loving, and rewarding, his reaſonable Creatures, (not according to mere Will and Power; but) according to what degrees of good, and ſincere, are in them; and according to what depends, in ſome meaſure, upon themſelves. What we call Virtue, if it be neceſſarily produced by an Agent diſtinct from ourſelves, is not Virtue, nor commendable, nor rewardable, in us; nor any more to us, than that Vice which is ſuppoſed as neceſſary in another. And if ſo, we cannot be loved, or rewarded by a wiſe and holy God, for what doth no more deſerve Love in us, than the contrary. But Almighty God is wiſe, and holy, and equal; and certainly loves, and regards Virtue, as a thing Praiſe-worthy in us. From whence it follows that it is not ſo wholly his Work in us, but that He expects Labour from ourſelves; and looks upon it as depending in ſome degree, upon ourſelves: though always under the Influences of his good Spirit; which is ever ready to attend upon our ſincere Endeavours.

And thus, indeed, is He repreſented in *holy Scripture*; as delighting in the Man that doth his Will, and walks in the Paths of Virtue; and as abhorring the Man who acts a contrary Part: neither of which could he do, were it equally impoſſible to both ſorts to be virtuous; and were He himſelf the ſole Mover, and irreſiſtible Worker, of all that is good. But,

2. The other Conſideration I mentioned was this, That the *Objection* I am now anſwering, is founded upon the Imagination that the giving to Man any part in his own Amendment, and Salvation, implies in it that it is not owing to Almighty God: which ſeems to derogate from his Glory. Whereas, as I have before obſerved to you, Almighty God is not at all excluded by this Suppoſition. For Man, having no Powers, and being poſſeſſed of no Faculties, but what are originally owing to this great Creator; he can arrive at no Happineſs, but what He muſt acknowledge to be owing to that firſt Original of all his Powers, and all his Faculties.

To ſay, therefore, that Men can bear an active, and a voluntary Part, in their own Reformation, and Happineſs, is not to derogate from God; becauſe it is no more than to ſay that God hath ſo made them, and endowed them with ſuch Powers, as that they are able to do ſomething for themſelves. It is not to detract from their Obligations to their great Creator, and Redeemer; but it is only to ſhew what he hath made them capable of doing: and ſtill the making of them ſo, is entirely his Work; and all the happy Reſult of it, his Glory. Their Uſe of theſe Faculties is indeed made, in ſome meaſure, their own Work, and voluntary Part; that ſo it may make them the *Subjects* of Reward: but the Grant of theſe Faculties is the creating Work of God; aſcribed to him; and a perpetual Fountain of ſuch a Glory as He delights in, when they are uſed well, and as he requires them to be uſed; and this is a more *rational Glory*, and a more worthy Honour, than if He had made them only as *Machines* to be Inſtances of his Power, and Arguments merely of his Greatneſs. And beſides, I am far from contending that, in the preſent Degeneracy of Human Nature, theſe Faculties can do all. For I maintain the Neceſſity of God's gracious Concurrence. I am only arguing that they can act together with God's holy Spirit; and that our Holineſs depends upon our own Labour, together with the Aſſiſtance of That.

Thus much may ſuffice to ſhew the Weakneſs of this *Objection*, which pretends to ſacrifice Virtue itſelf to the Glory of God; and to prove the Truth of this Propoſition, that it is the trueſt Glory to ſuch a Being as we are taught, by Reaſon and Revelation, to eſteem Almighty God to be, to have made Men capable, in ſome degree, of a voluntary Motion towards Heaven and Happineſs; and to love and reward him for ſomething which depends upon himſelf, as well as upon the friendly Aſſiſtance of God: which is ſtill made equally neceſſary to his Attainment of *Chriſtian* Perfection.

But becauſe the Perverſeneſs of habitual Sinners is ſuch, that they are not only glad to lay hold on ſuch Pretences, as I have already examined, to fortify themſelves in Sin, which they love, and embrace, as the Effect of their unavoidable Weakneſs; but to argue from ſome other *Paſſages* of the *Scripture*, relating even to good Men; from which they hope for Comfort, and endeavour to flatter themſelves that their preſent deplorable Condition is no worſe a State of Weakneſs than what ſome in a very ſafe Condition have been in: I ſhall, therefore, before I conclude, take notice of *Two*, or *Three*, of theſe abuſed and perverted Paſſages.

1. The *firſt* I ſhall mention, is That in *Prov.* xxiv. at the 16th verſe, *For a juſt Man falleth ſeven times.* It is almoſt a Shame, indeed, to mention it: but that ſome have been ſo extremely weak as to lay hold on it, to adminiſter Comfort to themſelves in their falling into Sin. Nay, they generally cite it thus, *The juſt Man falleth ſeven times a Day:* whereas there is no ſuch Word as the laſt, either in the *Original*, or in any *Tranſlation.* I need only direct any one of the moſt ordinary Capacity to the Paſſage, as it lies in that *Chapter:* For whoever turns to it will preſently find that the *falling*, there ſpoken of, is *falling* into Trouble, and Affliction, and Misfortune; and not into Sin. For the whole Verſe is thus: *For a juſt Man falleth ſeven times, and riſeth up again: but the Wicked ſhall fall into Miſchief.* The Verſe before is Advice to the Wicked: *Lay not wait, O wicked Man, againſt the Dwelling of the Righteous; ſpoil not his Reſting-place. For a juſt Man falleth ſeven times,* &c. It is deſigned plainly to repreſent to us, that God preſerveth the good Man from the Attempts of the Wicked; and that the Wicked often fall into that Miſchief, which they deſign againſt the Righteous. The *Verſes* following do likewiſe go on to ſpeak wholly of Temporal Evils; and of falling into Affliction. The whole Ground, therefore, of this Pretence is taken away. For here is nothing ſaid of the wilful Sins of good Men; but of their being frequently afflicted; and frequently ſupported in, and raiſed out of, their Troubles.

But, ſuppoſing it were ſaid, that even good Men are frequently, or ſometimes, ſurprized into Failings: this can be nothing to thoſe wretched Perſons who indulge themſelves in an Habit of ſinning. For whatever Failings a truly ſincere Chriſtian may have been ſurprized into; they always render him much more careful, and more armed againſt them, for the Time to come: whereas the Sinner is confirmed and ſetled more and more, in his wicked Courſe, by every Step he takes in the Paths of Sin. Nay, He aggravates the Guilt of his ſinful Courſe, by making thoſe Failings of good Men, which are their Grief, and the Arguments of the greateſt Care and Caution to themſelves, to be the Ground of Encouragement to him, in a careleſs, and ſupine Neglect of *God's* Laws. But,

2. Another as weak Pretence is founded upon that paſſage in the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, ch. xiv. at the 15th verſe, where *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſay to the *Lycaonians*, *We alſo are Men of like Paſſions with yourſelves:* from whence ſome have concluded themſelves to be in as ſafe a Condition as ſome of the beſt of Men; even whilſt their Paſſions and Luſts were in full Power. Whereas, this Paſſage hath no relation to the Diſtinction between *good* and *bad*; *paſſionate*, and *well-tempered* Men: but

between *Men* and *God*; between Human *Nature*, and the *Divine.* It was ſpoken to deter the *Lycaonians* from offering Sacrifice to *Paul*, and *Barnabas*, as if they were *Gods.* The Words in the *Greek* ſignify, We are Beings liable to the ſame Imperfections; the ſame Sufferings; and particularly to Death itſelf; as you are. We are weak, and mortal; even Men, as well as yourſelves: and therefore, do not pay what you account Divine Honour, to us. Then follows immediately, *who preach unto you that you ſhould turn from theſe Vanities unto the living God.* This again ſhews that the *Apoſtles* did not level themſelves with theſe Sinners: for it would have been to no purpoſe to have endeavoured to convert them, if, at the ſame time, they acknowledged themſelves to be in the ſame Condition of *vicious Paſſion* and *indulged Sin.*

So that, whether we conſider the Words themſelves; they were deſigned to ſignify nothing but that the *Apoſtles* were mortal Men, and not Gods: or the Circumſtances of the Place; they ſhew us that the *Apoſtles* were at the very time preaching to the *Lycaonians* the abſolute Neceſſity of forſaking their Sins. How unjuſt, therefore, is it for a Sinner to lay hold on ſo fooliſh a Miſtake; and to chuſe to fix the greateſt Blot and Abſurdity upon the *Apoſtles* themſelves, rather than become truly good and virtuous.

3. One *Paſſage* more I ſhall juſt mention; and that is, St. *Paul's* calling himſelf, the *chief* of *Sinners*; 1 Tim. i. 15. *Chriſt Jeſus came into the World to ſave Sinners*; *of whom I am chief.* Now whoever turns to the 13th *Verſe*, will find that he ſpeaks there of himſelf, not in his preſent Condition; but, before his receiving of the Goſpel. For there he deſcribes himſelf, (the *Sinner* on whom Chriſt had Mercy,) as one who was *before a Blaſphemer*, *and a Perſecutor*, *and injurious*: not that he was ſuch an one at that time he ſpake this; but before he was a *Chriſtian.* So that this can adminiſter no Comfort but to one who hath left that ſad Condition; and is become what St. *Paul* at that time was: who was to be an Inſtance of God's Readineſs to forgive the greateſt Enemy, upon hearty Amendment; but not whilſt he remains in that State of Enmity.

Beſides, St. *Paul* ſpeaks not this with relation to a ſinful and vicious acting againſt the Dictates of his Conſcience: but ſolely with regard to his having been a Perſecutor, and Blaſphemer, of the Chriſtian Religion. As for other Parts of his Conduct; he often declareth that he was an exact Obſerver of that Law of which he was then a profeſſed Diſciple; and therefore this is not to be interpreted of that which we commonly call *Vice* and *Immorality*, in profeſſed *Chriſtians.* But the Influence St. *Paul's* Example ſhould have upon *Chriſtians*, ſhould all be taken from what he was after he was a *Chriſtian.* And thence let all Sinners learn their Shame. For they will find him deſcribing himſelf, as an Example to all to whom he addreſſed himſelf; and they will ſee Him to have been as great an Inſtance of Labour, Humility, Meekneſs, Charity, Piety, and every Virtue, as ever bleſſed the *Church* of *Chriſt.* His State, as he was a *Chriſtian*, is what Chriſtians ſhould regard: and in this, they will find him ſo perfect, that they will have but little Encouragement from hence to flatter themſelves in thoſe Vices which he abhorred; or in that fooliſh Notion of their Weakneſs, of which his Example, as well as Precepts, is the greateſt Confutation poſſible. If Men be Heathens, and Infidels indeed, they may learn from St. *Paul's* Example, that God will make Allowances for their Prejudices; and accept them, whenever they ſincerely comply with the Offers of his Goſpel: but if they be *Chriſtians*, they can learn nothing from his Example, but a continual Watching, and Care, *leſt they become Caſt-aways*; and an Aſſurance, that they have Strength enough to be *Fellow-workers together with God*, in order to all things required for their Happineſs, and Salvation.

But how unwilling do we find Men to think themſelves able to bear any Part in what is good? In the Paths of Vice; in the Projects of Iniquity; in the Execution of what is evil; their Feet are ſwift, and their Hands ſtrong; and their Heads able: but when God's Will is to be performed; nothing is ſo weak, ſo impotent, ſo unable as they. Thus, if you aſk a worldly-minded Man for a Gift of Charity, or true Generoſity; he often pretends Inability, and Incapacity; whilſt he hath enough to lay out upon any Trifle, or uſeleſs piece of Vanity; or a great deal laid up, a Sacrifice to Covetouſneſs, and Uſeleſſneſs. The voluptuous Man hath Power and Spirit to encounter Difficulties without Number; to watch inceſſantly; to labour without Intermiſſion; to deny himſelf in many Inſtances, in order to come to ſome imaginary Pleaſure: but if you ſpeak of ſelf-denial for the ſake of Religion, or Virtue; preſently the Weakneſs of Human Nature is pleaded, and the Impoſſibility of undergoing the leaſt part of the ſame Labour, for the ſake of the greateſt Good poſſible. If ever they think of Amendment, they deſire to wait God's Time; till his irreſiſtible Arm moves them, againſt their Will. As for themſelves; they are dead, and without Life: unleſs it be to offend God, and provoke his Anger. Fooliſh and unwiſe! to think that ſuch Excuſes can ever paſs upon the Searcher of all Hearts! to think that their own wilful Habits will be an Apology for their continuing in them! No, The more difficult we find it, the more immediately muſt we ſet about the Work: conſidering that the Difficulty hath been created by our own Folly, and Wilfulneſs.

Let us not, therefore, pretend Weakneſs and Inability, in a Caſe which ſhould fire and animate us to do Wonders. Let us pray to God, in Sincerity, for his holy Spirit; and heartily labour, ourſelves, under its Directions, and Influences. Let us not think that a *vicious Inclination* is a better *Excuſe* on *one* ſide, than the Dictate of a good Conſcience is an *Argument* on the *other*. Let us not be ſo ungrateful to that God who is our Maker, as to think he frames and fits us for nothing but Sin; and leaves all that is good intirely out of our Compoſition. Let us not be ſo baſe, and ungrateful to our Redeemer, as to take occaſion, from the Aſſiſtances offered us in the Goſpel, to *continue in Sin*; and ſo blaſphemous, as to neglect to do our Duty, under Pretence of conſulting the Glory of God. But let us remember that our acting our Parts well, is his greateſt Glory; and that the gracious Aids of his *Spirit* are the greateſt Encouragement to us to work out, together with Him, our own Salvation: Which God grant we may all do, *&c.*

The

The true, and falſe, Notions of Repentance, conſidered.

SERMON XV.

ACTS iii. part of the 19th Verſe.

Repent ye, therefore, and be converted, that your Sins may be blotted out.

THE great Concern of all Chriſtians is, ſo to paſs through Things Temporal, that they finally loſe not the Things Eternal: And the moſt important Enquiry in order to this, is that which leads us to the certain Knowledge of thoſe *Terms* upon which God will pardon, and accept us. But though this be a Point of infinitely the greateſt Importance of any that can come within the Thoughts of a Chriſtian: yet there is no Point, in which Chriſtians act a more careleſs, and ſurprizing, Part than in this; and none in which they more willingly contribute to their own Deceit, and Ruin. Nor in any thing is this more viſible, than in thoſe falſe Notions which many give themſelves leave to entertain concerning the Nature of that *Repentance*, to which they find the Promiſe of Forgiveneſs to be annexed in the Goſpel. As it is our Duty, therefore, to put a Stop, as much as we are able, to ſuch miſtaken Apprehenſions, as may endanger the Eternal Happineſs of Men; ſo, I ſhall now endeavour it, in this Particular, in Purſuance of what I have, in ſome former Diſcourſes, attempted, in order to eſtabliſh in our Minds the true Notion of thoſe *Terms* which are required of us, in order to our final Acceptance with God. And,

I. I ſhall endeavour to ſhew you the true Nature of that Repentance, which is of Force for the Remiſſion of Sins. And,

II. From hence I ſhall make appear the great Weakneſs of thoſe miſtaken Notions of it, by which many Chriſtians have been deceived.

I. In order to ſhew the true Nature of that Repentance which is ſpoken of in the *New Teſtament*, I ſhall premiſe *Two* or *Three* Obſervations, *viz.*

1. That our *bleſſed Lord*, and his *Apoſtles*, preaching to a World of Men, grown up in Heathen Impieties, and arrived at full Age, without ſuch bright Light and Conviction, as the *Goſpel* brought along with it, conſtantly ſpeak of *Repentance* in their Diſcourſes to them, as the firſt Step towards their Acceptance with God. This We may ſee in the *Goſpels*, and all through the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*; that, when Heathens, or wicked Jews, are ſpoken to, and inſtructed what to do, in order to Salvation, the firſt Word generally is; *Repent:* as here, in the *Text*, St. *Peter* calls upon the *Jews* who had hitherto *rejected the Lord of Life*, to *repent*; and that in order to their being *converted*; as it follows. For the firſt Step that a vicious Man can take towards a Change of his Life, is to be truly ſenſible of the Unreaſonableneſs of that Courſe of Sin and Iniquity, in which he hath formerly lived; and to have due Sentiments of his paſt Behaviour: becauſe, without this due inward Senſe of it, He can never heartily conſent to forſake, and amend it; or, in the Expreſſion uſed in the *Text*, to be *converted*, or turned, from it. Thus in the *Second Chapter* of the *Acts*, the ſame St. *Peter* exhorts the unbelieving *Jews*, *Repent and be baptized*. *Repentance* is the firſt Step: becauſe, as I have already obſerved, without a Senſe of the Unreaſonable-

neſs and Wickedneſs of their former State, they could not poſſibly, with Sincerity, think it worth their while to *believe* in *Jeſus Chriſt*; and to be *baptized*, and entered, into his Religion, ſo different from their former Condition.

And this being the firſt Step that could be taken by an unbelieving, or wicked Man; no wonder that this is pointed out as the firſt, in order to Salvation, or Remiſſion of Sins. Upon this firſt *Repentance* of Unbelievers, they were baptized, and by Baptiſm put into a State of Salvation; and a Capacity of being happy upon the Conditions of *Jeſus Chriſt*: and therefore this may well be ſpoken of, as the Road to Salvation, and Happineſs; becauſe without it there could be no entering into the *Chriſtian Diſpenſation*. This, then, is that *Condition* of Acceptance, which is chiefly ſpoken of through the *Goſpels*, and the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*; which give us an account of what was ſaid to *Unbelievers*, and wicked *Jews*, or *Gentiles*. But,

2. The next Obſervation I have to make is, that, as ſoon as this firſt *Condition* was complied with, and Men were perſuaded by the *Apoſtle's* Preaching into a due Senſe of their paſt evil Courſes, and into a thorough Renunciation of them; that, as ſoon as they were, in conſequence of this, entered into the *Chriſtian Religion* by *Baptiſm*, and were profeſſed Members of Chriſt's Body, the Church: that then, I ſay, all the Exhortations of the *Apoſtles*, and all their Perſuaſions, ran perpetually upon *Newneſs* of *Life*; upon *working out their own Salvation with Fear and Trembling*; upon the Danger of falling back into their former State; and upon the Perfection of Virtue required of them. This is plain from the *Epiſtles*, written by the *Apoſtles* to profeſſed Chriſtians: which are full of the moſt pathetic Exhortations to all Virtue; and of the moſt ſevere Reprehenſions of all Vice; and of the plaineſt Condemnations of Chriſtians, who are wilful Sinners, to the greateſt Degrees of God's Diſpleaſure.

So that from your Obſervation of what you read in the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*; and of what you find in their *Epiſtles*; you cannot but make theſe Two Concluſions: That *Repentance* is the Subject of their Sermons, when they are preaching to unbelieving, or wicked, *Jews* and *Gentiles*; in order to perſuade them to leave off their former Behaviour, and come over to the Chriſtian Religion: and that, after they are Chriſtians, they are with the ſame Earneſtneſs preſſing upon them the abſolute, indiſpenſable, Neceſſity of all Holineſs and Virtue; as they were before inculcating the Neceſſity of their renouncing their former State of Infidelity, and Vice. The frequent mention of *Repentance* is made to thoſe who were not already Chriſtians: but to Chriſtians, the Practice of all Virtue, and the poſitive Improvement in all that is good and Praiſe-worthy, is vehemently recommended. But,

3. Though this be ſo in fact; as will appear to any one who will compare the Preaching of the *Apoſtles* to *Unbelievers*, with the *Moral Rules* and Inſtructions given to *Believers*; yet I muſt obſerve that there was place found for *Repentance*, in favour of ſuch profeſſed Chriſtians as wilfully ſinned, upon their giving evident Tokens of the Sincerity of it. But then, there was no other Token of it ſuppoſed to be ſincere but actual Amendment, and Reformation; without which it is evident, from the Tenor of all the *Apoſtles* Declarations, in their *Epiſtles*, that there was no Hope of Acquittance at the laſt Day of Accounts. Thus the ſinful *Corinthian* was reſtored to Peace; not till He was in danger of being *ſwallowed up with over-much ſorrow*, 2 Cor. ii. 7; and after much more Difficulty, and Severity of Diſcipline, than was uſed in admitting the *Repentance* of one who had not before profeſſed himſelf a Chriſtian. If any one who was *called a Brother*, i. e. a Chriſtian, was an habitual Sinner; His Company was to be

avoided by other *Chriſtians*, as one whom they were not to own for a Chriſtian, in thoſe Days when it could be done, 1 *Cor*. v. 11. But this was upon Suppoſition of the Perſon's not amending his Life: for it is evident that, upon the Tokens of a ſincere Amendment, He was admitted again to Hopes of Happineſs. *Let him that ſtole ſteal no more*, was the Method which St. *Paul* preſcribed in the Caſe of the Sin of Theft: *Epheſ*. iv. 28; which implies in it, that Amendment is the Sum of the *Repentance* of a Chriſtian; and that, upon that Amendment, He is in a ſafe Condition.

I could give more Evidence of this from the firſt Records of Chriſtianity: but this one Argument is ſufficient, which I have heretofore enlarged upon; *viz*. that the Goſpel would in vain profeſs to bring Salvation to mortal Men, if every wilful Deviation from the Rules of Virtue were ſo unpardonable, that no future Amendment were ſufficient to entitle the Sinner to the Forgiveneſs of what was paſt. For, as to forgive Sinners without actual Amendment and Reformation, would be to encourage them to continue in Sin: ſo, abſolutely to deny Forgiveneſs to every wilful Sin, though ſincerely repented of, and forſaken, would be to drive Men by Deſpair into the ſame State of Sin; and to defeat the Deſigns of the Goſpel. And therefore, we may be ſure that, as nothing but Amendment, and future Holineſs, can entitle a Chriſtian to Forgiveneſs of his paſt Sins; ſo theſe moſt certainly will do it.

Thus then the Caſe ſtands. The unbelieving World of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, were ſuppoſed by the *Apoſtles* to be great and wilful Sinners: and therefore, *Repentance* was the firſt thing ſpoken of, to them. Believers, or Chriſtians, entered into, and ſolemnly engaged in, the *holieſt* of all Inſtitutions, were not ſuppoſed by them to be *Wilful Sinners*; or to continue in thoſe Sins which they had renounced at *Baptiſm*: as the *Apoſtle* himſelf argues, *Rom*. vi. And therefore little mention is made to them expreſly of *Repentance*; but much of living worthy of their Profeſſion, and of fulfilling all the Laws of Morality, and Virtue, in the higheſt degree poſſible. But if any of them were overcome by Sin, and tempted to tranſgreſs the Rules of their Inſtitution; Amendment was required and accepted, for the ſake of that *Advocate with the Father*, *Jeſus Chriſt the righteous*.

What, therefore, remains for us, who are profeſſed Chriſtians, to do, in this Matter? Certainly, We are not to look merely to that which was recommended to *Jews* and *Gentiles*, as the firſt Step only towards Happineſs: but to thoſe Injunctions laid upon ſuch as became profeſſed Chriſtians; and to the Methods preſcribed to Them. And then, we can never miſtake in this great and important Affair: becauſe we can never think ourſelves at liberty to diſpenſe with that Holineſs, and Perfection of Virtue, which is conſtantly preſſed upon Chriſtians. If therefore, we take in the whole of this Matter; and conſider *Repentance*, with relation to profeſſed Chriſtians, who have been Sinners; as ſomething which will entitle them to God's Favour; it muſt certainly equally ſuppoſe and imply in it theſe following Parts:

1. An hearty Sorrow and deep Concern, for all paſt Tranſgreſſions of the Laws of God.

2. An unfeigned Diſpoſition of Mind, oppoſite to that of Sin and Wickedneſs, and tending to fulfil his Will. And,

3. An actual avoiding, or reſiſting, thoſe Temptations, by which they have been formerly over-powered; and an actual Practice of the contrary Virtues.

1. With reſpect to the *firſt* of theſe; all are willing enough to admit that *Repentance* muſt ſuppoſe and imply it; becauſe a little Sorrow, and a ſhort-lived Paſſion, will coſt them little Pains, and Trouble. The loweſt Notion of *Repentance*

ance takes in that of being ſorrowful; and having a tender Diſpoſition of Mind, for the preſent, whilſt that Sorrow laſts. About this, therefore, there needs no Debate; becauſe this is the part of *Repentance* which the weak ſide of Human Nature is the moſt pleaſed with. But,

2. There muſt be a Change of Diſpoſition within. The Word uſed in the *New Teſtament* ſignifieth an Alteration of the Purpoſe, and Frame, within.

St. *Paul* reckons not Sorrow a part of Repentance; but Repentance an Effect of Sorrow, 2 *Cor.* vii. 10, *For godly Sorrow*, (and that is the Sorrow, we are now ſpeaking of) *worketh Repentance to Salvation, not to be repented of.* It worketh ſuch a Diſpoſition of Mind, as manifeſtly ſhews what it is that produceth it. If any Perſon be concerned, and ſorrowful at any thing that hath paſſed him; it never fails to work in Him a Diſpoſition leading to the contrary for the Time to come. And, if you conſult the Movements of your own Minds, you muſt find that a true Concern within, at any paſt part of your Conduct, is never without a firm Thought, and Diſpoſition, contrary to that which hath cauſed that Regret, and Concern, in you. If this be ſo, in all other Caſes; we may depend upon it, it is the ſame in this now before us. If we be truly ſorrowful, and heartily concerned, that we have offended God, and ſinned againſt his Laws; this will certainly be accompanied with as ſincere, and as hearty, a Diſpoſition to pleaſe Him, and obey his whole Will for the Time to come. And it cannot be ſuppoſed to be a ſincere Sorrow without this. Nor is this all: for,

3. This Sorrow, and this Change of Mind, if they be ſincere, muſt unavoidably produce a Courſe of Behaviour contrary to that which cauſed this Sorrow, and this Diſpoſition: and if this be not the Effect of them, they are of no Account; unleſs it be to increaſe the Condemnation of thoſe who pretend to them. Thus St. *Paul*, in the forecited *Seventh Chapter* of his *Second Epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*, verſe 10, declareth, that *godly Sorrow worketh Repentance to Salvation, a Repentance not to be repented of:* perhaps the Words more properly ſignify, ſuch a *Repentance* as implies in it no occaſion for *Repentance*, afterwards; ſuch a *Repentance* as implies in it a Conduct and Behaviour, of which there is no reaſon to repent. And He goes on, in the next Verſe, to prove their Sorrow for having offended to be ſincere, and genuine; not from their Words, but from their Actions and Behaviour: by which only it was that He judged that they *ſorrowed after a godly ſort.*

But what need I appeal to Him? We ourſelves are Judges of this Matter, if we be not fooliſhly partial to ourſelves, by our intimate Acquaintance with the Springs, and Frame, of Human Nature. There are none of us all, who, in the Caſe of other Perſons, do not conſtantly judge of the Bent of their inward Thoughts, and the Sincerity of their outward Profeſſions, by their Actions and Behaviour; and by theſe only. In any Matters that concern ourſelves, we never take the Profeſſions of others concerning their inward Diſpoſitions towards us, to be the true Repreſentations of them, unleſs we ſee the Fruits, and Effects, which, in ſuch Caſes we cannot help judging, would follow upon ſuch Diſpoſitions of Mind. How then can we poſſibly think ourſelves ſincere in our *Sorrow*, and inward *Repentance* towards God; whilſt we ſee them void of thoſe good Effects, by which only they are as certainly known amongſt Men themſelves, as a good Tree is known by the Fruit it produceth?

And if we proceed in our Enquiries, and examine farther into the Conſtitution of our own Natures; we ſhall find that all the Powers and Faculties of our Minds were given us for no other Purpoſe, but to regulate our Behaviour, and Conduct; and that they are all of no account, but as tending, and employed, that way.

We never think any Perſons arrived at the uſe of their inward Faculties, till they are fit to act, and ſhew themſelves in the World: and we never judge any to be prudent, or imprudent; mad, or ſober within; but by their outward Conduct and Demeanor. What ſignify all our inward Powers? Of what Importance is it, to judge and determine, within our own Minds; to reflect and cenſure our own Actions; unleſs it be in order to have an Influence upon them? As ſure, therefore, as it is, that any Perſon hath a Power within, to judge which way of Action is beſt: ſo ſure is it, that this Power could be given for nothing, but to determine his Actions the beſt Way. As ſure as it is that we have, all of us, a Conſcience, or Reaſon, to direct us before we act, and to applaud, or condemn us afterwards: ſo ſure is it, that this hath ſolely a reſpect to our Actions, and Behaviour. If, therefore, we cannot but reflect with Sorrow, and Concern, upon ſome part of our Behaviour; which we find contradictory to the Laws of Reaſon, and of God: it is certain that this very Power of Reflexion was deſigned to influence our Behaviour for the Time to come. For, to be ſorry for any part of our Behaviour, implies in it that it was unbecoming, or ſinful; and to account it unbecoming, or ſinful, implies in it that it ought never to be practiſed again: and ſo it cannot be, but that this inward Affection muſt be deſigned for the Alteration of what is amiſs in us.

And if to this we add a Conſideration, or *Two*, upon the Nature of *Almighty God*; we ſhall find it yet more certain. For, his Nature being all Perfection; there cannot be an higher Indignity offered to Him, than to ſuppoſe that our Sorrow, or Grief, which is, in the degree of it, Miſery itſelf, is for its own ſake acceptable to Him. No, If we think rightly of Him; we cannot but think that bare Sorrow is what He rather diſlikes, than likes: but that it is that *godly Sorrow* only, which worketh Amendment, and Alteration, that is approved of by Him. Can our Grief, or Sorrow, advantage Him? Or, can any thing of ours affect Him? No, But it is only, as our Grief may advantage ourſelves; and as our Sorrow may lead us to avoid all Occaſions of ſuch Sorrow for the Time to come; that it can be well-pleaſing in his Eyes.

Will you then judge from the Nature of Man? You ſee, all the inward Movements of his Mind are calculated for nothing but to influence and govern his Behaviour: and ſo, a *Sorrow* without an Effect of it upon his Life, muſt be as inſignificant, in his own Account, as the Faculty of Reaſoning itſelf, ſeparated from all Effect upon his Conduct, and Behaviour. Or, will you judge of this Matter from the Nature of God Almighty? He cannot take any Pleaſure in our Sorrow; but as it tends to our real Joy and Happineſs. It can be of no account in his Eyes; but as it makes us better, and wiſer, for the future.

Or laſtly, will you judge of it from the great Deſign of Chriſtianity? How unworthy muſt you think it of God, to ſend his Son into the World, to live, and die, in order to lead Men to a bare, pretended, Sorrow, and Grief for their Sins? Is it not the doing his Father's Will, which He preſſeth upon his Diſciples? Is it not declared, that the *Grace of God appeared to Men in the Goſpel, to teach them to deny Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts*; *and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly, in this World?* And is it not to contradict all this, in the moſt flagrant manner, to imagine that the End of Chriſt's coming could be, to lead Men only to a little vain empty Sorrow? That is, to lead Men to what doth, in its own nature, aggravate their Guilt, if they ſtop at it, without proceeding any farther. Aggravate their Guilt, I ſay: for when we are ſorrowful on account of our Sins: this Sorrow ſuppoſeth in it that we ought not to commit them; and that there is a foul Evil, and Guilt in them: and this tacit Acknowledgment that their

Nature is foul, and evil, and makes us guilty before God, cannot but help to condemn us for returning to what we ourſelves think ſo Blame-worthy. So that when we have Opportunity to do better, and do not; but return again to the ſame Sins that we think deſerve, and call for, our Sorrow; we are ſelf-condemned. The Sorrow, by which we hope to cover them, muſt help to make them the more meritorious of Puniſhment: as it implies in it Self-condemnation, and an Acknowledgment of Guilt. But when it leads to Amendment, and a gradual Increaſe in Virtue; then only is it the Parent of good Fruit, lovely in the Eyes of God, and pleaſing in the Reflexion of the Man himſelf. How plain, therefore, is it, if we will but conſider Things, as they truly are, in their Nature, and Conſequences, that the Repentance of Chriſtians, who have been Sinners, neceſſarily implies in it, an actual forſaking of their Sins, and an actual Progreſs in all Virtue, and Godlineſs of living.

II. Having thus given as true, and as plain, an Account, as I could, of the *Repentance* which alone can avail any profeſſed Chriſtians; I ſhall now only make *Two* or *Three* ſhort *Inferences* from what I have laid down, with reſpect to thoſe *miſtaken Notions*, by which many Chriſtians deceive themſelves in this Affair. And,

1. From what hath been ſaid we ſee the Vanity, and Miſery, of thoſe who place their Hopes of Accceptance with God, upon the Sorrow, and Grief, which they ſometimes conceive for their Sins; and call by the Name of *Repentance*, becauſe, in our Language, when we are ſorry for any paſt part of our Conduct, we are ſaid to repent of it. If a Man, propoſing to Himſelf to travel to a Place at ſome diſtance from his preſent Station, ſhould conclude himſelf to be arrived at it, when He had ſet but one ſtep out of his own Home; and there make a full Stop, contented, and ſatisfied that this would be ſufficient: would you not think ſuch a Perſon diſtempered in his Brain? Why, juſt thus it is in the Caſe we are conſidering. We pretend to be travelling towards Happineſs: and Repentance, in all its Parts, is the Road to this Happineſs. The *firſt* Step, in this Road, is *Sorrow* for our Sins. He that ſtops at this Sorrow, therefore, and reſts himſelf contented with it, ſtops at the firſt Step in his Journey: and how likely He is to arrive at his Journey's End, you may eaſily judge.

2. Thus again, if the ſecond Step be a good Diſpoſition of Mind to go forwards; He that ſtops, without putting in Execution this Diſpoſition, is ſtill as unlikely to arrive at the End propoſed. This is another *Miſtake* of Men in this Affair, that a preſent good *Diſpoſition*, and *Reſolution* of Mind, is ſufficient for their Purpoſe. But certainly, it is not going one Step, or two Steps, that will bring us to the End of our ſpiritual Journey; but the proceeding as far as Time, and Strength, give leave.

3. From what hath been ſaid, we are led not to place any Hopes in what we call a *Death-bed Repentance:* For this *Repentance*, extorted from us by the Proſpect of Death, can be only a Sorrow for Sin; perhaps rendered more paſſionate by our preſent Fears. And this being only Sorrow, and Compunction, and perhaps a good Reſolution; it is plain that ſtill theſe are only the firſt Steps in the *Repentance* of a Sinner: and not complete *Repentance*, in all its parts. I confeſs theſe are not ill Signs: but it ought plainly to be declared that Sorrow, and good Words, are not the End of the *Goſpel Inſtitution*; but an holy Life and Converſation. Indeed, where a Perſon hath had no Calls to Repentance and Amendment before; but been inevitably blinded by unhappy Circumſtances of Education, and hardly known what the *Goſpel* pretends to: if ſuch a Perſon be awakened by his Danger into ſerious Enquiries, and an hearty Conviction of

the Truth of the Goſpel; and a great Deteſtation of his former Courſes; one might reaſonably hope good Things. But in the Caſe of moſt profeſſed Chriſtians, who are called, day after day, to Amendment, and have all the Arguments imaginable repreſented to them; and yet, day after day, ſhut their Ears; ſpend all that Time and Health, which God allows them, in Vice and Iniquity; and then at laſt are ſorry for this, when God thinks fit to try them no longer: In ſuch Caſe, I ſay, all that can be ſaid is, that they are ſorrowful for their Sins; and that if that Sorrow be ſincere, they are got one Step towards Happineſs. But to give greater Hopes; or to ſay that they are the Chriſtians whom God hath declared, He will accept, in his Goſpel, is to render vain all the Threatnings of his Son; to place the Sinner and the Saint upon equal Terms; to put all upon a Man's have a little longer Sickneſs than his Neighbour: and to undo the great Deſign of reforming Men's Lives, the only End worthy of the Son of God's Incarnation.

The Reſult of the whole, is this. Since *Almighty God* hath plainly declared, in his Goſpel, what it is He expects of thoſe who have been Sinners; I need not tell you, how great a Weakneſs, and how extreme a Folly, it is, to have recourſe to vain, and flattering Hopes of our own. Since we are Chriſtians, and have a Goſpel open to us, to have recourſe to, upon this Occaſion; it is the greateſt Weakneſs imaginable to conſult our own Paſſions and our own Luſts, what it is fit for us to hope for, at the Hands of God. And yet, I am perſuaded, this is the Caſe. Were not Men inwardly captivated to ſome Vice; Covetuoſneſs, or Ambition, or Senſuality; there would not be any thing, in the nature of Things, more evident to themſelves, than that *Almighty God* cannot be ſuppoſed to accept any Thing at our Hands, without a ſincere Amendment of what we know, and acknowledge, to be amiſs in ourſelves. And yet, ſuch is the Effect of our own evil Habits, and the Prevalence of our beloved Vices; that we firſt deſire, and at laſt come really to hope, to be accepted for ſome ſuperficial Circumſtance, without a real Reformation of our Lives.

But how long will Men thus deceive themſelves, in a Caſe in which all Deceit is the Ruin of Soul and Body for ever; and in which they can impoſe upon none but themſelves? *Behold, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to do juſtly, to love Mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God!* This was plain under the Law. How much more plain under the Goſpel? As we are *Chriſtians,* we are not ſo much as ſuppoſed to be Sinners. But, if we have tranſgreſſed againſt the plaineſt Light; God is ſo merciful as to allow a Place for Reconciliation to his Favour, upon our Amendment. Is this ſo hard a Condition? Is this ſo great an Injury to us, that we ſhould turn againſt it, and abuſe the *Goſpel* to our own Deſtruction? *Shall the Goodneſs, and Long-ſuffering of God,* inſtead of *leading us to* true *Repentance,* only lead us to a falſe Image of it; and *to treaſure up Wrath to ourſelves againſt the Day of Wrath? Shall we continue in Sin*; and pretend that Sorrow for it is ſufficient? *God forbid! How ſhall we,* Chriſtians, *who,* by our Profeſſion, *are dead to Sin, live any longer therein?* Let not ſuch an Uſe be made of our great Lord's indulgent Kindneſs to us in the Goſpel: but let all who know what *Repentance* is, and what it implies in it, live worthy of that *Repentance,* by which they hope for Salvation; and of that *Vocation wherewith they are called.*

In a word: If you will have *your Sins blotted out*; you muſt *repent, and be converted,* in the Words of the *Text:* that is, actually turned from them. If you have been wilful, habitual Sinners; and think of being ſaved by *Repentance*; here is the Line marked out. The *firſt* Step is *Sorrow* for your Sins: but it is but the *firſt*. The *ſecond* is a Diſpoſition to amend your Lives. But there is no ſtopping here. You cannot think this Sorrow, and this Diſpoſition, ſincere, unleſs they ſhew themſelves in good Effects. There muſt be an actual Amendment; an actual entring upon, and Progreſs in a virtuous and holy Life; whilſt God gives Opportunity. Without this, there is not the leaſt Security of Happineſs: and, if you truſt to any other Methods, you rely *upon other* Terms than what are propoſed in the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt.

The Example of the Thief upon the Croſs, conſidered.

SERMON XVI.

Luke xxiii. 42, 43.

And He ſaid unto Jeſus, Lord, Remember me when Thou comeſt into thy Kingdom.

And Jeſus ſaid unto Him, Verily, I ſay unto thee, To-day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe.

THESE Words contain in them an Account of the happy Ending of the Life of *one* of thoſe *Malefactors*, who were crucified with our bleſſed Lord. For, though we read, in *Two* other of the *Evangeliſts*, that the *Thieves which were crucified with Him, reviled Him*; yet, that we are not neceſſarily to underſtand this of *both* the *Malefactors*, is evident from the like Form of Speech uſed by the ſame Writers, concerning any Matter, the minute Circumſtances of which they do not undertake exactly to relate. Thus, in the ſame *Goſpels*, that is ſometimes ſaid to be ſpoken by the *Diſciples*, to *Jeſus*, which was ſpoken by *one* of them only: becauſe it was not thought neceſſary to be more particular. And the *Plural Number* is often thus uſed for the *Singular*, either, when the Story related is ſo known, as that no Miſtake can proceed from thence; or, when the Matter ſpoken of, is of that nature as not to admit a literal Interpretation without a groſs Abſurdity; or, when the *Hiſtorian*, as I have ſaid, doth not undertake to relate every particular Circumſtance of a Story, eſpecially of one generally and univerſally known at the Time of his writing. On theſe Accounts, this Way and Figure of ſpeaking hath been allowed and practiſed.

But St. *Luke*, deſigning, in this part of his Hiſtory, to be more particular, hath tranſmitted it down to us, that what the other Evangeliſts record concerning the *Malefactors*, is to be underſtood only of *one* of them; and that the *other* was of a much better Diſpoſition; that He reproved his Fellow-Sufferer for his rude and unjuſt reviling; and laid laid hold on that Opportunity, to confeſs a great Degree of Faith in a crucified Saviour.

The favourable Reception which this penitent Believer met with, in his laſt Moments; and the comfortable Anſwer which He received from our Lord, ſeems to have had an Effect, quite contrary to what our Lord intended, and wiſhed, upon many Chriſtians of later Ages. And therefore, this part of the *Evangelical Hiſtory* deſerveth our particular Conſideration: that We may judge truly what is to be concluded from it: and avoid any Miſtake that may prove fatal to our Eternal Intereſt. And, after having, in my laſt Diſcourſe, laid down the true Notion of *Repentance* I cannot do any thing better than to endeavour, to obviate, or refute, the common Error, received and embraced by too many, *viz.* that the Acceptance of this Malefactor is an Encouragement to any Chriſtians to place their Hopes of Salvation, upon a *Death-bed Sorrow*, which they miſ-call by the Name of Repentance. In order to this End,

I. I ſhall endeavour briefly to give a true and juſt Account of the Caſe of this *Malefactor*, who was thus mercifully received by our Saviour, in his laſt Moments.

II. I deſign to ſhew that this was not an extraordinary Act of Favour, out of the General Rule; nor any thing depending on the ſecret Will and Intention of Almighty God: but perfectly agreeable to the profeſſed and declared Tenour of the Goſpel-covenant; and what any Perſon, in the ſame Circumſtances, may claim, upon the expreſs *Terms* of the *Goſpel.*

III. In order the more effectually to prevent all Miſtake, I ſhall point out to you, and deſcribe, the Perſons who are in the ſame Circumſtances; and may be as certain of Favour as this *believing Malefactor.* And,

IV. I ſhall endeavour plainly to ſhew, the extreme Unreaſonableneſs, and great Danger, of the common Miſtakes about this Inſtance of God's Mercy; and the Vanity of thoſe Pretences, which are built by ſome Men upon this Example.

I. I ſhall endeavour briefly to give you a true and juſt Account of the Caſe of this *Malefactor*, who was ſo graciouſly received by our bleſſed Saviour, in his laſt Moments.

And here, there is no reaſon to doubt but that He was a Perſon who had never enjoyed, before this, a fair opportunity of hearing a juſt Account of our bleſſed Lord, and his Actions, and Pretenſions: it being much more likely that a Perſon of his ſort of Life ſhould firſt hear and conſider, the Character, and Works, and Behaviour of our Lord, during his Impriſonment, than at any time before, whilſt He was following his wicked Trade of Robbery. It is manifeſt from his own Words, as well to his Fellow-ſufferer, as to our Lord himſelf, that He had gotten ſome Knowledge, both of our Lord's Perſonal Character; and of his profeſſing himſelf a King. Now, the Way of Life which he followed, before his Impriſonment, engaged him to keep as much out of the Cities and Places of ordinary Converſation; as much out of the Eyes and Obſervation of the World, as He could poſſibly do; and conſequently muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed to have hindered him of all fair Opportunities of knowing the Truth concerning our bleſſed Lord. But, juſt before his Crucifixion, He could not well avoid hearing the Rumours ſpread about concerning Him, and learning the true Character, and Pretenſions of our Lord. And He ſeems to have weighed all that He heard, before his Crucifixion, ſo well, as to bring with Him to his Croſs, a Reſolution to profeſs himſelf his Diſciple; and a ſincere Diſpoſition to ſhew himſelf ſuch, in all reſpects poſſible, in that ſmall Remainder of his Time.

From ſuch a Reſolution as this, ſuch a Perſon as He might well have been removed by the Behaviour of his Fellow-ſufferer; and by that Current of Affronts, which at that time ran ſo violently againſt our Lord, now ſeemingly deſtitute of all Help from *God*, and condemned and outraged, as an Impoſtor, by *Men.* Or, at leaſt, He might have been led to have contented himſelf, with entreating our Lord, though ſomewhat more ſeriouſly than others, *to come down from the Croſs*, and to *ſave himſelf*, and his Fellow-ſufferers. But He appears to have underſtood a great deal, in a very little Time, concerning the true Nature of Chriſt's Kingdom: and ſo, acknowledging the Heinouſneſs of his own Sins, and the Juſtice of God in his Puniſhment of them; all that He deſires of our Lord, is, that He would remember Him, when He ſhould come into his Kingdom.

This Malefactor, therefore, you ſee, cannot be ſuppoſed, in the former Courſe of his Life, when his evil Deſigns kept him out of the City, and out of Society, to have had any Opportunity of enquiring, or hearing, concerning our bleſſed Lord. But after his Impriſonment, it is very poſſible, and very probable, that He came to a Knowledge of our Saviour, and of his Offers to Mankind. It is certain, from the expreſs Words of the *Evangeliſt*, that, on his Croſs, He gave Teſtimony to the unſpotted Character of our Lord; and Proof of his believing the Truth of his Pretenſions. And laying theſe Things together, his Words to our Saviour may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to imply in them as much, as if he had ſaid thus: "I believe that thou art truly the Meſſiah, and Saviour of the World; "as thou profeſſeſt thyſelf to be: And, notwithſtanding this thy ignominious "Death upon the Croſs, that thou haſt a glorious and happy Kingdom to enter "upon; though not of this World. I take this Opportunity of profeſſing myſelf thy Diſciple: which is the firſt I have enjoyed. This I do, amidſt the "Reproaches of thy Enemies, and the Inſults of my Fellow-ſufferer. And, "therefore, I beg that I may have the Benefit of this my Profeſſion; and may "be accepted by Thee, as thou haſt promiſed to accept all ſuch as do ſincerely "believe in Thee, and to acquit them from the Guilt of all their former Sins "for the ſake of this Belief." This, I ſay, may moſt reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be implied in the Words of this *Malefactor* to our Lord: it being certain from the *Hiſtory* that He had enquired both after the *Character*, and after the *Propoſals*, of our Lord; and found the *former* to be unſpotted; and the *latter* to be Offers of Mercy, and Happineſs, in his Kingdom, to his Diſciples.

It appears, therefore, that He was one, who was called to the Knowledge of *Jeſus Chriſt*, in the laſt Hours, and had no Opportunity of profeſſing his Belief in Him, but in the laſt Minutes, of his Life; when the *Night* of Death was juſt coming upon Him, in which *no Man can Work*: one, who believed, as ſoon as He poſſibly could hear a true Account of our Lord; and courageouſly profeſſed his Belief, as ſoon as He had Opportunity to do it; and this at a time when all about him were reviling Him. In ſhort, He did whatever it was in his Power to do, during that Space of Time, which He had left, after He was called to the Knowledge of the Goſpel: and therefore, was accepted to Favour by our bleſſed Lord; and a Promiſe was made Him, that he ſhould immediately upon his Death, be in an happy Place with Him. And here, you will eaſily obſerve that this gracious Acceptance of him was not merely, or chiefly, on the account of his Sorrow for his paſt Sins; but for the ſake of his believing in *Jeſus Chriſt*, as ſoon as he could; and of his taking this firſt Opportunity of profeſſing himſelf his Diſciple; that is, for the ſake of his doing all he could to manifeſt the Sincerity of his Faith, from the Time of his believing, to the End of his Life. And this leads me to the *ſecond* thing which I undertook to ſhew; *viz.*

II. That this was not an extraordinary Act of Favour, out of the general Rule; nor any thing depending upon the ſecret Will, or unrevealed Pleaſure of *Almighty God:* but perfectly agreeable to the profeſſed, and declared, Tenour of the Goſpel; and what any Perſon, in the ſame Circumſtances, may claim, upon the Promiſes of God, ſufficiently promulgated in the Goſpel. This I would willingly make as plain as poſſible, becauſe this Inſtance of the Thief on the Croſs hath been generally interpreted as an Inſtance of Almighty God's profeſſed Acceptance of the Sorrow of a Sinner at his Death, inſtead of the Practice of

Holineſs, and Virtue, during his Life: and, under this Notion, hath been ſo recommended to the guilty Conſciences of the moſt habitual Sinners, as to give them as ſtrong an Aſſurance of God's Favour, on their Death-beds, as the beſt of Chriſtians can in reaſon poſſeſs; and ſo applied to themſelves, by wilful Sinners, in the Time of their Health, as to encourage them to place all their Hopes in the bitter Sorrow of their laſt Moments, inſtead of rectifying the Diſorders, and Wickedneſs, of their Lives. But that this all proceeds from a miſtaken Notion of this Matter, will appear to you, by proving, as I deſign under this *ſecond* Head, theſe Two Particulars; *viz.*

1. That it is highly abſurd to imagine that Almighty God ſhould, by any ſuch publick Inſtance as this, profeſs to the World that He doth, on any account, or in Mercy to any Perſon, depart from thoſe Meaſures which He hath, as publickly, fixed, and promulgated. And,

2. That this Inſtance, as I have before repreſented it, is perfectly agreeable to the *Terms* of the *Goſpel*, offered equally to all who hear of it; and plainly laid down by Chriſt, and his Apoſtles.

1. I ſay, it is highly abſurd to imagine that Almighty God ſhould, by any ſuch publick Inſtance, as this of the Thief on the Croſs, profeſs to the World that He doth, on any Account, or in Mercy to any Perſon, depart from thoſe Meaſures, which He hath, as publickly, fixed and promulgated.

Whether any Being be obliged, in the nature of the thing, to execute his Threatnings in their utmoſt Rigour, as he is to perform his Promiſes to the utmoſt; is another Queſtion. Nay, whether it may not be actually ſo, in fact, at laſt, that Almighty God will remit of that Puniſhment he hath threatned; and not execute the utmoſt of that Wrath which He has declared by his *Son* againſt hardened impenitent Sinners, is a Point wholly diſtinct from that before us. I muſt own that the affirmative ſide of this Queſtion ſeems to derogate from the Sincerity of the Divine Revelation; and not well to conſiſt with the Nature of the higheſt Simplicity: it being a much worthier Suppoſition concerning Almighty God, that he ſhould declare the exact Truth of the Matter, and leave it to work upon the Minds of Men as far as it could; than that he ſhould declare what will never come to paſs, and ſo endeavour to work upon them by a falſe Perſuaſion, which hath nothing in Nature to anſwer it. But I ſay that it is not ſo abſurd to maintain that ſo it may poſſibly, or probably, be found at laſt; as to ſay that Almighty God hath declared, by any publick Inſtance, that he doth, in the Caſe of ſome of the moſt notorious Sinners, depart from the Meaſures which he hath openly declared he will ſtand to.

To come to the Caſe before us; Almighty God declareth, as plainly as Words can declare any thing, that *without Holineſs no Man ſhall ſee the Lord*: that his *Wrath ſhall be upon all the Workers of Iniquity*; eſpecially upon ſuch as profeſs his Goſpel, and yet live in an open Violation of the Laws of it, and an open Neglect of theſe Declarations in it. And yet, this Inſtance, of the Thief on the Croſs, hath been ſometimes ſo interpreted, as to make Almighty God declare by it to the World, that he will accept of the Death-bed Sorrow of a Sinner; though he hath had ſufficient Warning through his Life; though he hath been a profeſſed Chriſtian, and hath had the faireſt Opportunities of knowing the true *Terms* of *Chriſtian Juſtification*. Now this, I ſay, it is abſurd to imagine concerning Almighty God: becauſe this is publickly to deſtroy the Effect, and Deſign, of his other Declarations; and to give as publick an Encouragement as poſſible, to Men, to continue in their Sins.

For, when once a Man hath entertained this Notion, that the Caſe of this *Malefactor* is thus to be interpreted; how eaſy is the Paſſage of his Thoughts from this, to the Imagination, that his own Sorrow on his Death-bed ſhall, after the ſame manner, be accepted, inſtead of a religious and virtuous Life? For, why ſhould he not think ſo? Or, what ſhould hinder? Almighty God muſt not be ſuppoſed an arbitrary Being; a Power acting by Humour, and not guided by juſt and equitable Maxims; but equal in his Regards to all, in Circumſtances exactly equal. And if ſo, his Proceedings, upon thoſe Maxims, muſt be the ſame with all in the ſame Condition. He hath no Reſpect to the Perſons of Men: nor can there be any Reaſon in the World aſſigned, why he ſhould deal, in the Diſtribution of his Eternal Rewards or Puniſhments, more favourably with one, than with another, who is not under the Circumſtances of greater Guilt, at his Departure out of this State. And, therefore, if he hath ſhewn ſuch Favour to one of the vileſt of Sinners, on account of a pungent Sorrow, at the Hour of Death, contrary to the ſeeming Tendency of all his Declarations; ſo will he likewiſe to me, may the vileſt of Men ſtill ſay. And what can be the Conſequence of this, but an impenitent Life, and profligate Manners, in the Time of Health?

And thus far, indeed, I agree with ſuch Perſons, that whatever the Caſe of this *Malefactor* was; all who are exactly in the ſame, or a like, Caſe, may reaſonably expect, and will certainly experience, the ſame Favour which he did. But the Suppoſition, that Chriſtians, who have Repentance and Amendment, day after day, inculcated upon them; who ſtand out againſt all Calls to Reformation; and rely at laſt upon the Sorrow of a ſick Bed, are in the ſame Caſe with this *Malefactor*; or that he, conſidered as in the ſame Caſe with them, is declared in the *New Teſtament*, to have found Favour with God, and to have been entitled to the Happineſs of Heaven: This Suppoſition, I ſay, will be ever incredible to us, till We can come to ſuppoſe Almighty God declaring againſt his own plaineſt Declarations; and ruining his own Deſign of the World's Reformation; or elſe acting after an arbitrary and humourſome manner; accepting of one Man to Eternal Life, and condemning another to Eternal Death, who is, as to himſelf, in the ſame Circumſtances; and hath been led, by this Example, to expect the ſame Acceptance. But who can ſuppoſe this of the God of Mercy, Truth, and Equity? Or, of that God, who hath revealed his Wrath againſt all the Workers of Iniquity? But,

2. As theſe Abſurdities ſhould affrighten us from fixing ſuch a Procedure upon Almighty God; and make us rather willing to ſuppoſe ourſelves wholly miſtaken in our Interpretation of this Dealing of his with the Thief on the Croſs, than to ſuppoſe any ſuch Inconſiſtencies in his Ways: ſo, I muſt obſerve that there is another very good Account to be given of this Matter, perfectly agreeable to the Tenour of the Goſpel, as the *Terms* of it were plainly preached by our Lord and his Apoſtles; and vaſtly diſtant from any ſuch Interpretation, as that which I have now been mentioning.

In order to make this evident, I muſt obſerve to you that it is the declared Tenour of the Goſpel, that God would juſtify all who ſincerely comply with the Offers of it, and heartily profeſs Faith in *Jeſus Chriſt*; that all, I ſay, who do thus, upon good Motives, ſhall be releaſed from the Guilt of their former Sins, and accepted by God, and dealt with as juſt Perſons, for this very believing ſincerely in his Son Jeſus Chriſt: and this, whether they live a ſhort, or a long, Time after their firſt Belief and Profeſſion; provided they ſhew the Reality of their Faith in that Time, and do not relapſe into a Courſe of Infidelity, or Wickedneſs. Thus, we find, our Lord, in the Goſpels, receiving to his Favour, all who embrace his Offers; and accepting them, upon their firſt Acceptance of his Religion, and his Terms. And we find, more evidently, the *Apoſtles* inſtructed by the Holy Ghoſt to preach the Doctrine of Acceptance, and Remiſſion of all their former Sins, to all who ſhould lay hold on the Opportunity offered them, and embrace the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and enter themſelves into his Service. Upon this *Faith*, and Profeſſion of it, Proſelytes were baptized; and they were baptized for the Remiſſion of their Sins; and Juſtification before God was openly promiſed, and declared, to them, upon this their firſt ſincere, and undiſſembled Faith.

Now, ſuppoſing any of theſe Perſons to be taken away immediately: their former Sins being once pardoned, the Force of this Pardon muſt remain; and they muſt be finally acquitted and juſtified before God. But ſuppoſing any of theſe Proſelytes to live, and afterwards to relapſe into their former Courſe of Sin: They not only, by the Tenour of the Goſpel, loſe all the Benefit of this firſt Juſtification; but can have no Ground for Hope of a final Juſtification, at the great Day, without the actual Amendment and Reformation of their Lives. On the other hand, if they go on, in living as becomes Chriſtians; they are entitled to a final Acquittance, and to great Degrees of Happineſs in the World to come.

There are, therefore, Two ſorts of Perſons, conſidered as acquitted in the Goſpel. 1. Such as hear the Goſpel; and ſincerely receive, and heartily accept it; and openly profeſs it: who yet have no Time allowed them, by the Providence of God, to bring forth the Fruits of a continued Courſe of Righteouſneſs; though they certainly have ſuch a Faith as would bring forth theſe Fruits. And, 2. Such Perſons as ſincerely receive it; and cloſe in with the Terms of it; and, having Time allowed them, live, and act, in the general Courſe of their Lives, by the Rules of Righteouſneſs, laid down in it. As there are, likewiſe, Two ſorts of Perſons condemned, in the ſame Goſpel. 1. Such, as having Opportunity to hear it propoſed to them, either revile and perſecute it; or refuſe to attend to it, and receive it. And, 2. Such as, having heard it, receive and profeſs it; and enter themſelves into the Bonds of it: but afterwards relapſe into an Habit of Sin, in which they continue till Death overtake them.

There being, therefore, Two ſorts of Perſons, to whom Acquittance, or Juſtification, is openly promiſed in the Goſpel; we may be ſure, no one ſhall be denied that Favour, who belongs to either of the Two. And that the Malefactor on the Croſs, certainly belonged to the former ſort; and conſequently, was accepted by Chriſt, not by any arbitrary, or extraordinary Act of Favour, but upon the ordinary Terms of his Diſpenſation, is, I think, very evident. For it appears that He was a Perſon, who, when He had a fair Opportunity, did ſeriouſly conſider the Character, and Pretenſions of our Lord; who, upon that Conſideration, believed in Him, and received him, as the Meſſiah; and who took the firſt Opportunity He had, to declare and profeſs this: though He had no Hopes of any Benefit from hence, unleſs in a future State; and was rather diſcouraged from it, than incited to it, by the Tempers, and Behaviour, of all about Him. He was called to the Knowledge of the Goſpel: He obeyed that Call; and He did whatever was in his Power, during the ſhort Time God afforded him, to demonſtrate the Sincerity of his Faith. What ſhould hinder, therefore, but that he ſhould be received by our Lord, who came to offer Acquittance, and Juſtification, to all who ſhould believe him to be the *Meſſiah*; and ſhould act agreeably to the Faith, and Practice enjoined by him, during the remainder of their Lives, whether long, or ſhort?

I cannot, therefore, but think it plain from hence, that there is nothing extraordinary, or new, in this Inſtance of the Juſtification of the Thief on the Croſs: that he was not declared to be accepted by God on the account of his Sorrow, or becauſe he was dying, and at that time expreſſed a Senſe of his Sins; but becauſe he laid hold on the firſt fair Opportunity, which offered itſelf, of believing in Chriſt; of profeſſing himſelf his Diſciple, and of owning Him for his Maſter; and, conſequently, that he was accepted to Favour, upon the ordinary Terms of the Goſpel, declared in other Places of the New Teſtament, upon which any other ſincere Believer, would likewiſe have been accepted and juſtified; and upon which, all Chriſtians inherit the ſame Juſtification, and reap the Fruit of it, if they do not, by falling again into a Courſe of Sin, and continuing in it, forfeit their Title to ſo great a Bleſſing.

What hath been ſaid may likewiſe ſerve to give us ſome Account why the other Evangeliſts might not think it neceſſary to be minute, and particular, in the Relation of the Behaviour, and happy End, of the better of the Two Malefactors: *viz.* becauſe nothing material could be learnt or drawn, from it, but what might be learnt from other plain Parts of the Goſpel; that whoever ſhould believe in Jeſus Chriſt, and make uſe of the Opportunities He enjoys to profeſs and ſhew himſelf to be ſincerely his Diſciple, ſhould, upon that Belief, and Profeſſion, be acquitted from the Guilt of all his paſt Sins; and be put into a State of Favour, and Acceptance, with God; whether He ſhould live a long, or a ſhort Time, after his embracing the Chriſtian Faith. And now, what hath been already laid down will eaſily guide us to determine what I propoſed in the *third* place: *viz.*

III. Who thoſe Perſons are, that may ſafely argue, to their own Comfort, from this Example of the Thief on the Croſs; and may be as ſecure of God's Favour, as He was. And it is plain, they muſt be ſuch, as are in his Circumſtances. I do not mean, ſuch as are leaving this World: for that was but an accidental Matter; and had no Weight towards his Acceptance; which I have ſhewn, muſt have been the ſame, upon the Goſpel Terms, whether He had then been dying, or not. But I mean, ſuch Perſons, as do not reſiſt the Evidence of the Goſpel of Chriſt; but receive it upon due Conſideration; and take the Opportunity, offered them by the Providence of God, to profeſs their Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and to acknowledge themſelves his Diſciples. They muſt be Perſons, who, being come to Years of Diſcretion, have a fair Opportunity offered them of hearing the Evidence, and knowing the Nature of the Chriſtian Religion. They muſt be Perſons who, upon hearing and weighing this Evidence, do ſincerely accept it as the Will of God; who openly and heartily, profeſs this; and who, during the reſt of their Time, behave themſelves agreeably to their Profeſſion.

And we cannot but obſerve from hence, of how ſmall Concern, the Inſtance now before us is to Perſons bred up in the Knowledge of the Chriſtian Religion; called upon, day after day, to regard the Nature and Obligations of it; to Perſons who have always profeſſed themſelves Chriſtians; and yet live on, in an Habit of Sin condemned by their own Profeſſion, in hopes that the Sorrow of their lateſt Moments ſhall atone for the Vices of their paſt Lives.

If, therefore, any one would entertain himſelf with any juſt Hopes, drawn from God's Mercy to this crucified Malefactor; He muſt firſt, in all reaſon, conſider, whether He himſelf be in the like Circumſtances: for otherwiſe, what Comfort can any Man, in his Senſes, draw from thence? And no one, I think, can, by any means, be ſaid to be in the like Circumſtances, who is come to

Years of Judgement, and Diſcretion, in a Country of profeſſed Chriſtians; and hath, either in his Mind, or in his Manners, diſhonoured, or neglected, the Chriſtian Religion. But this will more naturally come under the next Head of my preſent Deſign: which I have not now Time to proſecute.

I ſhall only, therefore, add at preſent, that for us, who are called betimes to the Knowledge of Chriſtianity; who have Opportunities of knowing our Duty; and profeſs ourſelves, from the beginning of our Lives, the Diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt; for us, I ſay, to have recourſe to any ſuch Inſtance as this, in order to defer our Repentance and Amendment, is the Extremity of Folly, and Weakneſs. Whatever it is, that makes us eaſy in the habitual Practice of any of the Vices condemned in the Goſpel, is certainly a Cheat and Impoſition upon ourſelves: a falſe and groundleſs Amuſement. And, therefore, from whenceſoever it is, that we may have drawn any ſuch Notions; we may aſſure ourſelves, (and it is our Eternal Intereſt to be aſſured of it,) that we are greatly miſtaken in them. Almighty God doth, as certainly and as plainly, require of us the Practice of all Righteouſneſs, as He promiſeth us all Happineſs. No Man ever was uneaſy at the Review of ſuch a Practice: but many a Man hath been rendered miſerable on his Death-bed here; and will be eternally undone hereafter; by truſting, in the Time of his Health, to any other falſe and faithleſs Methods. And God grant that We may conſider theſe Things, before they be hid from our Eyes! *Amen.*

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The Example of the Thief upon the Croſs, conſidered.

SERMON XVII.

LUKE xxiii. 42, 43.

And He ſaid unto Jeſus, Lord, Remember me when Thou comeſt into thy Kingdom. And Jeſus ſaid unto Him, Verily, I ſay unto thee, To day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe.

IN my laſt Diſcourſe, (which was upon the Account given us, in theſe Words, of the happy Ending of the Life of one of the *Malefactors* crucified with our bleſſed Lord,) I propoſed *four* Heads: *three* of which I then went over; and ſhall now proceed to the *fourth*, after I have made way for it, by reminding you of what I then, as I hope, very evidently proved.

In diſcourſing on the *firſt*, I ſhewed you, that this *Malefactor* was one who, as ſoon as He had a fair Opportunity of knowing the Truth concerning the Character of our bleſſed Lord, and of hearing the Evidence of his Pretenſions, did ſincerely lay hold on it; and profeſs himſelf his Diſciple: and behave himſelf as ſuch, amidſt the Calumnies and Reproaches of all about him: and that for this Belief, and Profeſſion; not merely, or chiefly, on account of his Senſe of his paſt Sins; He was accepted, by our Lord, to Mercy.

Under the *ſecond* Head, I went on to ſhew you, that it was one profeſſed part of the Goſpel, preached both by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, that whoſoever ſhould lay hold on the Opportunity offered by the Providence of God; and ſhould accept of the Terms propoſed in the Goſpel; and believe in Jeſus Chriſt with an

honeſt

honeſt and ſincere Heart; and make open Profeſſion of this Belief: that every ſuch Perſon, I ſay, ſhould be accepted to Favour; and effectually acquitted from the Guilt of his paſt Sins, whether He ſhould live a ſhort, or a long, Time after this Profeſſion; ſuppoſing Him to behave himſelf, during that Time, agreeably to it. And, in conſequence of this, I proved to you that this Thief on the Croſs, having ſincerely laid hold on the Opportunity offered to Him by Providence; having come to the Knowledge of our Lord's Character, and of the Evidence he gave of the Truth of his Divine Miſſion; and having, upon this, profeſſed himſelf his Diſciple, and ſhewn his Sincerity by behaving himſelf, in all reſpects, as became ſuch an one, during that ſhort Time which was allowed him, after He was called to the Knowledge and Faith of Chriſt; that this Malefactor, I ſay, having acted thus, was accepted upon the ordinary, known, *Terms* of the *Goſpel*; not upon the ſecret and hidden Will of Almighty God deviating from, or going beyond, the common Rules of the *Chriſtian Inſtitution*; and that, therefore, this is no Inſtance of Almighty God's Acceptance of the Sorrow of a dying Man, inſtead of the Practice of Virtue during his Life; much leſs, an Inſtance of his Acceptance of thoſe, on the Account of their Death-bed Sorrow, who have known and profeſſed the Chriſtian Religion through their whole Lives, and have wilfully and habitually lived in expreſs Contradiction to its Deſign, and its Precepts, during the Time of that Profeſſion.

Under the *third* Head, I ſhewed you that thoſe Perſons only are in the Caſe of this Malefactor, ſo as to argue to their own Satisfaction, from his Example, upon any reaſonable Grounds, who, whether living or dying; whether in perfect Health, or within the Proſpect of Death; lay hold on the firſt fair Opportunity offered them; and ſeriouſly conſider the Evidence there is for the Chriſtian Religion; and ſincerely receive it upon that Evidence; and openly profeſs themſelves the Diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt; and behave themſelves, as becomes his Diſciples, through the remaining part of their Lives, whether long, or ſhort. And ſuch Perſons as theſe, I need not again obſerve to you, would have been entitled to the Juſtification, and Favour, promiſed in the Goſpel, upon the plain and expreſs Words of our Lord and his Apoſtles; whether there had been any ſuch Inſtance, as this of the believing and penitent Malefactor, recorded in the Goſpel, or not.

Having thus recalled to your Minds what I have already advanced, I may with the more Advantage proceed to the *fourth* thing which I propoſed, *viz.*

IV. To ſhew plainly the Extreme Unreaſonableneſs, and great Danger, of the common Miſtakes about this Inſtance of God's Mercy; and the Vanity of thoſe Pretences which ſome Men have built upon this Example. And here I ſhall mention particularly the Miſtakes of Two ſorts of Perſons: *viz.* The Miſtake of thoſe who miſapply this Inſtance to their own Ruin; and the Miſtake of thoſe who take occaſion from it to implant in others very wrong, and very pernicious, Notions, concerning *Deſpair*, and *Preſumption*.

1. From what hath been ſaid, it manifeſtly appears how great, as well as fatal a Miſtake that is, which ſome Perſons have perſuaded themſelves to entertain, from this Inſtance of the crucified Thief: that God will accept them at laſt, for the ſake of a Death-bed Sorrow and Concern for their paſt Sins; though they have been, all through their Lives, profeſſed Chriſtians, and have neglected to obey thoſe Laws, which they knew to be impoſed upon them by the Chriſtian Religion, as the Rules of their Actions. The Weakneſs and extreme Folly of arguing at this rate, from this Inſtance, will appear plainly to any one, who will ſeriouſly conſider the Caſe of ſuch profeſſed Chriſtians; and compare it with

what hath been before ſaid concerning the Caſe of that Malefactor, and the Conditions of Acceptance laid down in the Goſpel.

For it is evident, from the Account which I have given of both theſe, that His Caſe was ſuch as comes within the profeſſed Terms of the Goſpel: upon which all who lay hold on the Opportunity given them; and hear, and receive, and profeſs, the Chriſtian Religion ſincerely; are accepted immediately to Favour, and releaſed from the Guilt of their former Sins. Whereas the Caſe of ſuch profeſſed Chriſtians as I have been now ſpeaking of, is a condemned Caſe, upon the profeſſed Terms of the ſame Goſpel. For if the Goſpel ſaith any thing at all, it plainly affirms this, that thoſe Perſons, who after they have received the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and been made Partakers of this firſt Juſtification, do relapſe into a Courſe, or Habit, of thoſe Sins which are condemned in the Goſpel; and continue in that Courſe till Death overtake them: that thoſe Perſons, I ſay, who do this, ſhall be excluded the Kingdom of Heaven; and, inſtead of God's Favour, ſhall feel his Wrath, and ſuffer the Vengeance of Eternal Fire. Now, as Almighty God did, in forgiving and accepting the believing Malefactor, keep exactly to the Terms, which our bleſſed Lord had, in his Name, promulgated: ſo, there is all the reaſon in the World to conclude that, in condemning and puniſhing that other ſort of Perſons, who have contradicted and ſcandalized his Goſpel, by their Behaviour during their Chriſtian Profeſſion, He will likewiſe keep cloſe to the Terms which He hath, in the Goſpel, ſet before the Eyes of the World. And in this Goſpel, there is another Law promulgated, as the Rule of Judgement in the Caſe of ſuch Perſons. They are called to the Knowledge of Chriſtianity; they have time allowed them to live in the Practice of its Precepts, and by that means to ſecure, and encreaſe, their future Happineſs: and yet they tranſgreſs its Commands; and, to all their repeated Affronts to God and his Laws, they add the Aſſurance of imagining, and expecting, that He will deal with them, as He deals with Men, who ſincerely receive, and profeſs the Chriſtian Religion; and do whatever they can, in that ſhorter Time which is allowed them, to demonſtrate the Sincerity of their inward Belief, and outward Profeſſion.

Almighty God doth all his Works with the moſt exact Proportion: nor can it eaſily be imagined that perfect Wiſdom, and perfect Power, can do otherwiſe? And there is no doubt, therefore, but that He will diſpenſe his Rewards and Puniſhments, with the greateſt Equity, and Impartiality. Now can it be conſiſtent with any Rules of Equity and Proportion, to make thoſe equal in a State of Retribution, whoſe Caſes, and Behaviour, have been vaſtly different, in a State of Tryal? But, beſides this, it is ſufficiently declared to us, in the Name of Almighty God, that He will very much conſider, what Light hath been afforded; what Powers Perſons have enjoyed; what Time hath been allowed them; what Improvement they have made of this Light; what uſe they have made of theſe Powers; and how they have ſpent this Time, that they have had granted to them. And though He will very favourably deal with thoſe who enjoy leſſer Degrees of Light, and Power; and no happy Opportunities of Improvement; as Equity requires: yet this is far from ſhewing that He will be equally favourable to thoſe who have enjoyed greater Advantages, and happier Opportunities; and have made no other uſe of them, but to affront and diſhonour both God, and Religion, the more. On the contrary, the only Ground of his Favour to the former ſort, being their want of Light, and Opportunity; this rather implies in it, that where he hath afforded Light, and Opportunity, there He may juſtly, and will certainly, require a ſtrict and ſevere Account of the Uſe and Improvement that have been made of them.

Indeed, in the *Parable* of the *Labourers* hired, at ſeveral Hours, into the Vineyard, *Matth.* xx. 1, ſome have been apt to think that the Method of Proceeding is ſuch, as to encourage Chriſtians to depend upon what they ſhall be able to do in their laſt Moments; and to hope, on the account of that, to be made equal, in the Favour of God, to thoſe who have ſerved Him faithfully, through their whole Lives; and ſo, to conclude that it is no great Matter, how long ſoever they defer their Repentance. This *Parable* I ſhall, therefore, in my next Diſcourſe, diſtinctly and fully conſider. At preſent, I ſhall only obſerve, that it was chiefly intended to ſignify to the *Jews*, that Almighty God would make the *Gentiles* equal to them, in all Privileges, if they did, in the *laſt Age of the World* (as the *Goſpel-age* is called) accept the Invitation given them; and believe, and obey, the Doctrine of the Goſpel: which Interpretation wholly takes away the Ground of the Objection. And, as far as it can be ſuppoſed to concern particular Perſons, I muſt obſerve, that it can only ſignify that God will reward all ſuch with his Favours, as do, whenever they are called to the Knowledge of the Goſpel, heartily embrace it, and readily obey the Precepts of it, how little Time ſoever be allowed them for ſo doing.

But can any one, though never ſo willing to be impoſed upon, in this Caſe, find out, I will not ſay in this *Parable*, but in the whole *New Teſtament*, any Reward for thoſe who are called to the Knowledge of the Goſpel in the beginning of their Lives, in the firſt Hours of their Day; and yet either refuſe to come in, upon ſo gracious an Invitation; or elſe, profeſſing to obey that Call, and entering themſelves into his Religion, and pretending to accept the Terms offered by our bleſſed Lord, not only prove uſeleſs and negligent of their Lord's Honour and Service: but even ſpend that Time which is due, upon their own Contract, to the Service of their Maſter, in ruining his good Deſigns; in diſhonouring his Name; in abuſing their Fellow-ſervants; or in ſome other ſort of Practice, detrimental to their Maſter's true Intereſt, or inconſiſtent with the Office which they have taken upon themſelves? Where do we read of any ſuch Servants as theſe, rewarded and honoured, at laſt, by their Maſter? Whenever we meet with the mention of any ſuch in the *Goſpel*, it is with a very ſad Concluſion, at the End of their Story: and this merely for not improving the *Talents* committed to them; for the neglecting to do God poſitive Service in their Stations; for not uſing the Opportunities, and Abilities, put into their Hands by Providence, for their own Eternal Intereſt, and the Honour of their great Maſter? How much more ſhall this heavy Sentence be pronounced upon ſuch as not only have not improved the Time, and Abilities, and Advantages, put into their Hands; but have likewiſe uſed this Time, and theſe Abilities, and Advantages, which God in mercy hath afforded them, to the Diſſervice of Himſelf, and the Diſgrace of his holy Religion; doing very great Miſchief by their Example and Influence; affronting God, and making his Enemies to blaſpheme? Where do we read, all through the Goſpel, of any ſuch Perſon, after a Continuance of Affronts and Indignities offered to Almighty God, during his Chriſtian Profeſſion, accepted at laſt to Mercy, on Account of the Sorrow of his dying Hour? That which hath, moſt of all, inclined Men to be deceived in this Caſe, is the Inſtance of the crucified Malefactor; and this Inſtance, we have now evidently ſeen, to be at the greateſt diſtance from any Likeneſs to the *Caſe* of ſuch as are profeſſed Chriſtians, and live on, in a Courſe of Sin, under the Influence of ſo groundleſs an Expectation. How great, therefore, as well as fatal, muſt the Miſtake of thoſe be, who being Chriſtians, and having many and continued Opportunities of living worthy of that Name, ſtill continue wilfully in their Sins; and argue themſelves into a fond Expectation of God's Mercy at laſt, from an *Inſtance* which bears no manner of relation to the Condition, and Circumſtances, in which *They* are!

2. I ſhall now mention another Miſtake, which is uſually founded upon the Inſtance of the crucified Malefactor: and that is, the Miſtake of thoſe, who do not, indeed, make any ill uſe of it in the Conduct of their own Lives; but yet make uſe of it, to encourage the *Preſumption*, and prevent the *Deſpair*, of dying Sinners, who have lived all their Lives long, in the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and in the Violation of its Laws; and this, to the great Prejudice of other Chriſtians who ſurvive them. This Miſtake, I confeſs, as far as it is founded upon this Inſtance, is ſo much the ſame, with the former, in the Ground of it, that it can hardly be reckoned as diſtinct from it: and it hath been ſufficiently confuted, under this View, by what I have ſaid, upon the *former*, to ſhew that this *Inſtance* toucheth not the Caſe of ſuch profeſſed Chriſtians. But, as it is applied to another Purpoſe; and as it is not only founded upon this Example of the *crucified Malefactor*, but upon very wrong, and groundleſs, Notions concerning *Preſumption* and *Deſpair*; it ſeems to deſerve a particular, and diſtinct place, in the preſent Debate, as it will give occaſion for the ſetling the true Nature of thoſe Two Diſpoſitions of Mind; the miſunderſtanding of which hath certainly been the reaſon of repreſenting what is generally called *Deſpair*, as the greateſt of Sins; and of making what is truly a *criminal Preſumption*, to be a neceſſary Duty.

Now here I ſhall lay down one Propoſition, which is ſufficient to determine this Matter: *viz.* That theſe Two Diſpoſitions of Mind muſt be judged of, by the profeſſed Terms of the Goſpel: and not by any ſuppoſed Poſſibilities. And, according to theſe, I think it is evident that for One who hath, againſt all the Calls of God's Spirit, and all the Checks of his own Conſcience, continued to live in a conſtant Courſe of Sin; for ſuch an one, I ſay, to hope, with any ſort of Aſſurance, that God will bring him to the Happineſs, promiſed in the Goſpel only to Holineſs and Righteouſneſs, is not a virtuous Hope; becauſe it is an Hope without any Ground, or ſolid Foundation: but is a vain, and groundleſs *Preſumption*; and ſuch a *Preſumption*, as ſeems, in truth, to affront Almighty God, by ſuppoſing that He will depart, for this Man's Sake, from his own declared and profeſſed Terms. And, on the contrary, for ſuch an one to *Deſpair*; that is, to think that He, having continued through the Time of his Health, and Converſation in the World, an habitual Sinner; and being that wicked Man, whom the *Goſpel* conſtantly, and in multitudes of Paſſages, condemns; that He, I ſay, being ſuch an one, ſhall be condemned at the great Day, as the *Goſpel* ſaith: This is indeed his Miſery; but is ſo far from being his Sin, that I do not ſee, if He believeth the Goſpel, how He can poſſibly avoid thinking ſo. But, as if it were of no Importance to be guided by the Declarations of the *Goſpel* itſelf, in this great Affair; dying Chriſtians, who have lived a Life of habitual and wilful Wickedneſs, have been led into ſuch Notions of theſe Two Things, that they have come to think this groundleſs *Preſumption* their Duty: and, what is of worſe conſequence, many By-ſtanders have been fatally corrupted into a Security in ſinning, by the ſame Expectations from this unreaſonable Confidence in God. Whereas there is nothing in this Confidence that can alter, or affect, the Nature of Things: nor is there any Paſſage in the whole *New Teſtament*, which recommends ſuch a

Confidence, in ſuch Circumſtances; or which implieth in it, that it is the Duty of ſuch Perſons, or any Advantage to them in the Eyes of God, to be confident of thoſe Mercies, of which, in truth, He hath ſolemnly declared they ſhall never partake.

It is true, that many of the beſt ſort of Chriſtians may, in a low and afflicted Condition, entertain an unreaſonable and groundleſs Deſpondency, or Deſpair. They may imagine that they have not been thoſe Chriſtians, who ſhall be rewarded at laſt; and be filled with very melancholy Apprehenſions concerning their future Condition. But this Imagination of theirs cannot affect their future State: which will be determined by that God who knows all things as they are; and will deal with them, according to what they really have been; not according to what they imagine themſelves to have been. And this Imagination, proceeding from an Exceſs of Humility, or from bodily Diſorder, is only their preſent Unhappineſs; not their Sin: and is removed far from them, as ſoon as they themſelves are removed out of this State. Whereas the *Deſpondency* of thoſe profeſſed Chriſtians, who have reſolutely continued wicked to the laſt, is truly well-grounded upon the Goſpel-declarations; and, as it is ſo, is likewiſe part of their Puniſhment, begun in this World, in the inward Torment of their own Minds: which, if it might be removed from them, upon any Promiſe, or Declaration of God, I ſhould moſt willingly do it. But who would dare to incite them to aſſure themſelves of the Favour of that God, who hath ſo plainly declared, that They ſhall not ſee his Face; and that He will be to ſuch Sinners a *conſuming Fire*.

Nay, is it not to bring a laſting Diſgrace upon the Cauſe of Virtue, to teach that the confident Aſſurance of the moſt profligate Sinner, when He comes to die, (perhaps, a more confident Aſſurance than the beſt of Chriſtians commonly have,) ſhall ſet him as much out of the reach of God's Diſpleaſure; and in as ſecure a Condition; as that of the moſt virtuous Perſons, who have ſpent their whole Lives in the Contemplation, and Practice, of the Laws of Chriſtianity. The *Goſpel* is far from ſaying any ſuch thing: and, therefore, the *Preachers* of the *Goſpel* muſt likewiſe be far from entertaining the Conſciences of Chriſtians with any ſuch Fancies; who, if they have any Senſe themſelves, will not eaſily ſwallow ſuch unreaſonable Doctrines.

I grant, indeed, that the beſt thing which the moſt wicked of Chriſtians can do, when they come within View of Death; and what all about them ought to encourage them to do; is to make themſelves as ſenſible, as they poſſibly can, of the Evil of their paſt Ways; to move themſelves, upon the beſt Conſiderations, to abhor and deteſt them: and ſolemnly to warn all about them from the Paths, in which themſelves have walked. But, after all this, who could ſay that theſe Perſons have come up, in any tolerable degree, to the Terms of the Goſpel? Or, who could encourage any ſuch notorious Sinners to aſſure themſelves of the Mercy of God, unleſs a plain Text of Scripture, or Law of Reaſon, could be found, ſuitable to their Caſe, or promiſing them Happineſs? They muſt ſtill be left (as far as the Goſpel hath concerned itſelf) in the State, in which That pronounceth wilful and habitual Sinners to be. The utmoſt that can be ſaid is, that they muſt be left to the *uncovenanted Mercies* of God: and the higheſt degree of hope which they can have, muſt be founded upon this, that Almighty God may poſſibly depart from his ſetled Method; and recede from the Terms which he hath openly profeſſed, for the ſake of thoſe, who have lived, Year after Year, in an open Violation of his Laws; againſt all the Checks of their Conſciences,

ſciences, and all the Calls of his Goſpel. Which let *them* believe, who can ſwallow, and embrace, any Abſurdities, rather than forſake their Sins.

Having, as I hope, very evidently ſhewn that there is nothing, in this Inſtance of the believing and penitent Malefactor, which can, with the leaſt Colour of Reaſon, encourage any, who have been, through many Years, profeſſed Chriſtians, and habitual Sinners, to depend upon the Sorrow of their Death-beds, for Acceptance with God; and having thus finiſhed what I propoſed to diſcourſe of from this Example: I ſhall now take occaſion to enquire whether, in the nature of the thing itſelf, there be any greater Ground for Hope, than We have ſeen, there is in the Inſtance We have been conſidering. And this, I think, will be very proper, not only becauſe the Subject naturally enough leads us to it; but becauſe it is very obſervable, that one great Support of ſuch unhappy Perſons, as go on in a Courſe of Sin, and yet retain ſome Senſe of Religion, and make Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, is the Hope which they have placed in the Sorrow of their Death-beds, as if there were ſome peculiar Charm, and Efficacy, in *that*, above any other Sorrow, (which they falſly call Repentance,) conceived, or expreſſed, in any other Part of their Lives.

Now, in what is it that this laſt Sorrow hath the Advantage over any other? In what it agrees with the Sorrow, and Regret, which a Man hath felt in the Time of his Health, it cannot be preferred before it: becauſe it differs not from it. And in what it really differs from it, I fear, it will be found to have the Diſadvantage on its ſide. For it ſeems to me that it is much leſs likely to be ſincere, or ſuch as would, upon Trial, prove effectual, than the other: it being probably rather extorted by the Proſpect and Fear of Death, than by the Perſuaſion of Reaſon; and frequently accompanied with ſuch Terrors, as make it rather a Diſtraction, than a rational Grief, or a conſcientious Sorrow. Whereas, a Regret and Concern for paſt Sins, in Time of Health, and whilſt a Man hath not ſo near a Proſpect of a State of Retribution, may be ſuppoſed more ſincere, and more likely to influence Him: becauſe it may juſtly be thought to be more the Reſult of Reaſon, and Judgement; and rather proceeding from a well-grounded Perſuaſion of the Man's own Mind, and the juſt Conſideration of the Nature of Things, than from the terrible Dread of immediate Puniſhment.

And yet how is this laſt Sorrow uſually preferred; and accounted of a more excellent Nature than any of the former? One would think, merely becauſe it is the laſt. Whereas *that* can make no difference in the Eyes of God: who always judgeth truly from the nature of the Thing; and not from the *Time*, or any of thoſe inconſiderable Circumſtances, which often hide the true nature of things from mortal Eyes, and finite Underſtandings. Nay, we ourſelves cannot judge whether our own preſent Sorrow, and Compunction, be of that nature as that they would work in us true Repentance and Amendment; were we entruſted with more Opportunities of making the Trial. And this is another Reaſon why we ſhould build nothing upon it, either in our own Caſe, or that of others; becauſe, even ſuppoſing that it would be ſincere, and effectual in its Influences, were more Time allowed; yet this is a Matter wholly out of the reach of our Knowledge, and wholly impoſſible for us to judge of.

But, indeed, it is a very material Obſervation, that wicked Men have much leſs reaſon to think this laſt Sorrow thoroughly and undoubtedly ſincere, than they have heretofore had to think any of their former Sorrows ſo; which yet, they know, have ended in nothing conſiderable. There are few profeſſed Chriſtians, even amongſt the wickedeſt of them, who have not, one time or other, had ſome juſt and concerning Thoughts about that Courſe of Sin, and thoſe wilful Vices, in which they have indulged themſelves; who have not, one time or other, deteſted and reſolved to forſake them, in the Days of their Health and Proſperity; when they had nothing to move them but the Nature of the thing, and the great Reaſonableneſs of receiving, and obeying the Goſpel. If, therefore, they have found that Regret, and Concern, which they have had, in the beſt Seaſon, and which had ſo good Ground for it, to come to nothing; to vaniſh into Air; and leave no good Influence, nor ſhew any Power, upon their Lives and Actions: upon what Accounts can they think, That Sorrow would have any better, or more laſting Effect, were the Trial made, which for aught they know, is wholly owing to the preſent Fear of Death, and the near Proſpect of a future Puniſhment; and conſequently will moſt probably vaniſh, when that Fear, and that Proſpect, are removed from them?

They will, I dare ſay, acknowledge no ſuch Sorrow of a ſick Bed, to be of any Effect, if they recover, and relapſe to their former Sins. And how many ſuch Inſtances have they ſeen in others? And how often have they themſelves relapſed, after a better, and more reaſonable, Sorrow, than this can be eſteemed? And how then can they ſo flatter themſelves, as to imagine that this laſt, and unproved, Sorrow, is truly ſincere; and would be truly effectual, were Opportunity given it to ſhew its Power, and diſplay its Influences: when they have not one probable Argument on their ſide, to give Ground for ſuch an Imagination; but great Preſumptions, and much Experience, againſt it. So that there is no Foundation for ſuch a Suppoſition: and yet, without it, there is not the leaſt Shadow of Hope, to ſupport them. How miſerably deluded, therefore, muſt they be, who thus rely upon a Reed; who thus build all their Hopes, and all their Expectation of Happineſs, upon that which is of a weaker nature, than what, they have experienced, to have deceived them already; who would fain eſcape Miſery, and attain to Happineſs, and yet will take none but a deſperate Method, and ſuch an one, as will too certainly diſappoint and cheat them at laſt!

And that they, who indulge themſelves in the Habit of any ſort of Sin, may be the more effectually ſenſible of this, I would aſk them, whether they believe that Almighty God will puniſh any ſort of Perſons in another State; or whether there are any Men in this World now, who ſhall be condemned, at the great Day, to that miſerable State which is threatned in the Goſpel. If they pretend not to believe any ſuch thing as this; why are they in ſuch Fears, and in ſo great Concern, about it? Why do the Terrors of the Lord oppreſs them? And why do they betray ſo much Uneaſineſs, at the Thoughts of appearing before Him? But if they do believe that thus it ſhall be with ſome ſort of Perſons, (as they appear to do by their Preſages, and Apprehenſions;) I would then aſk, Who, they think, *they* are, that ſhall inherit moſt of the Anger of God in that future State. Surely, *They*, who, upon the account of their whole Lives, do moſt deſerve it. And who are they that moſt deſerve it? It muſt be either the *Wilful Sinners* of the unbelieving World; or the *Wilful Sinners*, who are profeſſed Chriſtians, and enjoy the Light, and Aſſiſtance, of Chriſt's Goſpel. And which of theſe Two do moſt deſerve it, is too evident to need many Words. For who can be ſo unreaſonable as to think that They who ſin not againſt ſo clear Light, and ſo evident a Divine Authority to the contrary, are in a more deſperate Condition, than thoſe who are, or may be, fully acquainted with God's Will; who agree to the Reaſonableneſs of it; who profeſs to fulfil it; and yet live, through their whole Lives, in expreſs Contradiction to it? No, certainly, if our Saviour ſpeak Truth; or if the Rule of Equity be conſulted; They *ſhall be beaten with moſt Stripes, who have known their Maſter's Will, and have not done* *it*; They, who have had all fair Opportunities for Reformation, and the Practice of Virtue, and have abuſed them all to the Purpoſes of Vice.

If, therefore, *They* ſhall be moſt miſerable in another State, who have moſt deſerved it, as without doubt they ſhall: tell me I beſeech you, who can deſerve it more than the Chriſtian, who hath the greateſt Favours, and Obligations, beſtowed upon Him; the holieſt Law to govern Him; the brighteſt Light to direct Him; the moſt powerful Aſſiſtance to ſtrengthen Him; and yet goes on to ſin, againſt all the Obligations, and all the Engagements, and all the Motives, to the contrary, which are contained in his Profeſſion. And conſequently, unleſs you will ſuppoſe, and maintain, that there ſhall be no ſuch thing as Puniſhment in another World; but that all ſhall equally, either ſink into nothing, or be made happy; you muſt be perſuaded of this, as of a certain Truth, that the wicked Chriſtian, who continues a wilful Sinner, under the Cloke of his holy Profeſſion, is the Perſon, who, becauſe He moſt of all deſerves this Puniſhment, ſhall therefore moſt undoubtedly inherit it. Nor can his Grief, when He comes within View of it, alter the Caſe: for *Grief* is not Holineſs, nor Virtue; nor probably would it end in the Practice of them: and *theſe* are the Things required of Chriſtians, in the Time of their Health, and during their Converſation in this World. But I need not, I hope, add any more Words in order to repreſent to you the Vanity and Weakneſs of that fatal Miſtake of ſome wilful Sinners, that the Sorrow, which they reſerve to be expreſſed upon their Death-beds, will atone for the profligate, and unchriſtian, conduct of their whole paſt Lives.

And now, Chriſtians, what ſhall we ſay to theſe Things? Shall not all that hath been urged to ſhew the Unreaſonableneſs of thoſe Hopes which are built upon any ſuch Pretence, as I have now been examining, ſeparated from a Life of Righteouſneſs, and true Goodneſs: ſhall it not, I ſay, move us all to lay hold on the preſent Opportunity; and to *work out our Salvation, whilſt the Day laſts; becauſe the Night cometh*, (the *Night* of Sickneſs, and of Death,) *when no Man can work?* How happy would it be for us, would we be induced to live as becomes Chriſtians; and worthy of that holy Name by which we are called; and of that Divine Maſter, to whom We have given up ourſelves! This is the Thing required of *Us*, who have Time allowed us to ſhew the Sincerity of our *Faith* and *Profeſſion*: and this alone it is, that can entitle us to the Favour of God, and the Rewards of Heaven. If we be in earneſt ſeeking after Happineſs; let us not take the Road which leads to certain Miſery: but that good Path which our Lord himſelf hath marked out to us, both by his Example, and his Precepts; which will infallibly bring us to his Heavenly Kingdom. *Amen!*

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The Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard, conſidered.

SERMON XVIII.

MATTHEW xx. 1, &c.

For the Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a Man that is an Houſholder, which went out early in the Morning to hire Labourers into his Vineyard, &c.

IN my laſt Diſcourſe, I obſerved to you, that ſome Perſons had miſtaken and perverted the *Parable* in this Chapter; vainly arguing, from one Part of it, that the *laſt Hour*, or even the laſt Minute, of Life, may be ſufficient for the Work of Repentance, and turning to God. In *that*, I only propoſed one or two Conſiderations in general: but I now deſign to handle this Matter more particularly, that it may the more clearly be ſeen, not only that this *Parable* gives not the leaſt Encouragement to any ſuch Thought; but that it really proves to all, who profeſs Chriſtianity, the abſolute Neceſſity of Holineſs and Virtue, before the laſt Sickneſs, and Death, approach. In order to this, it will be neceſſary,

I. To lay before you an Account of the *Parable* itſelf.

II. To ſhew you, what was intended to be ſignified by it.

III. To prove that there is no Foundation in it, for any ſuch Imagination, as that before-mentioned: but an actual Declaration of the contrary.

I. As for the *Parable* itſelf; it ſets forth to us an *Houſholder going forth into the Market-place, to hire Men* to come and work for Him, in his *Vineyard*; that He met with ſome ſooner than He did with others; that thoſe whom He hired lateſt, came as ſoon as He called and invited them; and laboured heartily for the Time that they were in his Vineyard; and, at the End of their Day, were by his Favour rewarded, for that ſincere and hearty, though ſhort, Labour, with the ſame Reward which He had agreed to beſtow upon thoſe whom He hired much ſooner. This is the Sum of the *Parable*; as far as it concerns my preſent Deſign: for it is not of Importance to relate every particular Circumſtance of it. The main Matter here to be conſidered, is the Reward beſtowed upon Thoſe who came ſo late into the Vineyard.

II. I Muſt therefore, now ſhew you what was intended by this *Parable*. And it is plain that it was deſigned to repreſent the Method of God in diſpenſing his Favours and Rewards to the World. *The Kingdom of Heaven*, or the Method of God's dealing with Mankind in the Revelation of his Will, and the calling of them to himſelf, was to be ſet forth in it. But, to be more particular.

1. It is moſt probable, and, I believe, certain, that the main, if not the whole, Deſign of it, was to account for that great Stumbling-block, as it was indeed, to the ill-natured *Jews*; *viz.* God's calling in the *Gentiles* to Himſelf, after the *Jews*; and making them equal to Theſe, in Privileges and Favours, upon their ſincere Acceptance of his Invitation. In the *laſt Verſe* of the preceding *Chapter*, our Lord declareth that *many that are firſt ſhall be laſt, and the laſt firſt*: that is, that in thoſe firſt called to the Knowledge of God, *viz.* the *Jews*, and thoſe to be called after them, *viz.* the *Gentiles*, God would make no difference; provided He found a ſincere Diſpoſition to obey his Call, and ſerve Him truly. Then immediately, at the *firſt Verſe* of the xxth *Chapter*, our Lord goes on to illuſtrate what He had there ſaid; and to diſcover the Equity of it.

In this Senſe, then, of the *Parable*, Almighty God is repreſented as calling Mankind at ſeveral Ages of the World; the *Jews*, and their Forefathers, in the firſt Ages; and, in the *laſt Age*, viz. that of the Goſpel, as calling the *Gentile* World to the Knowledge of himſelf; and admitting them to equal Privileges with the *Jews*, who thought themſelves his peculiar People; and rewarding them after the ſame manner, upon their ſincere Compliance with his Terms, and Acceptance of his Invitation. The *Gentile* World are repreſented as coming into his Goſpel, upon his Call; and living worthy of it after their coming into it: and our Lord is repreſented, at the End of the Day of this Life, as rewarding Them, as much as the *Jews* themſelves, who were called to the Knowledge of God, in a ſo much earlier Age.

That which makes it moſt probable that this was the true Intent of our Lord, in this *Parable*, is, that this calling of the *Gentiles* to equal Privileges with the *Jews*, was certainly a Matter which was to be opened by due Degrees, even to the beſt-tempered amongſt them; who were averſe enough to all Thoughts of it: and likewiſe, that there is expreſs mention made in it, of the murmuring of thoſe *who were hired firſt*, againſt the Maſter of the Houſe, for rewarding the *laſt* equally with them. For this agrees very well with the unconquered Prejudices of the *Jewiſh* Nation; and that Selfiſhneſs of Mind, by which they had ſet themſelves apart from the reſt of the World, and could not bear to think of any who might be equal Sharers with themſelves in the Favour of God, whoſe People they had ſo long been. But it doth not ſeem ſo well to agree with a good Chriſtian's Temper; to repine, and murmur, that any other ſincere Perſons are made as happy, by the Favour of Almighty God, as Himſelf is. It rather adds to ſuch an one's Happineſs, to ſee others happy, than ſours and ſpoils it. But,

2. Let us ſuppoſe that the *Parable* was intended to ſignify to us the Method of God's dealing with particular Perſons, in the great Affair of their Happineſs, and Salvation. And then, what is ſet forth in it, is this, that Almighty God, doth, in his Providence, call and invite ſome Perſons to the Chriſtian Religion ſooner than others; and that thoſe who come lateſt to the Knowledge of his Will, if they readily lay hold on his Invitation; if they accept his Offer; (nor doth the Parable go any farther than the *firſt* Offer;) and comply with his Terms; and enter into his Church; and labour in it; working out their own Salvation, and producing all manner of good Fruits, during that Seaſon of Life which is allowed them after this Call, and Invitation: that thoſe, I ſay, who are thus called, and do thus behave themſelves upon ſuch Call, ſhall, for that hearty Sincerity, be equalled in reward, by Almighty God, to thoſe whom they would have certainly equalled in their Labours, if they had been as ſoon called and invited into his Church.

III. Having thus laid down what was certainly, or might poſſibly be, intended by this *Parable*: it will be the eaſier to ſhew that there is no Foundation in it for any ſuch Imagination, as that the late Sorrow, falſely called Repentance, of any Chriſtian who hath been a wilful habitual Sinner through the whole Courſe of his Life and Health, will atone at laſt, for his Sins: and make him the Object of God's Favour: For,

1. If we take the firſt Account now given of the meaning of this *Parable*; which is certainly the true one; then there is nothing contained in it, but that the *Gentile* World, though called to the Knowledge of God much later than the *Jews*, yet, upon their acceptance of that Call, and their hearty application of themſelves to Chriſtian good Works, ſhall be accepted to equal Privileges, with the *Jews*, who had ſo long before them, been the peculiar People of God. This, therefore, cannot poſſibly bear any relation to the Caſe of ſuch particular Chriſtians, as have been long called to the Knowledge of God, and have wilfully neglected to do the Works of him that called them. No two Matters can be more diſtant from one another, than theſe two are: And, therefore, there can be no imaginable Argument drawn, from one to the other. But,

2. Suppoſing that the *Second* interpretation be pitched upon: yet even on this Suppoſition, the *Parable* ſets forth all of them that are hired, as *Labourers*. The *Houſholder* went out to hire *Labourers* into his Vineyard: not ſuch as profeſſed only to labour; but ſuch as would actually do it. So that it is to none but ſuch, that he agrees to give any Reward. And when the Perſons hired are ſpoken of, they are all deſcribed

as truly ſetting themſelves to labour, as ſoon as they are invited, and called in. All the difference, is, that ſome are met with earlier; and ſome later; but as ſoon as they are ſpoken to, they all immediately leave their former Station; and apply themſelves to work. There is mention, indeed, of ſome *ſtanding idle*: but it was in the *Market-place*; and it was only becauſe they had met with *nobody to hire them* to work. But as ſoon as they are hired, there is no mention of their Idleneſs in the Vineyard: but there they worked immediately, as ſoon as they entered; and continued to do ſo, as long as the Day laſted.

What is there then for a Chriſtian to learn from hence? Why, If this *Parable* touch his particular Caſe; what He muſt learn, is this, *viz.* that the Supreme Houſholder, when He calls him into his Vineyard, the Church, hires him as a *Labourer*; and, under that Notion only, agrees with Him for a Reward; that, as ſoon as He is called to the Knowledge of the Goſpel, his time is come for beginning to work; that, as long as He lives a Profeſſor of the Goſpel, ſo long doth the *Day* laſt in which He is to work; that, if He entred into this Religion in his young and early Days, He muſt in his young and early Days labour in the Works of it; that, if He were old before He came to the Knowledge of it, and had Chriſtianity propoſed to him, He muſt immediately lay hold on the Propoſal; He muſt heartily profeſs himſelf a Diſciple of the Maſter who invites him; He muſt immediately ſet himſelf to his Work, and continue to approve himſelf a faithful Servant to Him, as long as his State of Probation laſts. This is what this *Parable* plainly ſets forth. For there is not one of thoſe mentioned, who did not come into the Vineyard, and work in it, as ſoon as He was called; not one who was idle, unleſs out of neceſſity before He was hired; not one who continued idle afterwards, or did not heartily work in the Vineyard; not one who delayed his coming in, or uſed any pretence to avoid working, while the time for working laſted: And therefore, we find that, their Sincerity being equal, which is the Ground of all, their Lord made their Rewards equal.

If, therefore, We will apply this to the State of particular Perſons in Chriſt's Vineyard, the Church; there can be no hopes of Reward, according to this *Parable*, but to ſuch as carefully and conſcientiouſly ſet themſelves to work in their State of Trial; to ſuch as come in, when God calls them; and make uſe of all their Time afterwards, to promote his Honour, and work out their own Salvation. The Perſon, who is called laſt, and yet hath a Reward, is one who hath not heard of the Goſpel till Age is come upon him; but, as ſoon as He doth hear of it, embraces it; enters into the Service of it, and ſhews himſelf, in the time He hath to live after this, a true and ſincere Diſciple of it, by the amendment and reformation of his Life.

Had it been ſo indeed, that our Lord had repreſented the *Houſholder*, as calling Men into his Vineyard; and, after they had entered into it, and profeſſed to work, and yet ſpent their time in it idly, or miſchievouſly; either in doing nothing, or in ruining his Intereſt; as rewarding ſuch Perſons equally with thoſe who had laboured hard; and this merely for their expreſſing a Sorrow at Night, for the wilful Faults of the whole Day: ſomething then might have been urged; and there might be ſome colour from hence, for hoping that Almighty God will at laſt reward Chriſtians, who profeſs his Service, and enter his Vineyard as Labourers, and live uſeleſs, wicked, and profligate Lives; merely for their ſorrowful Concern for their Sins, at the end of their Day of Trial. But, as the Caſe is; and as the *Parable* is expreſſed: what is there, I beſeech you, in it, that can poſſibly encourage any ſuch Hope? Nay, what is there in it, but what forcibly ſhews the neceſſity of Chriſtian good Works, for the Juſtification of all who are called into Chriſt's Vineyard; whether early or late; whether at the beginning, or towards the end, of their Days?

We, for our parts, generally ſpeaking, are called into God's Vineyard, at the very firſt Hour of the Day, at the dawning of our Lives; educated in the Chriſtian Religion; called upon, day after day, to live worthy of that Holy Vocation wherewith we are called, and of that Profeſſion which we make. We are not, therefore, of the Number of thoſe who ſtood *Idle in the Market-place*, merely becauſe no one would hire them; and ſo were but late called into the Vineyard. But we have been long ago *hired* by God himſelf; and invited into his Service by the promiſe of the moſt immenſe and unſpeakable Rewards. If, therefore, we *ſtand Idle*; it is in his Vineyard, in which we undertook to do him Service. And if it be aſked, *why ſtand you here all the day Idle?* We cannot have that to urge, *becauſe nobody hath hired us:* for God Almighty is our Maſter; and we are his profeſſed Servants. And we can have nothing to expect but the Puniſhment due to ſuch Servants, as hypocritically pretend to ſerve, while they diſhonour and diſobey, their Maſter. Little will it avail us to take Refuge at laſt in Sorrow; when, at the Evening, or at Night, our Work is to be examined; and the Enquiry to be made, what we have done in that Service which we have undertaken. If we appeal to this *Parable*; that ſhews forth no Reward, but for ſuch as have actually worked in the Service of their Maſter, from the time of their admiſſion into the Vineyard, to the time of their being removed out of it: and this will adminiſter but little Comfort to any, who have ſpent the time due to their Maſter, in the Service of his greateſt Enemy. And the mere pretending to be his Diſciple, or Servant, will be ſo far from leſſening, that it muſt increaſe, the Guilt.

In the *Chapter* following This which I am now conſidering, at the 28th Verſe, our Lord propoſeth the following Caſe to the *Jews*. *A certain Man had two Sons, and He came to the firſt, and ſaid, Son, go work to-day in my Vineyard. He anſwered and ſaid, I will not. But afterward He repented, and went. And He came to the ſecond, and ſaid likewiſe. And He anſwered and ſaid, I go, Sir, and went not. Whether of them twain did the Will of his Father? They ſay unto Him, the Firſt.* He propoſeth this, to let them know that it was not the Profeſſion of being his Children, and his People; not the *calling Him, Lord, Lord,* that would ſatisfy Almighty God; but the doing his Will; and that the profeſſing to do it, did but aggravate the Fault of not ſincerely anſwering that Profeſſion. He goes on to tell them, that thoſe very *Harlots* and *Publicans*, who, though before at a diſtance from all pretences to ſerve God, yet repented, and were converted by the Preaching of *John* the *Baptiſt*, would *go into the Kingdom of God*, and be accepted to his Favour, long before ſuch as *They* were; who, making great Profeſſions of belonging to God, and being his People, yet, were ſcandalouſly deficient in performing his Will, and conſtantly employed in provoking Him by their Diſobedience. This is the meaning of thoſe Words; and what follow: *Verily, I ſay unto you, that the Publicans, and the Harlots, go into the Kingdom of God before you.* Not that any, continuing ſuch Sinners, could ever arrive at Happineſs; but, as it follows, that ſuch Sinners, repenting at the Preaching of *John* the *Baptiſt*, and reforming their Lives; even the vile *Publicans*, ſo much deteſted by the *Jews*, ſhould be vaſtly preferred before them, with all their Profeſſions, and all their Proteſtations.

The *Vineyard*, therefore, is not a place of Oſtentation; but of Work; not framed to feed and ſupport the Idle; but to employ the Diligent: not made to adorn, and defend, all thoſe that enter it; but to be adorned, and defended, by thoſe who pretend to come into it. The very Notion of it is, that it wants their Help, and Cultivation. This is what the great Maſter of it expects. This is what he hires his Labourers for. If, therefore, the Reward be ſo great, and ſo certain, for all, who enter as ſoon as they are invited; and ſincerely labour as ſoon as they are entered: how great, and how certain, muſt be the Puniſhment of thoſe who act the Reverſe of this; who enter indeed, with a Profeſſion of working, but baſely deſert the Cauſe, and proſtitute the Honour, and diſregard the Commands, of that great Maſter who called and invited them to his Service.

So that from this *Parable* it is impoſſible to collect any thing to ſooth profeſſed Chriſtians in their hopes of being accepted without a Life of Holineſs and Virtue: nay, it is impoſſible, one would think, not to ſee that the very deſign and intent of it, ſuppoſing it to reſpect particular Perſons, muſt be to ſhew that it is indiſpenſably required of all, at what time ſoever they are called to the Knowledge of God and his Goſpel, to obey that Call; and conſcientiouſly to employ the time allowed them, after this, in the good Works which God hath marked out to them in his Law. Far be it, therefore, from any Chriſtian, who hath long ago entered into God's Vineyard, to argue himſelf, from this part of the Goſpel, into any ſhadow of Hope, whilſt He is in a ſtate of ſupine Neglect of his Duty, or wilful Diſobedience to God.

And if we look into any other of thoſe *Parables*, by which our Lord repreſents the Proceedings of Almighty God with his Servants; we ſhall find the plaineſt Diſcouragement to all ſuch Hopes. When He repreſents Him as a Maſter, intruſting ſeveral ſorts of Talents to ſeveral Servants, *Matth.* xxv. 14, we find that He certainly expects an actual Improvement of thoſe *Talents*; not only, that they ſhould not be made uſe of againſt his Honour and Intereſt, but that they ſhould not be buried, and rendred uſeleſs: And accordingly, that, when one of thoſe Servants appears to his Lord to have buried what was intruſted to Him, that He might be ſure to reſtore it whole at his return; the Sentence is, *Caſt ye the unprofitable Servant into outer Darkneſs: there ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.* See from hence what Almighty God certainly expects from thoſe who are called to his Knowledge, and his Service. Nor could all the Sorrow of that Servant, at his *Maſter's* return, atone, or compenſate, for his paſt ill Conduct.

In the xxiſt *Chapter* God is repreſented as *letting out his Vineyard to Huſbandmen*, who abuſed his Mercy; and, at laſt, as *deſtroying them, and letting out his Vineyard to others who ſhould render him the Fruits in their Seaſons.* In another *Parable*, chap. xviii. at the end, He is repreſented, as *delivering over to the Tormenters*, a Servant, only for being unmerciful, and implacable, towards his Fellow-ſervant. Doth all this look, as if he would accept of any thing, at laſt, at the Hands of thoſe who are called into his Service, inſtead of an hearty and ſincere Obedience; or, as if He did not lay a Duty, an indiſpenſable Duty, upon them; the Duty of reforming whatever is amiſs in themſelves: and of flouriſhing in all thoſe good Fruits, and good Works, which are well-pleaſing in his Eyes?

And thus have I done what I deſigned: And, as I hope, have, in this, and ſeveral other Diſcourſes, effectually ſhewn the great Weakneſs, and Folly, of a Chriſtian's relying upon any thing for Salvation, but the actual Reformation, and Amendment, of what he knows to be ſinful in himſelf.

I can at preſent think but of one thing more that remains to be touched upon, before we leave this Subject. There are ſome Chriſtians, I am ſenſible, who are truly convinced that this is a juſt Account of the Matter; that their only Hopes muſt be in the actual amendment of their Lives, and practice of Virtue, whilſt God gives them opportunity; and that all other Hopes are vain and deluding: and are therefore reſolved to reform what is bad in themſelves. But then, they deferr this great Work; they are unwilling to do it immediately: but hope that what they Deſign may be as well performed ſome time hereafter. They place not their Hopes in any thing but Amendment: but they put off this Amendment till another Seaſon. A few Conſiderations will ſhew us the extreme Hazard, and Folly, of ſuch a Proceeding. For,

1. Suppoſing that they are taken away before they have put this Reſolution into effect; they are, by their own Confeſſion, in a moſt deplorable, inexcuſable, Condition: being removed from hence, in a State, which they themſelves account to be a State condemned by God in his Goſpel. It is the Amendment of their Lives which, they know, He requires; and the reſolution of Amendment, is not Amendment. Nay, indeed, it will be ſo far from helping them, upon this Suppoſition; that it will aggravate their Guilt and their Puniſhment, that they have not actually done what they knew to be their indiſpenſable Duty to do. And who knows when his laſt Hour may come? Is this State a State of Certainty, and Duration? *In the midſt of Life, are we not in Death?* Do we not ſee, every day, Perſons as likely, nay, more likely than ourſelves, to continue here, called to give account of their Lives? What is it then we can hope for? or how can we think it conſiſtent with the loweſt Degree of Prudence, to delay that which we know not whether we can ever have an opportunity to perform, unleſs we lay hold on the preſent? But,

2. What is it that can induce Men to delay this great, and neceſſary Work? Is it the Difficulty of it at preſent? Alas! *that* will be ſo far from being diminiſhed, that it will be increaſed, by time. Every Step we take, in moſt of the Vices, renders the attempt of Reformation ſo much the more difficult. As we grow old, evil Habits grow old upon us. Cuſtom becomes like Nature itſelf; not to be put off, or broken through, but with a difficulty which we become willing at laſt to think inſuperable. This made the *Prophet* cry out, *Can the Ethiopian change his Skin, or the Leopard his Spots? then ſhall ye alſo, that are accuſtomed to do evil, learn to do well.* He thought it ſuch a difficulty, as, in the figurative Style, might be repreſented by Matters utterly impoſſible. Certainly, to delay an important Matter; a Buſineſs neceſſary to be performed, becauſe it is difficult; when every Moment that it is delayed, will add to the difficulty of it; is to put it more out of our Power than it is at preſent: It is to render our Work more difficult, becauſe it is difficult already; which is the moſt inexcuſable Weakneſs.

Or, Is it that Men hope that Time, and Years, will naturally wear out their Inclinations to Sin; and that then they ſhall find it a much more eaſy Matter to live as they ought? Alas! Time, and Years, bring an Inclination to ſome Vices along with them, againſt which we ſhall find enough to do to guard ourſelves; and preſent us with Evils, under which alone we ſhall have enough to do to ſupport ourſelves: and to ſome former Vices they add a Strength, and Force, which they had not before. Nay, what one ill Temper, or bad Inclination or Paſſion, is ever known to be removed, or totally cured, by Years; after an Indulgence hath been given to it through the former Courſe of Life?

It is the Mind, that is the Seat of Vice: and if *that* remain corrupt and vitiated, the Man is ſtill corrupt and vicious in the Eyes of God; how much ſoever his outward Appearance may be altered in other reſpects.

But could it be ſo, that Age and Years would certainly remove all that Viciouſneſs, which Cuſtom had been breeding: yet how little likelihood, as I obſerved before, is there of arriving at ſuch a Term of Years! And how much more likelihood is there of the contrary! And if we ſhould; and that ſhould be the Caſe: yet how would all the Beauty and Reward of Virtue be gone; What a Return would it be to Almighty God, for all his Long-ſuffering, to preſent him at laſt with a Heart dead to all the Purpoſes of Life; rendered uſeleſs, and inſignificant by old Age! What an Affront to Him, to have ſpent all the beſt part of Life in the Service of his Enemy; and then to come and offer Him a Service that hath nothing in it: or, to profeſs to ſerve Him, when we are paſt the time in which it can be acceptable to Him! Is it Virtue, for Creatures in a State of Probation, to leave off Vices, which they cannot retain? to forſake Cuſtoms, which they cannot follow? to pretend to relinquiſh Habits, which have relinquiſhed them? For, in truth, this is the Caſe, upon the preſent Suppoſition. They deſign to ſerve God with the Dregs of Life; They leave not their Vices, but their Vices leave them; They abandon not their Sins, but their Sins have abandoned them.

Try, therefore, how ſuch an Offer, and ſuch a Dedication of yourſelves to God, after a multitude of Years ſpent in the hearty Service of his Adverſary, will ſound. Suppoſe yourſelves in his Preſence, addreſſing to Him in this manner. "Lord! We have indeed ſpent the Vigour of our whole Life, in the "Service of Sin; in diſhonouring Thee; and in neglecting thy Religion. The "time is now come, when we can ſin no longer, when our Vices have aban-"doned us; and Human Society hath as it were excluded us. Behold! now, "that we cannot well do any thing elſe, we offer to Thee our Services, which "are without Vigour or Force; and preſent to Thee the Dregs of Life, and the "Refuſe of all our Years[a]." This is what every Man muſt in effect ſay, that puts off his Amendment till Old-age; upon ſuppoſition that He ſhall arrive at it; and that then He ſhall be able, and willing, to ſin no longer. And if there cannot be a greater Affront imagined, than ſuch an Offer; and if it be the greateſt Shame even to think of ſuch a Return to God as this: let not any Conſideration in the World move any of us to defer ſo indiſpenſable a Duty to a time ſo improper, and ſo utterly unfit for it.

Let us conſider what hath been ſaid; that our Days are uncertain; and, therefore, that it is Madneſs to put off, even for one Day, that Work which is certainly neceſſary; that if we ſhould have more time allowed us, yet our Buſineſs of Amendment would grow more and more difficult every Day; that the preſent time is that in which it is moſt eaſy, and moſt likely, to be effected; and that if we could ſuppoſe any ſuch time to be coming to us in this State, in which our Vices will forſake us whether we will or no, we muſt not expect that this ſhall be accounted our Virtue, and reckoned to us for Reward, any more than our ceaſing to ſin, when we are laid in our Graves: or that God will accept the Preſent of our Service, when all our paſt Health and Life have been wilfully ſpent in the Proſecution of our Luſts; and we now offer it to Him, becauſe we know not what elſe to do with it.

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[a] See Archbiſhop *Tillotſon's* Sermon concerning the Advantages of Early Piety.

What remains, therefore, but that we immediately ſet about that Work, which cannot be too ſoon begun; nor too ſoon finiſhed? A Work ſo neceſſary, that it is impoſſible to be happy without it? That nothing delude us into a Delay, in a Caſe in which the leaſt Delay may be our Ruine? That no Pretence, of what ſort ſoever, divert us from the entring into the Paths of that Holineſs, *without which no Man ſhall ſee the Lord?* Nothing but this can give us Peace of Conſcience here: nothing but this can aſſure us of the leaſt Degree of Happineſs hereafter. And God grant that this may be the Effect of what hath been ſaid; for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake our Lord! *To whom, with the Father, and Holy Spirit, be all Glory now, and for evermore. Amen!*

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SIXTEEN

SIXTEEN
SERMONS
FORMERLY PRINTED,

Collected into ONE VOLUME in 1754.

Of the Evils falſly imputed to Chriſtianity. In Two Sermons[a].
On the Queen's Acceſſion Day[b].
Of Subjection to the Higher Powers[c].
The Unhappineſs of Abſolute Monarchy[d].
St. Paul's Behaviour to the Civil Magiſtrate[e].
Of the Extremes of Implicit Faith and Infidelity. In Four Sermons[f].
The Deluſion of Proteſtants.
The Reſtoration made a Bleſſing.
The Nature and Duty of a Publick Spirit.
The Nature of the Kingdom of Chriſt[g].
At the Funeral of Mrs. Howland.
On Jan. 30, before the Houſe of Lords.

To which are added,

SIX SERMONS upon PUBLICK OCCASIONS,

The Nature and Duty of Moderation.
Of GOD's Dealings with Sinful Nations.
The Duty of Praying for Governours.
Of the Government of GOD's Providence.
The Miſchief of Inteſtine Quarrels.
The Conſideration of our Latter End.

PREFACE.

A SHORT Account of the *following Sermons*, now publiſhed in the Order of Time in which they were *preached*, will not, I hope, be thought improper.

The *Two firſt* of them were preached at St. *Swithin's* Church in the Year 1702, where I then officiated for Mr. *Hodges*, the worthy Rector of that Pariſh, during his *Abſence* at *Sea*, as *Chaplain-general* of the *Fleet*. *They* were occaſioned by the great *Fury* in *Party-matters*, which *then* raged: And were honeſtly deſigned to ſhew, that the *Violences* of *Chriſtians* ought not to be charged upon the *Chriſtian Religion* itſelf.

The *Third* Sermon was *preached* at the Church of *St. Peter's Poor*, on the *Acceſſion-day* of Queen ANNE to the Throne, *March* 8, 1704-5, when I thought it my Duty to take that firſt Opportunity, after my coming thither, of declaring againſt the Abuſes of that Day. The printing of it was entirely owing to the earneſt Requeſt of ſome of the Chief Pariſhioners, who heard it. When it appeared, I was much abuſed in a Pamphlet, for what *They* thought ſo well of, by a *then* neighbouring *Clergyman*, to whom I gave no *Anſwer* but by a private Letter to a Friend of His.

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[a] Printed in Vol. I. p. 33—47.
[b] Printed in Vol. II. p. 103—108.
[c] Printed in Vol. II. p. 18—25.
[d] Printed in Vol. II. p. 109—117.
[e] Printed in Vol. II. p. 118—125.
[f] Printed in Vol. I. p. 152—179.
[g] Printed in Vol. II. p. 402—409.

The *Fourth* is, *That* Sermon about *Magiſtrates* and *Subjects*, preached at St. *Laurence's*, on *Sept.* 29, 1705, which was followed by a long *Controverſy*, upon the Subject of it. I was called to it by the accidental Mention of Me, by a Friend, to Sir *Owen Buckingham*, then *Lord Mayor*, with whom I had not Myſelf the leaſt Acquaintance. The *Reader* has *heard*, if not *read*, enough of this long ago. I ſhall ſay no more of it in this Place, than That, from the Date of this Sermon, near *Fifty Years* ago, a Torrent of *angry Zeal* began to pour out itſelf upon Me, which, though *for the preſent* indeed very diſagreeable; yet, opened a Way to ſuch *Explications* of the Doctrine of it, and *Reaſonings* about it, as have produced What, at the End, makes Me not to repent of having preached it.

The *Fifth* was preached at the *Aſſizes*, in *March*, 1707-8, at *Hertford*, at the Requeſt of the *High Sheriff*, Sir *Richard Houblon*. The Subjects of it, *The Happineſs of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and the Unhappineſs of Abſolute Monarchy*, were pointed out to Me, too ſtrongly to be neglected, by the publick Writings of that Time; particularly Thoſe of Mr. *Leſly*, then much celebrated by Many.

The *Sixth* was preached at the ſame Place, at the Summer *Aſſizes* in 1708, at the Requeſt of the ſame Gentleman. The Subject is, St. *Paul's Behaviour* to the *Civil Magiſtrate*: which was choſen by *Me*, on account of many *Paſſages*, relating to that *Apoſtle*, in the *Political Controverſies* in thoſe Days very warmly handled; and therefore *not unſeaſonable*.

The *Four* next Sermons, about the Duty of *Enquiry*, and the *Extremes* of *Implicit Faith* and *Infidelity*, were preached at my *Pariſh Church*, in the Year 1712, on occaſion of the many Writings publiſhed about that Time, which ſeemed on one hand, to attack the *Chriſtian Religion* itſelf; and, on the other, to diſcourage a Free *Examination* of it.

The *Eleventh*, called *The preſent Deluſion of Many*, &c. was preached at St. *Peter's Poor*, *November* 5, 1715, and was occaſioned by the *Rebellion* then on foot; and the unaccountable Conduct of *many Proteſtants*, with relation to it, which ſufficiently juſtified the *Title* given to the *Sermon*, when it was, at the Deſire of Many, immediately printed.

The *Twelfth* was preached on *May* 29, 1716, at St. *James's* Chapel, at the Requeſt of the then *Lord Almoner*, to whoſe Care the Sermon of that Day belongs. All that I ſhall ſay of it is, That the *Subject* of it, *viz.* The Reſtoration *made a Bleſſing by the* Proteſtant Succeſſion, which had then juſt taken Place; muſt be allowed to be as pertinent to the *Day*, as Any that could poſſibly have been thought of.

The *Thirteenth* was preached to the Society of the Gentlemen of *Wales*, *March* 1, 1716. The *Subject* of it, *The* Nature *and* Duty *of a* Publick Spirit, I thought particularly of Importance at that Time; and, I can truly ſay, was choſen without the leaſt Thought of reflecting on any One Man or Set of Men, more than Another; but entirely with a View to the *Duty* of *All* equally, to have a Sacred Regard to the Good of the Whole, and to ſacrifice All their Paſſions to *That*.

The *Fourteenth* is the *Sermon* concerning *the* Nature *of the* Kingdom *of* Chriſt, which is known too well, by the many and publick *Debates* occaſioned by it, to need any word about it here. At whoſe Requeſt it was commanded to be publiſhed,

liſhed, I know not. But I know, that it was not, either directly or indirectly, from any Deſire of mine.

The *Fifteenth* was preached at the *Funeral* of an Excellent Lady, Mrs. *Howland*; and deſigned, as all ſuch Diſcourſes ought to be, for the Uſe and Service of All *Chriſtians*. But here I cannot but think it a Due, in point of Gratitude, to Her Memory, publickly to acknowledge this Singular Obligation to Her, That in the Year 1710, when *Fury* ſeemed to be let looſe, and to diſtinguiſh *Me* particularly; She Herſelf, unaſked, unapplied to; without my having ever ſeen Her, or been ſeen by Her; choſe, by preſenting Me to the *Rectory* of *Stretham*, then juſt vacant, to ſhew, in her own Expreſſion, *That ſhe was neither aſhamed, nor afraid*, to give Me that publick Mark of her *Regard* at that Critical Time.

The *Sixteenth* was preached on the *Anniverſary Faſt-day*, on account of the *Martyrdom* of King *Charles* I, and publiſhed by Order of the *Houſe* of LORDS. It was not calculated to provoke, but to appeaſe, the Paſſions of Men. And, as far as publickly appeared, It was received without any Marks of much Diſpleaſure againſt it.

Of the *Six* additional Sermons, never before publiſhed, I need ſay no more, than that the *Two* firſt were preached at St. *Swithin's*, and the other *Four* at St. *Peter's Poor*, upon Days appointed for publick *Faſts* or *Thankſgivings*: And that they are chiefly upon the *Subjects* of Univerſal Amendment of our Lives; Good Temper, *Union*, *Love*, and *mutual Charity*, at Home: All, as *Practical* and *Uſeful*, as I could make Them; and equally applicable to All *Men* and *Chriſtians*, in the Nation.

If Any ſhall judge, from ſome Diſcourſes in this Volume, That I uſed to entertain my Pariſhioners, in my *Sunday-diſcourſes*, with *Political*, or *Controverſial*, Points, they will be as much *miſtaken*, as many others were heretofore *diſappointed*, who came to hear me, with the ſame Notion. The *Sermons* on the *Terms* of *Acceptance*, printed long ago, may beſt ſhew, in how *plain*, and how *practical*, a Manner I endeavoured to inſtruct Thoſe in whom I was moſt nearly concerned.

The only *Inferences* in my own Favor, which I wiſh to be drawn from what is now publiſhed, are, That I never omitted any One publick Opportunity, in proper Time and Place, of defending and ſtrengthening the true and only *Foundation* of all our *Civil* and *Religious Liberties*, when it was every Day moſt zealouſly attacked; and of doing all in my Power, that All the *Subjects* of this *Government*, and this *Royal Family*, ſhould underſtand, and approve of, thoſe *Principles*, upon which alone their Happineſs is fixed; and *without which*, it could never have been rightfully Eſtabliſhed, and muſt in Time fall to the Ground: And alſo, That I was as ready, whenever Occaſion was offered, by the Writings and Attacks of *Unbelievers*, and by the abſurd *Repreſentations* of *Others*, to defend a Religion, moſt amiable in all its precepts, and moſt beneficial to *Human Society*, in the only Way proper; by ſhewing it, in its native Light, with which it ſhines in the *New Teſtament* itſelf, free from all the *Falſe Paint* with which *Some*, or the undeſerved *Dirt* with which *Others*, have covered it.

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The preſent Deluſion of many Proteſtants, conſidered.

SERMON XI[h].

Preached at St. PETER's POOR, November 5, 1715.

2 THESS. ii. 11.

And for this Cauſe God ſhall ſend them ſtrong Deluſion, that they ſhould believe a Lie.

THIS Day hath ſo juſt a Title to every Sentiment, and every Signification, of Joy and Gratitude, We can poſſibly entertain or expreſs, as We are *Chriſtians*, as We are Proteſtants, and as We are Men; that I could heartily wiſh that every Thought and every Token of Uneaſineſs, might be baniſhed far from it. But ſince it is ſo, that it bears upon it, not only the Signatures of God's repeated Mercy to this Nation; but the Marks of an Ingratitude and Stupidity, perhaps, not to be equalled in all Hiſtory: Since it doth not more effectually call to our Mind that Great Wonder of Providence, to which it gave a Beginning within our own Memory, and which our own Eyes have ſeen compleated; than it points out to us that Scene of Iniquity and Rebellion, which is now opened, in order to perplex and unravel that lovely Frame of Things, which Heaven itſelf hath wrought for us: The Commemoration of the Bleſſings of this Day, cannot but lead our Thoughts, at preſent, to the Attempts of Thoſe, who would rob us, and all our Poſterity, of them; and muſt create in us an Aſtoniſhment, mixed with Pity and Indignation, at the Conduct of many amongſt Us, from whom the Ties of Religion, the Solemnity of Oaths, the Security of all that is valuable in this World, the Intereſt of their Native Country, and all the Obligations of Honour, and Conſcience, required and demanded another Manner of Behaviour.

It is a Conduct, indeed, which can hardly be reſolved into any thing, but a *Fatal Deluſion*, ſent down upon them, as a juſt Puniſhment of their Ingratitude for the greateſt Publick Happineſs that ever any Nation enjoyed; and will at leaſt give us a ſenſible Demonſtration, that, as in Religion, according to the *Apoſtle*, a perverſe and a wilful Oppoſition to *Truth*, naturally, as well as by the Juſtice of God, leads, in the End, to a Belief, and Confidence, in every Thing abſurd, and unreaſonable: So, in worldly Matters, Ingratitude, and Inſenſibility, under the Publick Bleſſings of Providence, lead Men, Step by Step, to miſtake Evil for Good; to court Miſery for Happineſs; and to purſue their own Ruin, under the Notion of ſomething deſireable: And that, in both Caſes, it is but juſt in Almighty God, to puniſh Men for their wilful Baſeneſs of Spirit, by leaving them entirely to the Conduct of it; and, in the *Scripture Phraſe, to ſend Them*, who will not know the Value of Truth or Happineſs, freely offered to them, *a ſtrong Deluſion, that they ſhould believe a Lie*; and be led blindfold, by the greateſt Abſurdities, againſt all the Evidences of Reaſon, and Experience, into the Paths of Ruin and Deſtruction. Nor were there ever indeed, more ſurprizing Inſtances of this, than what our own Eyes may, at this Time, behold, in this Kingdom.

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[h] The *Ten* Firſt Sermons of this Collection, and the *Fourteenth*, are already printed in theſe Volumes; ſee above, p. 620.

The Wonder is not, that the profeſſed Members of the *Church* of *Rome*, unite their Hearts and Hands; and leave no Methods, whether of Deceit or Violence, unattempted, for the Service of that Cauſe, which, in all their loweſt Fortunes, they never ſuffer to be removed out of their Sight; that *They* put on all the Forms of Complaiſance, and Diſſimulation; of Civility and Good-humour, even to Hereticks themſelves, to inveigle them into their own Ruin; that They flatter, and promiſe, and ſwear, every thing that is good and kind, to their Fellow-labourers; and, at the ſame time, enter into all the Reſolutions of Deſtruction, and Deſolation, whenever the Opportunity of Power ſhall come. This is nothing, but what is worthy of Themſelves, and of that *Church*, to the Slavery of which They have devoted themſelves. It is no more, than what They fairly, and publickly, profeſs; if *Proteſtants* will but open their Eyes, and ſee it. It is their Religion, and their Conſcience: It is inculcated upon them, as the Great Condition of their Acceptance with God, That no Good-nature of their own; no Obligations from others; no Ties of Oaths, and ſolemn Aſſurances; no Regards to Truth, Juſtice, or Honour; are to reſtrain Them from any Thing, let it be of what Sort ſoever, that is for the Security, or Temporal Advancement, of their Church.

The Caſe with *Them* is not, as it is with *Proteſtants*, who, to their Shame, have indeed been unmerciful to one another, on all Sides: But then, their mutual Violences have been rather the ſudden Effects of Paſſion and Revenge; And ſtill there hath been a Principle left, by which, in the Time of calm and cool Reflexion, there may be Hope of curing ſo great an Evil. And every Sort of them, when they are undermoſt, diſown, and diſclaim, the Lawfulneſs of all ſuch Proceedings.

But in the *Romiſh Church*, it is firmly ſetled, upon never-altered Principles; it is an Eſtabliſhed *Article* of Religion; equally believed, and owned, and inculcated, in their Adverſity, and low Eſtate, as in the Heighth of their Power. It ſtands unrepealed, upon Record; and it is confirmed by Experience, that *They* are moſt likely not to fail of the Honours of Saintſhip, and the Applauſes of that *Church*, who act the moſt uniformly, and the moſt ſteadily, upon that Foundation. Every Weapon they uſe, is ſanctified; every Inſtance of Fraud, and Perfidiouſneſs; every Degree of Violence, and Fury; is conſecrated. It is not only allowed; but firſt recommended, and afterwards rewarded.

This, therefore, is not the Wonder, that Men devoted to ſuch a *Church*, keep up to their antient Character, and Profeſſion; that they do not deflect a Step from the Glories of their *Illuſtrious Anceſtors*; that They are not at all moved by the Peace and Intereſt of their Country; nor by that Security and Quiet, which even Themſelves might enjoy, by the Indulgence of a Government They will not Support; that *They* are ſtill the ſame implacable Adverſaries; and ſtill ſet on Fire, by the Principles, and the Zeal, of their Religion, to ſcatter Ruin, and Deſtruction, round about them; and to deprive their Neighbours of every Thing that is Good and Valuable.

But the Wonder is, that ſo Many of Thoſe, who call themſelves Proteſtants; and of Thoſe, who have violently wreſted the Name of *Church-men*, out of the Hands of their Brethren, and appropriated it to themſelves, as its only Advocates and Patriots; of Thoſe, whoſe Cares for its Intereſt, and Fears for its Safety, have been ſwelled and magnified, above thoſe of all around them, to a Degree almoſt Romantick; and even of ſome, amongſt them, who have ſolemnly given their Faith to the *preſent Eſtabliſhment*, and not only ſworn themſelves to *That*, but abjured all contrary Pretenſions: That ſo many, I ſay, who will take it amiſs not to be called *Proteſtants*, and much more amiſs, not to be called *Church-men*, have ſhewn too great a Readineſs to join, ſome, their Hands, ſome, their Hearts, and ſome, their Indifference, with the worſt of Enemies, in the worſt of Cauſes; and to be deluded themſelves, as well as help to delude others, into utter Deſtruction, by the weakeſt, and moſt groundleſs Inſinuations, and all the moſt abſurd Methods, that ever any Cauſe was ſupported, and propagated by. It cannot, therefore, but be of Uſe, at this Time, to conſider more particularly,

I. The *Cauſe*, now openly avowed by our Enemies.

II. The *Marks* of a *ſtrong Deluſion*, in the *Behaviour* of *Thoſe*, whom I have juſt now mentioned, with relation to it.

I. The *Cauſe* is now openly avowed. It is no longer either denied, or diſſembled. It is, to ſet upon the Throne of theſe Kingdoms, a *Pretender*, at whoſe firſt Appearance in the World, the whole Nation of *Proteſtants*, of all Parties, and all Orders, and all Degrees, was filled with univerſal Diſſatisfaction, and Uneaſineſs, by the Concurrence of all the ſuſpicious Circumſtances that could well be united in one Matter of Fact; and whoſe *Imaginary Title* our Laws abhor, as abſolutely inconſiſtent with Themſelves, and ruinous to our whole Conſtitution: And not only this, but a *Pretender*, who, to make Him the fitter to govern this *Proteſtant* Nation, and to be the Patron of this *Proteſtant* Church, hath received all his firſt, and deepeſt Impreſſions, from *That* of *Rome*, to which He hath devoted Himſelf with an uncommon Bigotry.

And this *Church*, from which alone He hath learned all his Obligations, and every thing that He accounts *Religion*, is the Same, which keeps up an eternal Claim to the *Riches*, as well as the *Obedience*, of this Nation: The ſame, which hath aſſured Him, with the aſſumed Authority of God himſelf, that He not only *may*, but *muſt*; that it is not only *lawful*, but his *Duty*, by all the Methods of Diſſimulation and Force, to extirpate *Hereſy* out of our Religion, or Ourſelves out of the World: The Same, which hath taught Him, that Promiſes, and Profeſſions, made to *Hereticks*, in order to the obtaining his End, are good, and laudable; but, after *that* is obtained, become *Sin, by being obſerved:* The Same, in one Word, which knows no Virtue, but, that which is the Meaneſt Vice and Diſgrace of Human Nature, a blind Submiſſion of the Conſcience to Man's Authority, where Men can have no Authority; and which knows no Vice, but, that which is the Supreme Virtue and Glory of an Underſtanding Being, the *ſtanding faſt in that Religious Liberty*, with which Almighty God, both by the Law of Nature, and the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt, hath made us Free*; that *Freedom of Choice*, and honeſt Uſe of our Reaſon, (the neglected Gift of God,) which alone can render the Religion of a Man, acceptable in his Eyes.

If the Impreſſions of this, are ſo much decayed with Any amongſt Us, that They aſk, *Where*, or *When*, That Church hath taught Him all this: Let any of its Advocates, anſwer, and tell us, *Where*, or *When*, that *Church* ever taught the contrary: Let them name any one Inſtance, in which the publick Authority, or the moſt celebrated Writers, of that *Church*, ever diſapproved or condemned; or ever did not encourage, and applaud, any Sort of Wickedneſs for their own Temporal Intereſt: Let them ſhew us, where their Leaders inculcate it, as an Indiſpenſable Duty, that *Oaths* taken, and *Promiſes* ſolemnly made, to Such as they pleaſe to account *Hereticks*, are to be Religiouſly obſerved: Let them produce their Authentick Condemnations, and Anathematizations, of Thoſe of their own *Church*, who have dealt in all the Arts of *Perfidiouſneſs* and *Cruelty*, to enlarge, or recover, Dominion, and Riches. This might juſtly be expected; if it were juſt to expect what is impoſſible.

They themſelves know that this is no Imaginary *Satyr*, merely to embelliſh a Diſcourſe; or to raiſe the Paſſions of Men: But that it is too plain to all, who will open their Eyes, and ſee. It is writ too deep in Characters of Blood, and Ruine, to be ſo much as denied even by themſelves, that the Methods, of *Diſſimulation*, to inveigle unhappy Men into a Truſt and Confidence; of *Perfidiouſneſs*, to cut in ſunder the Ties of all Security; of *Barbarities*, and *Inhumanities*, in cold Blood, and upon mature Deliberation, have been all conſecrated to Glory; bleſſed, applauded, and rewarded, by the Publick Voice of that Church: Whoſe true, and legitimate Son, we acknowledge *Him* to be, who now claims our Deſtruction, as his Right; and comes forth to aſſert it, Sanctified by the Benedictions, and prepared by the Leſſons, of ſo Holy a Mother; and fired with the Madneſs of Revenge, made Ten times Hotter by the Fury of ſuch a Religion. This is a ſhort View of that *Scene* of Things, which not only *may*, but *muſt come*, if the *Cauſe* now avowed by our Enemies ſhould be crowned with Power and Opportunity.

One would think, indeed, if either the Senſe of Feeling, or of Gratitude, were not wholly dead amongſt Us, it might be enough to alarm the coldeſt Breaſt, to think only upon what the ſame *Cauſe* profeſſeth, and attempts, to remove from Us. To deprive Us, of a KING, who is poſſeſſed of all the Royal and Humane Virtues, that any Nation could wiſh to ſee United in a Governour; and poſſeſſed of them, in ſo great a degree, that were his *People* but as willing to be made happy, as *He* is to make them ſo, nothing upon Earth could equal the Bleſſings of his Reign; of a KING, who hath given the World, the ſenſible and certain Demonſtration of Experience, that no Heighth of Power can corrupt the Equity of his Nature, or diſorder the Temper of His Soul: To deprive Us of ſuch a KING; and with Him, of a PRINCE, whoſe Noble Paſſion for the true Intereſt of this Nation, makes His Name dear to every true *Briton*, and every True *Proteſtant*: Of a PRINCESS, Whoſe Private Virtues give Light, and Pleaſure to all around Her; and Whoſe Greatneſs of Soul taught Her long ago, to diſdain the Allurements of *Popery*, though clothed in all this World's Majeſty, and Glory: And of a *Numerous Race*, to be formed for the ſupport of our Religion, and Liberties, by theſe Examples: Such a *Scene* of *Good*, in Poſſeſſion, as Few Nations upon Earth have ever experienced! And ſuch a View of *Good* to come, as calls the *Bleſſings* of *Future* Times into *our own*; and adds to the Happineſs of the Preſent Generation, a *Taſte* of the Happineſs of their Poſterity! And, what is this, in other Words, but, to deprive Us of every preſent Good, and every future Hope, of *Proteſtants*, *Britons*, and *Men*?

If we ſum it up, therefore, and ſhew it in one View; the *Cauſe* now entered into, by our Enemies, is, To remove from Us, a KING whoſe *Right* is the very Eſſence, Band, and Fundamental Law, of *Society*; and whoſe Inclination, Nature, and Religion, all conſpire to make Him the Father of his People, delighting in their Happineſs, as in his own: And to place in his ſtead, a *Pretender*, whoſe Imaginary *Title* is founded upon the very Suppoſition of our *Ruine*; and Who, if He were poſſeſſed of all the Good Qualities with which His Beſt Friends could wiſh, at this time, to paint Him out, yet, is Himſelf poſſeſſed by ſuch a *Religion*, as muſt deſtroy them all; ſuch a *Religion*, as teacheth Him not to expect either Favour from Thoſe who profeſs it here, or Mercy from God hereafter, unleſs He makes the Deſtruction, both of our *Church* and *State*, the Great Buſineſs of his Life, whenever He hath Power in his Hands: Nay, aſſures Him of the Wrath both of God and Man, ſhould He be ſo *Wicked*, as ever to think of obſerving thoſe *Proteſtations*, or keeping thoſe *Promiſes*, which are only allowed to delude unwary Men into their own Ruine. This is the Aſpect, which it hath upon ourſelves, at preſent.

And then, for the future, It is not only to remove from Us, thoſe *Royal Pledges* of Good to come, which our Eyes now behold; but it is to baniſh far out of our Sight, the moſt diſtant Proſpect of any Proteſtant Royal Family, for ever; and to place over Us, a long Chain of Popiſh Succeſſors, never to be diſſolved, or interrupted; in which the latter Branches may be ſure to compleat any Part of our Ruine, in which the Former may have failed. So that it is, in deed, and in truth, to rob Us, and our lateſt Poſterity, of every thing We can Value, in this World; and, at the ſame time, of all Thought of ever enjoying it again: And it is, to bring upon Us, and upon all after Us, every Evil that Human Nature ought moſt to fear, without ſo much as the faint Glimmering of any *Hope* of Future Redreſs.

This is the *Cauſe* now ſet on foot by our Enemies. And, I am very ſure, not aggravated beyond Truth; becauſe it is a *Cauſe*, too bad to be capable of Aggravation. No Colours can make it more black, than it is, in itſelf. No Words can repreſent it worſe, than it repreſents itſelf now to the World, ſupported by the Zeal of *Popery:* whoſe only Strength lies in the One Comprehenſive Principle, of Holy Perfidiouſneſs, and Iniquity; which tears every Good Principle up by the Roots, and ſanctifies and ſtrengthens every bad one. I might have placed before your Eyes, a Scene of thoſe Evils, which the conſtant Experience of this Nation itſelf, as well as of All around Us, aſſures Us, have always accompanied it. But I choſe rather to ſhew it in another Light; that Such as are deluded with the ſmooth Words, and fair Promiſes, of its Advocates, may be convinced, from thoſe Obligations of Religion, and Conſcience, which it layeth upon its Diſciples, that It not only always was, in fact, ſo fatal, wherever it hath prevailed; but *never can be otherwiſe*. And yet, even with reſpect to this *Cauſe*; the Worſt, in all its Circumſtances, that any Nation under Heaven can be witneſs to; how aſtoniſhing is the Conduct of Many, who call themſelves *Proteſtants*, and perhaps think Themſelves ſo? Let us now, therefore, conſider,

II. The Marks of a *ſtrong Deluſion*, in the Behaviour of Thoſe, who join either their *Hands*, or their *Hearts*, or their *Indifference*, to carry on the Work of our Worſt Enemies; whilſt they expect to be thought *Proteſtants*, and *Churchmen*. And,

1. How ſtrong a *Deluſion* muſt be upon the Minds of thoſe Men, who have ſhewn themſelves as ready to ſwallow all the moſt ridiculous, and groundleſs Stories; as the Diſciples of *Popery* have been to invent, and propagate them! If one reflects upon what hath paſſed amongſt Us of late, one would be apt to think, that the whole Conduct of the *Machine* for making and diſtributing *Falſe Reports* to the Credulous People, had been lodged, and entruſted, with the Managers of the *Popiſh Cauſe*, in this Kingdom. I forbear to look back farther. It is enough to remember, that *His Majeſty* had no ſooner taken Quiet Poſſeſſion of that *Throne*, which God hath given *Him*, but that all the Scandal, and Infamy; every thing that could tend to make *Himſelf*, and his *Illuſtrious Family*,

Family, contemptible, or hateful, was ſcattered about, with a Diligence and Zeal almoſt incredible. No matter how inconſiſtent; how ſelf-contradictory; how much beyond the common ſize of Credibility; from that Day to this, it hath been dealt about, with ſo uninterrupted an Induſtry, that, I believe, no Age ever was witneſs to ſo many, and ſo extravagant Inventions of Malice, crowded into ſo ſhort a Period of Time: And every one of them ſo viſibly, and palpably, framed to ſerve the *Cauſe of Popery*; and ſo hugged, and enjoyed, by the *Papiſts*; (who all the while are laughing at the Credulity of their *Fellow-labourers*;) that no *Proteſtants*, of what Church ſoever, but ſuch as are wilfully, or fatally, blind to their own Preſervation, could ſhew that Greedineſs, which hath been obſerved, in ſwallowing, and ſpreading all the *Fictions* of their *Worſt Enemies*; and that reſolute Backwardneſs to believe the contrary, to which even their own Senſes might be Witneſſes. I have an Eye particularly now, to that Heap of *Mean*, and *Low Calumny*; to that immenſe Number of the moſt groveling Falſhoods, (not fit to be mentioned) calculated for the *Populace*; ſome for a Week, ſome for a Day, or even for an Hour: in order to alienate their Affections from their only true Intereſt, and to turn their Paſſions another way.

2. But this alone would not do. The Great Artifice of the *Romaniſts*, who are ever obliged, in Conſcience, to keep our Ruine in their Eye, hath been to give a falſe Scent to Many *Proteſtants*, who might otherwiſe join in oppoſing their conſtant Deſigns; to turn their Jealouſies to Shadows of their own raiſing; and, in order to remove their Thoughts from real Danger, to make them *Fear, where no Fear is.* And, acting this part, with their uſual Dexterity, in conjunction with the Fire of Ambition in *Some*, and the Conſcientiouſneſs of Guilt in *Others*; they have had too much Succeſs in it, amongſt Thoſe, who ſeem little to care what becomes of the *Publick*, if *Themſelves* be not pleaſed in all things.

I ſhall mention only *One*, or *Two*, of the moſt remarkable Inſtances of this. In order to turn the Jealouſies of weak Men, from their own Quarter, upon the *Government* itſelf, it hath been one Great Piece of their Art, to repreſent all Attempts in favour of the *Pretender*, as *Chimæras*, and Impoſſible Imaginations; and, at the ſame time, to give Aſſurances to all truſty and faithful Friends, that the Attempt was certain, and too deeply laid, to miſcarry. This, they knew, would be of ſervice to Them, two ways. The *One* Part of it would keep up the Hearts, and Spirits, of the Friends of his Cauſe; and prepare Them for his Aſſiſtance: Nay, and increaſe their Number, and their Inſolence. And the *Other*, would be ſure to bring *Reproaches* upon any ſuch Preparations of Defenſe, as would be abſolutely neceſſary to oppoſe ſuch an Attempt. This was carried farther: even to the charging, or inſinuating, Deſigns of *Arbitrary Power*, to be ſupported by an Army, here at Home. So that this was the *Hard Lot* of Thoſe, who had the Care of the Nation in their Truſt. If They made no Proviſion for our Security, before ſuch an *Attempt* was opened; our Enemies might the better promiſe Themſelves Succeſs. And if they did; the ſame Enemies were ſure to Tax them with ſuch Deſigns, as might Fire the *People* againſt their *Rightful* KING: the Conſequence of which, They well knew, would be, to diſpoſe them the more readily to receive the *Pretender*. But what a *Deluſion* muſt this be! For, as, on the one ſide, The greateſt Enemies of the KING cannot name any one thing that looks like ſo much as a Diſpoſition that way; and, as He hath given *Us*, and all *Europe*, the greateſt Proofs, and the greateſt Security, of the contrary: So, on the other ſide, They ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded to throw themſelves headlong into the *Arms* of *Arbitrary Power*, under Pretenſe of running from it. For this is certain, that, ſhould the *Cauſe* of the *Pretender* ever ſucceed, it is ſo big with the Miſeries of *Popery* and *Revenge*, that nothing but *Arbitrary Power* can poſſibly ſupport it: nor will it ever truſt itſelf here again, under the Influences of *Law*, and *Liberty*.

But the Great, and perhaps the moſt Prevailing; I am ſure, the moſt Aſtoniſhing, *Deluſion* of all, is, *That* of thoſe *Proteſtants*, who Suffer the *Papiſts* to poſſeſs them with an Imaginary Fear about the Security of the *Church* of *England*; and then, with blinded Eyes, and darkened Underſtandings, to expect its greater Security, in the *Pretender's* Cauſe. This, I ſhould think enough to cure any *Proteſtant* of this Jealouſy; that, from the beginning of that Groundleſs Cry, it was very obſervable that the Sons of the *Church* of *Rome* joined, with their loudeſt Zeal and Noiſe, in it. For, what a ſhameleſs Inſult is this upon the Common Senſe of Mankind, for *Them* to put on an Air of Concern, and Tenderneſs, for a *Church*, which they not only Hate, with an implacable Hatred; but which, it is a Meritorious Part of their Religion, to deſtroy from the Earth! I would appeal to any of the moſt deluded *Proteſtants*, who will but promiſe to recollect their Thoughts for a Moment, whether the *Papiſts* joining in ſpreading this Jealouſy of the Danger of a *Church*, which they Hate, be not a certain Proof, that They think it really in a Flouriſhing Condition; much too ſecure for their Deſigns, and their Intereſt, unleſs, by ſuch frightful Fictions, They can entice *Proteſtants* themſelves to join with them, in it's Deſtruction.

It is fruitleſs to obſerve to ſuch *Proteſtants*, unleſs They will lay aſide their ſtrong Prejudices againſt their own Intereſt, that the Worſt Enemies of the KING, and the *Adminiſtration*, cannot produce one Inſtance, I will not ſay, of an Injury, but of any Diſregard, to this *Church*; but might produce many, if they would be ſo juſt, of the contrary: As many, as in ſo ſhort a Time could be poſſibly given. But if they reſolve to ſwallow all the groundleſs Jealouſies of this ſort; yet, what a degree of Infatuation muſt it be, to think of *Security*, where there *can* be none! To fly from the Imaginary Suſpicion, to the real Certainty of Ruine! To run from Thoſe, who, they weakly ſuſpect, *may*; to Thoſe, who, They know, *muſt*, deſtroy it! Or, Is there any new League of ſtrict Love and Friendſhip, now made, between the *Church* of *Rome*, and *Us*? and tied by cloſer Bonds than *Proteſtations*, and *Promiſes*, which it is their Duty to break, as ſoon as They can? Or, Is all the Cunning and *Policy* of *Rome* ſunk at laſt into this, of furniſhing Money, and Arms; and of hazarding the Lives, and the Eſtates, of her true Sons, in this Nation; out of pure Love and Kindneſs to the *Church* of *England*, and ſolely to Eſtabliſh *That* upon a laſting and ſtrong Foundation? Or, do Men truſt once more to *Vows*, and *Aſſurances*? If they do, They truſt to what the Experience of this Nation hath felt to be No Security; and what their Enemies themſelves profeſs to be none. And, do They think that the Number of *Romaniſts*, who venture their *All* in this World, for the Service of the *Pretender's* Cauſe, have not had much better *Aſſurances* and *Security*, that *Their* Intereſt, and *Their* Religion, is to Reign in Triumph in this Land, before they would engage themſelves, in ſo deſperate a manner? But, I confeſs, I ſhould not wonder if *They*, who can come to be ſo deluded, as to think their *Church* ſecure, in the Method of *Utter Deſtruction*, ſhould come to believe that the *Britiſh Papiſts* are inflamed with a Zeal for the *Church* of *England*; and undergo all the Fatigues, and Hardſhips, and Dangers, of a *Rebellion*; not to Eſtabliſh, or ſerve, *their own Church*, which They love to Death;

but the *Church* of *England*, which they Hate with an immortal Hatred. Even *this* may not be too hard for the Faith of Thoſe, who can truſt to any Promiſes and Vows of Good, or Security, to any *Proteſtant Church* upon Earth, from ſuch as cannot, and, indeed, dare not, keep them.

3. The ſame Perſons may be *deluded*, if they reſolve upon it, by the reproachful Word of *Foreigners*, and Strangers to our Laws; and the like; caſt upon our *Royal Family:* without conſidering, how nearly, and how certainly, They are deſcended from our KINGS; Or, without remembring that *He*, who throws out this Reproach, never had any better Opportunity, Himſelf, of knowing *Us*, or our *Laws*; Nay, that He hath very particular Reaſons to hate, and deſtroy Them: That He cannot come, without being followed by a Line of *Popiſh Princes*, *Foreigners*, in every Senſe; and that neither *He*, nor *They*, will come, without a *Religion Foreign* and Superior to all the *Laws* both of God and Man.

4. They may, if they pleaſe, be *deluded* by the general Word, of redreſſing *Grievances*; which yet His *Adherents* themſelves mention but very ſparingly: becauſe they well know that We have no *Grievances*, in *His* Eye, but the Security of our *Conſtitution*, in *Church*, and *State*; no *Grievances*, for *Him* to eaſe Us of, but our *Laws*, *Liberties*, and *Religion*. Theſe He ſincerely promiſes Us, to remove. And I truly believe, that His Religion itſelf will permit Him faithfully to obſerve ſuch Promiſes.

But I have ſaid enough. I have ſhewn you, what that *Cauſe* is, and how many Evils are contained in it, which is now opened, and avowed, by the Friends of the *Pretender*. I have conſidered thoſe *Weak Pretenſes*, and *Falſe Inſinuations*, by which Many who call Themſelves *Proteſtants*, have been deluded; as they have been managed by the Artifices of *Popery*, *Guilt*, and *Reſentment:* And, I hope, I have made it appear, that it muſt be a *Fatal Deluſion* indeed, if They do not ſee, that to join their *Hands* to the Efforts of our Enemies, in this *Cauſe*, is to haſten to the future Ruine of Themſelves, and their Poſterity, through a Sea of preſent Calamity; that to join their *Hearts* and *Wiſhes*, in it, is to call down every Curſe upon Themſelves, and all that are to follow them; and that to put on an *Indifference*, upon this Occaſion, is to put it on, in a Cauſe that doth not admit of an *Indifference*. It is, indeed, to profeſs an *Indifference* to Life, or Death; Pleaſure, or Pain; Happineſs, or Miſery. And though *They* may inwardly applaud their own Wiſdom, who cautiouſly wait for the *Event* of things: yet They muſt remember, that their Return to their Senſes, from this State of Indifference, will have but an ungraceful Appearance, when All ſhall be ſecure; and that little Thanks will be due to *Them*, (of what ſort ſoever they be,) from their KING or their *Country*, when the Danger ſhall be over, that They have neither opened their Mouths, nor lifted up their Hands, nor ſo much as their Hearts, againſt the Enemies, not of *Us*, only, but of all *Human Society*.

If it ſhould be told, in any Part of the Earth where the Hiſtories of our Nation have not been before known; could it poſſibly be believed, or could it paſs for any thing, but an invented *Satyr* upon Human Nature; that there is a Sort of Men in the World, uneaſy at their own Happineſs: either labouring to tear it in Pieces, Themſelves; or, wiſhing Succeſs to thoſe who are engaged in that Work; or ſupinely negligent, cold, and indifferent, what becomes of it: Begging a Deliverer, in the Agony of their Diſtreſs; and reviling both the Deliverer, and Deliverance, as ſoon as it is well accompliſhed:

Shaking off Fetters, in one Generation; and calling for them again, in the next: Tireing out Heaven itſelf, with Petitions for their own Miſery; inviting and imploring every Evil upon Themſelves, and their Poſterity: making loud Profeſſions of the moſt ſubmiſſive Paſſiveneſs, under the greateſt Worldly Hardſhips; and unable to bear even ſo ſmall a one, as *the Want of all Power*: Speaking much, and often, and zealouſly, of the Security, and flouriſhing Eſtate, of their *Church*; and, in the ſame Breath, giving it up into the Guardianſhip of *Rome*, whoſe Diſciples openly acknowledge themſelves bound, in Conſcience, to deſtroy it: Believing the Promiſes of *Thoſe*, who Themſelves aſſure them, they are not to be believed; Truſting the Pretenſes of *Thoſe*, whoſe Religion profeſſeth to deſtroy at once all the Foundations of Truſt; and uniting with Thoſe, by whom They are ſure to be undone, and miſerably treated, themſelves: *Some*, ſtriving and fighting; *Some*, wiſhing and deſiring; and *Others*, contented, to part with *Eaſe*, *Quiet*, *Laws*, *Liberty*, *Property*, *Religion*, and all the Bleſſings of Government, adminiſtred by Juſtice and Goodneſs; And, in their Stead, *Some*, not oppoſing, and *Others*, contending earneſtly, for *Chains*, *Baniſhments*, *Maſſacres*, *Slavery*; and for every Evil, contained in the Two Great Comprehenſive Engines of Miſery, Unchriſtian *Perſecution* in *Church*, and Lawleſs *Tyranny* in *State*: And, in order to all this, *Some*, taking a Pleaſure, and *Others*, ſatisfied and eaſy, to ſee their Native Country laid Waſte, and made a Scene of Blood, and Confuſion; and the Seat of a *Civil War*, which, in its loweſt degree, muſt unavoidably bring along with it many unhappy Inſtances of Devaſtation, and Mourning; which God, the Righteous Judge, will charge to *Their* Account, who neither will know their own Happineſs, nor can bear with that of Others: In a word, Some openly attempting to deſtroy, and Others not attempting to defend, a *Government*, upon which the Happineſs of their own Lives, as well as of their Neighbours and Poſterity, intirely depends; and an Adminiſtration, which Themſelves do not charge with any one Inſtance of *Illegal* or *Arbitrary* Proceeding.

If it be poſſible to caſt a Veil over the Shame of our Country; let not this Scene of Blindneſs, Abſurdity, Contradiction, and Inconſiſtency, make a Part of its Hiſtory. But if this cannot be hid; let it be told, at the ſame time, with how ſteady a Greatneſs of Soul, and how calm a Conſtancy of Mind, the KING received the Inſults, and Ungrateful Returns of Men, whom He came diſpoſed to make happy: Like a Rock, unmoved by thoſe Waves that daſh themſelves to Pieces againſt it. Let it be told, with how ready, and ſincere, a Zeal, his *Parliament* haſted to vote every thing for *His*, and the *Publick* Security; with how faithful, and vigilant a Care, His *Miniſters* detected the ſecret Contrivances, and oppoſed the *Open* Deſigns, of His Enemies: Nor let it be forgot, that, in the midſt of all the *Madneſs* of *Some*, ſupported, and increaſed, by the *Indifference* of *Others*, there were Multitudes of *Good Subjects*, truly ſenſible of the Invaluable Bleſſings They enjoyed in *Him*, and His Adminiſtration; full of Gratitude to Heaven for their Happineſs; and ready to hazard all the Concerns of this World, in the Defenſe of it.

May the Number of ſuch, daily be ſeen to increaſe! as it muſt do, if all *Common Senſe* be not loſt from the Earth: And, may *We*, from the Principles of Conſcience, and Honour, be, of that Number! as *We* muſt be, if We conſider what either *Conſcience*, or *Honour*, mean. Let us be juſt to This *Day*, which once was bleſſed by every *Proteſtant* Mouth in this Nation, for the preſent Relief and Reſpite from impending Ruine, which it then brought along with it: And which ought now much more to be bleſſed, as it hath laid the

Foundation of Happineſs, not only for Us, but the Children yet unborn; as We have ſeen, and now feel, the Great End aimed at by it, to be crowned with Succeſs; and the Mercies that it firſt conveyed to Us, (even every thing We enjoy in *Church*, and *State*, and the very Poſſibility of enjoying it,) ſecured againſt every human Attempt, but our own *Stupidity*, and *Ingratitude*, by the Setlement of that *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, which alone could give Us any Proſpect of Good.

May Almighty God, the Great Governour of all Things, watch, in a particular Manner, with the Eye of his Providence, over thoſe *Sacred Lives*, upon which All Our Happineſs is ſuſpended! and guard them againſt every Attempt of Secret, or Open, Violence!

May He direct All, to whom the *Adminiſtration* of Affairs is committed, to go on, with Wiſdom, Courage, Unanimity, and Conſtancy, to conſult, and ſecure, the Publick Intereſt! And whether the Influences of it reach to our particular Concerns, any farther, than as They are mixed with the *Publick*; whether We taſte of its Beneficence, any otherwiſe, than as Members of the Whole; or not: let us always call to mind that it is our Duty, not to meaſure our Obligations to Thankfulneſs, by any *private* Conſiderations, diſtinct from the *Common Good*; but to rejoice, with as much Sincerity and Zeal, for the ineſtimable Bleſſing of *Publick Security*, in which *All* partake, as God, and Juſtice, and Reaſon, require, from a *People*, the moſt happy in the whole World, if They would but know their own Happineſs! Which, God grant They may, *before it be hid from their Eyes!*

The Reſtoration made a Bleſſing to us, by the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

SERMON XII.

Preached before the King, at the Royal-Chapel at St. James's, *May* 29, 1716, being the Anniverſary of the Restoration.

Psalm cxxvi. 3.

The Lord hath done great Things for Us; whereof we are glad.

IN all great *Revolutions* of *States* and *Kingdoms*, which We are called upon to commemorate in a Publick Manner, We muſt conſider what Concern we ourſelves have in the laſting Effects or Conſequences of them; and what ought to be the real Ground of our Joy upon ſuch Occaſions. If we feel no kindly Influences from them upon our own Affairs; it will be impoſſible to warm ourſelves into any Diſpoſition of Mind that can be called *Thankfulneſs:* Which muſt always be founded upon Something, in which We ourſelves have a Part. They will be only like other *Hiſtorical Matters of Fact*; Something to amuſe and entertain Us; ſerving to pleaſe our Curioſity, but not to raiſe our Gratitude. And if We feel the Sentiments of Joy and Thankfulneſs, riſing in our Breaſts, from ſuch Principles and Motives, as no true *Chriſtian*, *Proteſtant*, or *Briton*, ought to entertain: Our Joy then becomes the Same with the Joy of our *Worſt Enemies*; and the Expreſſions of it no better than the Tokens, either of our Blindneſs, or of our Corruption.

In *this* Nation particularly, it is certain, that, in all Affairs which concern our *Conſtitution*, either in *Church* or *State*, nothing can be more abſurd, than for the *Friends* of both, and the *Enemies* of both, to have the Same Movements and Paſſions upon the Same Occaſions. It is impoſſible for a *Proteſtant*, if He knows what that Word means, to raiſe his Joy upon the ſame Foundation with a *Papiſt*. It is impoſſible for a Lover of his Religion, and his Country, to rejoice with Thoſe who firmly believe it to be their Duty to rejoice in nothing more, than in the Ruine of both.

As our Joy, therefore, could not poſſibly diſcover itſelf upon *this Day*, if the Providence of God had *done great Things*, not for *Us*, but for our *Forefathers* alone; and had permitted *Them* to ſtop the *Bleſſing* from deſcending, or to convey down a *Curſe* inſtead of it: And as *Our* Joy cannot, in the Nature of Things, be the *Joy* of our *Enemies*; becauſe it muſt be raiſed upon Something of *Our own* Happineſs, which They have hitherto always made inconſiſtent with *Theirs*: Let Us now proceed upon this Foundation, and conſider,

The *Great Things* God *hath done for Us*, in that whole *Scene* of *Providence*, which *this Day* opened.

This will naturally fix our Minds, in a more particular Manner, upon the *Bleſſings*, in which We are immediately concerned.

And this will unavoidably lead Us to ſome Thoughts, of Importance to the preſent and future Intereſt of the Nation.

Now the whole *Scene* of Providence, which *This Day* opened, and which, taken in one View, can alone be ſaid to make *this Day* a Bleſſing to *Us*, is indeed a *Scene* full of a long Train of Incidents, and a vaſt Variety of Circumſtances, enough to make both *Prince* and *People*, in this Nation, for ever Wiſe and Happy.

The firſt Part of it, is a *King* reſtored to his *Kingdom*; with his *Brother* in view to Succeed Him: but this, not till, on one hand, *He* had ſeen, both by Example, and Experience, how terrible in its Effects, the popular Dread of *Arbitrary Power* could ſhew itſelf, whenever it was ſet on Fire; and not till, on the other Hand, his *People* had ſufficiently felt, how great an Evil the Want of their *Legal Government* was.

One would think here was a plain *Middle Way of Wiſdom* and *Happineſs*, pointed out even by *Senſe* itſelf. But there was another, and a very different Turn given to this Affair, by the indefatigable Workings, and Artifices, of our Enemies. An univerſal Madneſs of *Loyalty* (falſly ſo called,) as well as of *Manners*, preſently took place: And the *People* came preſſing in Throngs, beſeeching to be accounted Slaves, rather than Subjects; and begging, in Words, for Opportunities of *unlimited Submiſſion*, as if they were begging for *Acts* of *Grace* and *Favour*. The View in *Thoſe*, who then had the Direction of their Paſſions, was to keep that Spirit up to a Pitch, till a *Popiſh Heir* was ſecure of the Throne. Nor could all the Knowledge of the Nature and Principles of *Popery*; nor the avowed Contradiction of it to the Religion and Liberties of their Country, engage the Hearts of many; or divert them from the Reſolution of truſting the whole Concerns of a *Proteſtant Nation*, in the Hands of a *Popiſh Prince*: who at length took Poſſeſſion of the *Throne*, to which He was thus called.

Nor had he enjoyed the Power long, before He obliged His Friends with frequent Trials of the Sincerity of their Profeſſions. For, as it appears, He had ſo much better an Opinion of their Integrity, than his *Predeceſſor* had, that He really thought them in earneſt; and reſolved to hazard all, with a Dependence upon the Honeſty of their Solemn Promiſes of *Unbounded Submiſſion*. This, indeed,

deed, proved fatal to *Himſelf* in the Event: But, in all human Appearance, was much more likely to have proved fatal to the whole Nation.

If We ſtop a little here, and conſider this Unhappy *Prince*, poſſeſſed of all the Power our *Laws* could veſt in Him, and flattered with a Power above all Laws; and armed, in all human Appearance, with a ſufficient Force to put his Reſolutions in Execution; We may aſk any *Proteſtant* in the *Nation*, if He will but put himſelf into that Poſture of Mind, in which every one felt himſelf at that Seaſon, What was *then* become of the *Bleſſing* of this *Day?* And, what would it now have availed Us, that our *Forefathers* ſaw their *Legal Conſtitution* reſtored to them, and rejoiced to ſee it; if the very *Reſtoration* of it had proved, in the Iſſue, the Ruine and Deſtruction of all the *Legal Rights* of their *Poſterity?*

But the Grand Deſign of Providence extended much farther. There is a *Principal* Part of it yet behind: And this was, to make it a laſting Bleſſing. And the Way was laid for this, in a Method, if you conſider it in itſelf, the moſt eaſy and natural; as *Providence* always loves to work by human Means: if you conſider it in that great Variety and Viciſſitude of Circumſtances attending it, the moſt inſtructive and uſeful to a *Nation:* And if you conſider it with regard to the many Probabilities that ſeemed to weigh againſt the Succeſs of it, little leſs than miraculous. When it was fixed by *Providence* to bring about the *Reſtoration* of the *Royal Family*, and the *Legal Conſtitution* of this *Kingdom*; and to continue it a *Bleſſing* to the Generations to come; it was neceſſary, in order to this, to make ſuch a Diſpoſition of Affairs, as might be ſuitable, and adapted, to the Accompliſhment of it. But firſt, the *Nation* was to feel many and various Trials; many Viciſſitudes of Hope, and Fear; many Conflicts between the Attempts of *Popery*, and *Slavery*, on the one hand, and the Strugglings of *true Religion* and *Liberty*, on the other; before ſo great a Work could be concluded. And *then*, at length, the Embarraſſments of Human Madneſs were to be diſentangled; and all the Plots and Efforts of Cunning and Power, united, in order to intail a Curſe upon all Poſterity, where God deſigned a Bleſſing, were to be diſſipated, and ſcattered into Air.

With a View to this, a *Prince* was born Some Years before the *Reſtoration*, that He might be ripe, both in Age, and Abilities, for the performing the great Deſign, juſt when thoſe Attempts ſhould be ripening into Execution: And was afterwards, by a kind Diſpoſition of Providence, to make the Way the eaſier, married into the Same *Royal Family*, from which He deſcended. And, accordingly, when the Scene of Ruine was opened ſo plainly, that no Eye was *then* too blind to ſee it, He appeared in all the Maturity of Wiſdom, and Vigor of Action: A Prince, inured to Labours and Hardſhips from his Birth; prepared for the great Work, by his perſonal Accompliſhments; directed to it, by his Deſcent, and his Marriage; and qualified for it by his Intereſt and Authority *Without*, as well as by an Uncommon Greatneſs of Soul *Within*. Such a peculiar Conjunction of every thing deſirable in the Perſon to undertake a Work, hazardous enough, one would imagine, to deter the Greateſt Minds from thinking of it; and ſuch a Diſpoſition of the various Intereſts of the *States* and *Kingdoms* of *Europe*, as both required and ſupported the Undertaking; muſt appear very ſurprizing, in ſo critical a Moment of Time: When, if we ſpeak within the compaſs of Human Views, nothing but ſo unparalleled a *Combination* of *Circumſtances* could have afforded even the leaſt hopes of Succeſs.

The *Event* of this was happy beyond Expreſſion: And the *Madneſs* of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Rule*, was ſtopped in the Vigour and Warmth of all its Power and Hopes. But even yet, ſomething farther was wanting; and *That* was, to fix the *Succeſſion* to the *Crown*, in ſuch a Manner, as the *Experience* of *Feeling*, and *Common Senſe* in *Judging*, of neceſſity directed the Nation to do. This *Day* muſt have been marked with ſomething very different from a *Bleſſing*, if the *Revolution* had ſtopped where it began; and, after a little preſent Reſpite, had delivered the Nation back again, into *Popiſh* Hands. And where indeed ſhould We *now* ſearch for the *Bleſſing* of the *Reſtoration*; if We did not ſee it, and feel it, in the *Bleſſing* of the *Proteſtant Succeſſion?*

This was the Great View of Heaven, in its firſt Deſign. And, therefore, We ſee with Pleaſure, that when it was reſolved by Providence to make *this Day* memorable, by the *Reſtoration* of the *Royal Family*, and our *Legal Conſtitution*, it was reſolved by the ſame good Providence, that, in the very ſame *Year*, upon the very *Day* before this Great Work was to be accompliſhed, a *Prince* ſhould be born, in Whom that *Reſtoration*, ſhould in due Time centre, and to whom alone it ſhould be reſerved to compleat the *Bleſſing* for *Us*, and to tranſmit it down ſecure, to our Poſterity, in his own *Illuſtrious Houſe*.

This, I ſay, is the *whole Scene* of *Providence* which *this Day* opened; and which, taken in one View, can alone be ſaid to make it a *Bleſſing* to *Us*, or to our Children after Us. If you view the *Reſtoration*, without the *Revolution*, and the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*; it leads you directly to a *Popiſh Prince*, holding an Arbitrary Hand over all your Liberties: tearing up the Fences of all your Laws; fixing all *Right* in his own Will and Power; and perſecuting all his Subjects into the Exerciſe of his own, Superſtitious, Idolatrous, and Cruel Religion. And this is the whole of the *Bleſſing*, in which you would ſee it end at laſt. A Bleſſing, which may be a fit Reward for the *Slaviſh Bigotry* of *Papiſts!* But for *Proteſtants*—fit only for *Thoſe* of them who deſerve it. And *They* deſerve it, who chooſe it; whom no Experience, no Conſideration, no Miracles of Providence, can engage to prefer their own Happineſs before their own Deſtruction.

But if We view the ſame *Reſtoration*, in another Light, as the *Reſtoration* of our *Legal Conſtitution*, ſecured by the late *Revolution*, and fixed by the *Setlement* of the Crown in the *Proteſtant* Line; it appears a Bleſſing to *Us* indeed, by leading Us to the *Happineſs* which We ourſelves at preſent ſee, and feel; but cannot deſcribe.

We have now, therefore, by an eaſy and natural Train of *Facts*, brought down our Thoughts to the preſent Times, in which our Eyes behold the *Grand Deſign* of *this Day*, brought to Maturity; and Plenty of Happineſs held forth to Us, if we have any Senſe or Notion left of what Happineſs means, by the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* now taking place. A Bleſſing recommended to Us, by the immenſe Difficulties caſt in its Way, before it could be ſetled by a *Law*; and the various Hazards of loſing it, ſince it was ſo! And a *Bleſſing*, which, unlike the other Bleſſings of this World, fully anſwers, in the Enjoyment, all the Expectations which it raiſed in the *Proſpect*.

If it be the greateſt Happineſs that can be taſted in Human Society, to be governed by *Laws*; We *feel* ourſelves, and all our Concerns, under the Influence of a *Legal Government*. If it be certain, that *Thoſe Princes* are beſt qualified to govern well by *Written Laws*, who have governed well without them; this is a peculiar Part of our Happineſs, to have the Execution of our Laws, and the Preſervation of our Rights, veſted in a *Prince*, who never betrayed, even when his Will was his *Law*, the leaſt Inclination towards any Deſigns, but what are the Dictates of the ſtricteſt Juſtice. And if it redoubles a Bleſſing, to foreſee it flouriſhing amongſt our *Poſterity* in future Ages; let this be acknowledged a great

Addition to our preſent Happineſs, that We may promiſe it to our Children after Us, under the Influences of Thoſe who are to ſucceed Him.

This is ſuch a *Syſtem*, ſuch a *Collection* of *Bleſſings*, as ought, in Juſtice, to be viewed with the moſt paſſionate Sentiments of Joy and Thankſgiving. A *King* upon the Throne, formed for the Happineſs of All, who live under the Shadow of his Authority: By his experienced Virtues, entitled to the *Love* and *Affection* of his *Subjects*; and by the *Laws* of their Country, (built upon the Fundamental Laws of Human Society) entitled to their Allegiance: Great in *Himſelf*, if the Perfection of Juſtice, and Honour, and Equity, be true Greatneſs; and Great in his *Illuſtrious Family*, if the Proſpect of tranſmitting Bleſſings to Poſterity, by a Line of Princes deſcending from Himſelf, makes up any Part of Greatneſs: And, in a peculiar Manner, Great in his Influences upon the preſent State of this Nation, as He ſtands poſſeſſed of an unſhaken Steadineſs of Soul, not to be moved from his People's Intereſt; and of a Firmneſs of Mind, uncapable of the Impreſſions, either of Fear, or of Inconſtancy. Without which Noble and Happy Accompliſhments in the *Firſt Poſſeſſor* in that *Illuſtrious Houſe*, which the Providence of God hath now fixed upon the Throne, it may juſtly be feared, that this Happy Setlement might by this Time have been Shaken, and the Bleſſings of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and our *Legal Liberty* (for which We have been ſo many Years contending,) might once more have been in danger of vaniſhing from our Sight.

And even ſtill, the Suſpicion of So much Happineſs Ceaſing in Time to come, might be very uneaſy to Us, if We did not ſee, in his *Royal Heir*, and *Succeſſor*, a Noble and Generous Zeal, avowed with all the Tokens of the moſt Sincere and Upright Heart, for the ſame invaluable Goods.

Nor will I ever omit, when I am recounting the Inſtances of our Publick Happineſs, to mention that *Race* of *Princes* to come: From *Whom*, what is it that We may not expect? When We not only think of the Examples of Good Government they will have Seen; but conſider them now under the Eye and Direction of a *Princeſs*, in whom the Perfection of Good Senſe, and the Perfection of Good Nature, are united; and outdone by nothing, unleſs by that Sacred Regard to *True Religion*, which will make her Story the Delight of Good Men in Ages to come.

This is the Fabrick of Happineſs in which our Souls may take their Reſt. How much *leſs* than this, might We Ourſelves have been well contented to hope for! And indeed, What *more* than this, could any Nation under Heaven well wiſh for? And yet, Againſt this whole *Scheme* of *Bleſſings*; againſt their own, and their Neighbours Security; againſt their own *Laws* and *Liberties*; againſt the Eſtabliſhment of every thing valuable in this World; We have ſeen a *Rebellion* raiſed, by the Wicked Perverſeneſs of Men, without the Pretenſe of a Provocation, beſides the ſingle Provocation of offering them Happineſs, in a Way, and by the Hands, which They were not pleaſed to like: And this, before their Paſſions had any thing offered to them, to ſet them on Fire. And We have Seen an *Adminiſtration* reviled, and inſulted, by Thoſe, who themſelves had taſted nothing but Good from it.

When one reflects with Coolneſs upon what hath lately paſt amongſt Us, it ſeems as if the Fullneſs of Happineſs had itſelf ſet on fire the reſtleſs Malice of Thoſe, who were reſolved not to acknowledge or enjoy the Bleſſing offered them; and that the Rage of Enmity hath been forced to be raiſed the higher, and the louder, by all the Management of Artifice, becauſe there was ſo little to Complain of.

But this is the Glory of an *Adminiſtration*; when Thoſe who moſt revile it, cannot do it without bearing Teſtimony to it themſelves. It is the Glory of an *Adminiſtration*, when the Reproaches, with which it is to be loaded, are caſt into *Future Times*; when the bittereſt Enemies it hath, are forced to call in the Help of the moſt fruitful Invention; and, for want of preſent Grievances, to fill the Minds of Men with the Suſpicions of Evils to come. It is the Glory of an *Adminiſtration*, when, before it can be blackened, and made vile, the Names, and Natures, and Boundaries of Things, muſt be altered and removed: *Light* put for *Darkneſs*, and *Darkneſs* for *Light*; *Legal Juſtice* (though mixed with more Temper, than ever yet was ſeen, in any Nation, upon a like Occaſion,) treated with the Indignity, due only to the *Heighth* of *Injuſtice*; the moſt neceſſary *Self-defence* reviled as *Cruelty*; and a *Falſe Compaſſion* placed in the Seat of *Mercy*; the *Safety* of a *whole Nation*, and all its Concerns, weighed in the Balance againſt *Trifles*; and even *Popery* itſelf painted with *Truth*, and *Meekneſs*, and *Love*, in its Face, as an harmleſs agreeable Thing, worthy to be received with the open Arms of Friendſhip, by Thoſe it would devour.

When theſe are the Methods of attacking an *Adminiſtration*, it is a very happy Sign, that They who make uſe of them, have occaſion heartily to wiſh it much worſe than They find it; and a very ſtrong Argument to all Good Subjects, to wiſh as heartily that their Country may never know the want of an *Adminiſtration*, which is not reviled by its *Greateſt Enemies*, unleſs it be in ſuch a Manner, as to add to its Reputation and Honour.

What is it, that an Uneaſy, Thankleſs, Generation of Men would have? Bleſſed be God, the Publick Efforts of their Malice are once more diſſipated. They are conquered in the Field. But their *Spirits*, and their *Tempers*, and their *Deſigns*, do not at all appear to be conquered: If We may judge from their Indefatigable Diligence and Art, in filling the Heads of their Well-wiſhers, as Soon as *one* Deſperate Attempt is over, with Hints and Expectations of *Another*; and from the Unparalleled Inſolence of their Agents and Followers, even whilſt they are begging and waiting for Mercy.

It may be very hard, to find preſent and effectual Remedies for ſo great Evils. But this *One* thing, I am ſure, is very plain, and very proper to be mentioned, that, in order entirely and ſucceſsfully to conquer ſuch *Enemies*, We muſt firſt conquer *Ourſelves*.—Did all, who truly wiſh well to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, unanimouſly purſue the Same *good Ends*, there would be no ground for Fear. But whilſt the Paſſions of Well-meaning Men, upon every Trifling and Private Occaſion, join themſelves with the *Deſigns* of Thoſe, who certainly mean our Ruine; it is *this* that ſwells the Current; and that feeds the Inſolence and Expectation of the Common Enemy.

But to conclude: If a long Series of Experience can make any Nation wiſe, *We*, of all Nations in the World, have that Advantage. We are not only made happy; but made happy in thoſe Methods, which cannot but teach Us to value our Happineſs, whilſt, That which *Others* learn by Reflexion and Judgement, *We* have had brought home to Us, by the Senſe of *Feeling*, and *Eyeſight*. The Enemies of our Happineſs themſelves, ought to learn Conviction, from All that this Nation hath been Witneſs to; and to become Friends. And for Thoſe, who are truly *Friends*, in the main and eſſential Points of our Happineſs; certainly it is Time for all them to think it Wiſdom, to give up even their private Schemes and Notions, as well as their private Reſentments and Views, to the Publick Good; and, at length, after ſo many Viciſſitudes of Hope and Fear, ſo many Struggles between Life and Death, ſo many Hazards and Dangers eſcaped, to unite in ſtrengthening, inſtead of weakening, the Hands of *Thoſe*, who have it in their Will, as well as in their Truſt, to eſtabliſh Us upon a Foundation never more to be ſhaken: That ſo, the *Beſt of Kings* may have the *Beſt* of *Subjects*; and, Authority and Law, Obedience and Liberty, may be ſeen united, in all their Vigour and Glory; and deſcend down, with the Bleſſings which accompany them, to all Future Generations. *Which God grant, for the Sake of* Jeſus Chriſt *his only Son, our Lord!*

The Nature and Duty of a Publick Spirit.

SERMON XIII.

Preached at St. JAMES'S, WESTMINSTER, on St. DAVID'S Day, *March* 1, 1716, before the Honourable the Stewards and Others of the Society of ANTIENT BRITONS, eſtabliſhed in Honour of Her Royal Highneſs's Birth-day, and the *Principality of Wales.*

PHIL. ii. 4.

Look not every Man on his own Things: But every Man alſo on the Things of Others.

THERE are hardly any Words, more common in the Mouths of Men, than a *Publick Spirit*; a *Regard* to the *Publick*; the *Good* of the *Publick*; the *Love* of our *Country*; and many others of the like Sort: Which are indeed, in their Original Deſign, but different Expreſſions for One and the Same Thing. The Great Point is, what theſe Words ought truly to ſignify; what Temper and Diſpoſition of Mind; what Practice and Conduct of Life, They ought to repreſent and deſign. And, as I think that the great End of ſuch *Societies* and *Aſſemblies*, as the preſent, is to cultivate that Good Spirit of Love and Humanity, which may diffuſe itſelf through the whole Tenor of Men's Actions; I have, upon this Account, thought it proper to chooſe theſe Words of St. *Paul:* In which He condemns that *Vicious Selfiſhneſs* which teacheth Us to confine our Views to *Ourſelves* alone, conſidered as ſeparated from the Reſt of the World; and, at the ſame Time, directs Us to the contrary good Temper and Diſpoſition, of a Diffuſive Regard to All Mankind around Us. And I chooſe Them, as They will give Us Occaſion to conſider, in a more general Way, than perhaps *He* at that Time directly intended, and with a particular View to *Human Society*, The true *Foundation*, *Nature*, and *Extent*, of a *Publick Spirit*; the *Bad Diſpoſition*, and *Vice*, oppoſite to it; the *Effects* in which *It* will ſhew itſelf; and the *Motives* there are, to the cheriſhing and improving it in Ourſelves.

1. The *Foundation* of it is laid in that Virtuous *Love* of *Ourſelves*, which is joined with the *Love* of *Others*, united with Us in *Human Society:* And it muſt be ſupported by that great and god-like Diſpoſition of Mind, which deſires and labours to plant Happineſs, where it is not; and to continue it where it is. And this is the ſame Thing with that Comprehenſive *Love* and *Charity* towards *Others*, which the *Goſpel* came to reſtore, and to inflame. But this, I ſay, not ſo as to exclude that reaſonable Regard to ourſelves, and our own Concerns, which never is, nor can be, a *Vice*. So far from it, that, as long as

We are Members of *Human Society*, nothing can more ſecure and improve our own Happineſs, than this Regard to the Happineſs of that *Human Society*, of which we are Members. We can do nothing for that good End, but what will reflect back its happy Influences upon ourſelves, in ſome Degree or other: As Every *Law* for the Preſervation, and Glory, and Happineſs, of the *Publick*, is a *Law*, in which All the Members of the *Publick* muſt find their own Account, and their own Security. So that a *Publick Spirit* is not founded upon a *Regard* to *Others*, inconſiſtent with a *Regard* to *Ourſelves* in a good Senſe; but really takes in that virtuous and praiſe-worthy *Self-love*; which conſiders our own True Laſting Intereſt, (as well as the Peace and Applauſes of our Mind within,) cloſely united with the Happineſs and Intereſt of All around Us.

This may appear with more Light, if you conſider the very Method, and End, of Mankind's *Engagements* with one another, in their entering into the *Terms* of *Human Society*. Before you ſuppoſe this *Engagement*, or Compact, or whatever you will call it, Every Man was, properly ſpeaking, *One* by *Himſelf*; guarding *Himſelf* alone, againſt *Others*; taking every thing for his Support, which could come within his Reach; and having *Himſelf* alone, under his own Care and Protection. The firſt Step towards *Human Society* muſt ariſe, in the Nature of the thing, from a Deſire of a more ſetled Security, than Every Man, by *Himſelf*, could find in his own Defenſe and Protection; joined with a Benevolent Deſire of the ſame Good to *Others*, which Every One found the want of, in *Himſelf*. And the Nature of the *Stipulation*, or *Agreement*, muſt have been this; not, to profeſs or pretend to throw off All Concern for *Themſelves*; or to regard the Happineſs of *Others*, in a way inconſiſtent with their own: But to engage for that mutual Strength and Support, which ſhould be the Happineſs of All the Members of Society; that is, of *Themſelves*, as well as of *Others*.

The *Publick Spirit*, therefore, We are now ſpeaking of, as it reſpects *Human Society*, muſt be founded upon the Original Deſign, and End, of *Human Society*; which was, in the Intent of every Man, the Good and Happineſs of *Himſelf*, conſidered in Conjunction with the Good and Happineſs of *Others*.

2. This will lead Us to the True Account of the oppoſite *Vice*. For it is plain from what hath been ſaid, that this doth not conſiſt in regarding *Ourſelves*; provided we regard *Ourſelves* as Members of *Society*, united in the Bonds of Friendſhip and Union with many *Others*, for the ſame End of Mutual Preſervation and Happineſs; But that the *Crime* conſiſts in regarding *Ourſelves* in ſuch a manner, as doth in effect take us out again of that *Society*, into which We were entered; and ſhews that we conſider *Ourſelves*, as retired back again into that *State*, in which We were originally Our own Supports, and Our own Defenders, without Regard to Any but Ourſelves. This, Every one ſees plainly, in the Caſe of Notorious Offenders; in Inſtances which publick Infamy and conſtant Puniſhment have marked with Diſgrace; ſuch as Open Robbery, and Violence, and Rapine. But it is as true, and as certain, in all other, leſs obſerved, and leſs notorious, Inſtances. For, as Men profeſſing thoſe Vices, have, for their own preſent Humour, or Paſſion, voluntarily removed Themſelves out of that *Society*, in which They were once engaged: So, Whoever, out of a falſe Regard to Themſelves; either for a preſent Gratification of Covetouſneſs, Pride, Ambition, Revenge, or the like, hinder the leaſt Good, or procure the leaſt Evil, to the *Publick*; *Theſe Men* are, in that Inſtance, and in that Degree, upon the ſame foot with the *Others*. They are ſo far got looſe from the Bonds of Human Society. They ſo far regard *Themſelves* as Particulars, ſtanding by *Themſelves*. They have ſo far torn themſelves from the

Ties and Concerns of Social Engagements. And though they may avoid the Infamy of *Common Diſcourſe*, which generally follows nothing but *Publick* and *Shameful Puniſhment*; yet, in reality, They are but juſt where the *Others* are; that is, They are again got back into a *State* directly oppoſite to that of *Human Society*; and are diveſted of All Real Title to the *Advantages* of a Condition, from which They have voluntarily ſeparated Themſelves.

The *Queſtion* therefore, to any Man upon this Subject, is only this, Whether, upon any Occaſion, He will regard *Himſelf*, and his own immediate Paſſions and Views, (which He ſuppoſeth His preſent Good,) in Diſtinction and Oppoſition to the Good of *Society*; or, Whether He will be content to regard *Himſelf*, as a Member of *Society*; and his own particular Good and Happineſs, as united and conſiſtent with the *Good* and *Happineſs* of Others. In the former Caſe, His Choice immediately diſſolves the Relation between *Him* and *Others*, and gives Them a Right to look upon, and treat Him, as a *Publick Enemy*. In the latter Caſe, His Choice is directed by a Benevolent Temper to *Himſelf*, as well as to *Others*; and by a Deſire of the Happineſs of *Others*, as united with his own, in the ſame Great Concerns.

3. It follows naturally, upon what hath been ſaid, to obſerve, that it is this Deſire of the Happineſs of *Others*, this Generous and Diffuſive Love of Mankind, which, in all Seaſons, and upon all Occaſions, will be our chief Defenſe againſt falling into the *Vice*, I have been now ſpeaking of. For though, at the Beginning, the firſt Thought of entering into the *Terms* of *Society*, was owing to the Wants, and Defects, which Every particular Man found in *Himſelf*, for his own particular Support and Preſervation; yet the *End* of that *Society* muſt be anſwered, and maintained, by that Equitable Rule, of not expecting from Others, what We ourſelves are not ready to afford Them, in all like Circumſtances. And, in order to afford Them, what We think reaſonable to expect from Them, We muſt feel, and improve, in ourſelves, the Love and Deſire of the Happineſs of the World about Us; and fix it as a ſteady Principle of our own Conduct, that it is not only ſtrictly agreeable to the very *Engagements* of *Human Society*, in which We are entered; but that it is highly glorious, and honourable, to add to the Happineſs, and to diminiſh the Miſeries, of Others, as far as our Power and Influence can extend Themſelves.

The Great Neceſſity, and Uſefulneſs, of having ſuch a Support, laid deep in a Well-diſpoſed Mind, will appear to Any, who will give Themſelves the Trouble of remarking the many Powerful, and too often Succeſsful, Enemies there are, to this Good and Benevolent Spirit. Sometimes Covetouſneſs, and ſometimes Pride; ſometimes the Ambition and Thirſt of Power, and ſometimes the Revenge and Rage of Diſappointment, will overturn the Minds of Men, on a ſudden; and make them forget, that They are entered into Society with their Neighbours: Unleſs They have firmly fixed it in their own Judgements, that it can never be *diſhonourable* for them to promote the *Happineſs* of *Others*; nor ever be *honourable* for Them, in any Degree, to take *Themſelves* back again to *Themſelves*, after They have once entered into All the *Engagements* of *Human Society*. And this can never be firmly fixed in any Mind, in which that *Vicious Selfiſhneſs* reigns, which baniſhes All Diſpoſition towards making others happy; and plants in its room a cold Neglect of All the Reſt of Mankind. Many a One, who would ſtart at the Thought of being an open *Robber* or *Cut-throat*, yet is ſometimes found to indulge Himſelf, out of ſome poor private View, or Reſentment, in acting a part, which puts Him as much out of *Society*; and is, in it's Effects, perhaps of more fatal Conſequence to the Happineſs of Mankind, than Thouſands of Robberies, and Private Violences. The ſame *Law* of *Equity* Condemns the *One*, which Condemns the *Other*. The ſame Reaſons engage Us againſt the *One*, which engage Us againſt the *Other*. The ſame End of *Society*, and the ſame Deſire of the *Happineſs* of *Others*, rightly conſidered, and thoroughly imbibed, would effectually prevent or cure them both. And in Caſes, where no publick Temporal Puniſhment follows, nothing but a *Good Principle* within, can be of any laſting good Conſequence.

. As for the *Effects*, that will be ſeen to flow from hence; a *Publick Spirit*, or the *Love* of *Our Country*, or whatever it may be called, will not ſhew itſelf, as if it were the Love of a particular *Climate*, or *Soil*; or of a particular *Conſtitution* of *Government*, whatever it be, merely becauſe we happen to be born under it: But it will appear in All the Genuine Effects of a ſincere Deſire of the Happineſs of *Society*, and of *Ourſelves*, conſidered as Members of *Society*. It will anſwer thoſe *Ends* and *Engagements* of *Human Society*, upon which it is built; and produce All the *Fruits* of that Love of Mankind, which We can never forbear to extol and applaud where-ever We meet with it. It will Act with a View to Our own Happineſs, conſidered as tempered in ſuch a manner with that of Others, as that We can never deſtroy our own Laſting Intereſt, whilſt We promote the Common Intereſt, in which Our own lives and breathes. It is Something as far removed from Noiſe and Paſſion in *Words*; as it is from Pride, Ambition, Covetouſneſs, or Revenge, in *Actions*. It doth not always, indeed, ſooth and flatter our preſent Paſſion, or Every Immediate View of Perſonal Profit, or Power; but it always tends to ſecure, even our Private Good, which We have, by entering into Society, mixt with the Good of Others. In a word, It is ſeen in a Conſtant Regard to the Intereſt of that *Society*, from which *Our own* cannot be ſeparated: And conſiſts, not in a Neglect of *Ourſelves*; but in a Regard to *Others*, cloſely united, in the ſame Common Happineſs, or Common Miſery, with *Ourſelves*.

5. I come now to the *Motives* and *Inducements* to this Diſpoſition, and Practice. And, as I have hitherto conſidered a *Publick Spirit*, with regard to *Human Society*; ſo, the *firſt* Motive naturally ariſeth from hence, that the *Ends* and *Engagements* of *Human Society* make *This* the Duty of every Man, who is not willing to appear falſe to his *Honour*, and to his *Aſſurances*. There is no need of any Explicit Formal *Contract* in this Caſe. For, whoever thinks He hath Reaſon to expect the *Privileges*, the *Protection*, the *Support*, ariſing from *Society*, (which, I believe, Few will think they have forfeited,) doth, by that very Thought, effectually give, or renew, the *neceſſary Aſſurances*, on his own Part. He acknowledges Himſelf bound by all the Ties of that *Society*; and conſequently obliged, in Honour and Conſcience, to regard *Himſelf*, not as a Perſon by *Himſelf*, with his own private Paſſions and Humours only to gratify, but as *One* of a Number of Men, whoſe Happineſs and Intereſt is one and the ſame. Whenever, therefore, He ſeparates his own Good, from that of the *Whole*, into which he profeſſeth voluntarily to throw it, every Hour that He lives under the Benefit and Protection of *Social Laws*; He ſins againſt Thoſe uſeful *Obligations*; with much more Diſhonour, and many more fatal Conſequences, than a Man who breaks his private *Agreement*, or revokes his *verbal Promiſe*, or his *written Bond*. It is in vain indeed, that Men are entered into the *Ties* of *Society*, unleſs They look upon that very Entrance into them, as a ſtrict Obligation upon them, to act agreeably to thoſe *Ties*.

So that, if You only conſider yourſelves as *Members* of *Human Society*, You have the ſtrongeſt Motive, which Honour, and Reaſon, and Equity, can ſuggeſt;

that is, the *Motive* taken from the Bonds, and Engagements, You have brought yourſelves under; to perform, on your Part, what in Reaſon you may expect from *Others* in the ſame Circumſtances; and what is agreeable and anſwerable to the Privileges and Protection You think yourſelves entitled to, from the *Body Politick.* To claim the Benefits of *Laws*, and the Supports ariſing from *Human Society*, is abſolutely unreaſonable and abſurd, for any One to preſume to do, who hath any Senſe of Virtue and Honour left; unleſs He be ready, on his own Part, to pay back again all the Reciprocal Duties reſpecting the Good of the Whole: Which He doth, in Effect, Promiſe and Vow to do, whenever He expects thoſe Benefits. The firſt Motive therefore is this. You are entered into the Engagements of *Human Society*. You are obliged in Conſcience and Honour to anſwer thoſe Engagements. And conſequently, are obliged to regard the Happineſs of that *Society*, in which your own is concerned; and your own private Inclinations, or Paſſions, no farther, than as they are conſiſtent, not only with the Security, but with the Happineſs, of the *Publick.*

If from hence we proceed to conſider Ourſelves as *Reaſonable Creatures*, brought into Being by the Great Father of all Things; and capable of finding out his Exiſtence, Nature, and Perfections; We ſhall be perſuaded, that We can never be ſo Great in Ourſelves, as when We conform Ourſelves to his Will, or imitate his Perfections. And, when we know that He loves to communicate Happineſs; and that His great Glory is, Mercy, and Goodneſs, diffuſed to all Beings, who do not make Themſelves uncapable of them: This will be a powerful *Motive* to all *who know his Name*, to eſteem it as their own great Glory and Honour, to reſemble Him, in that Good and Benevolent Diſpoſition, to which They themſelves owe All that they enjoy, and all that They can hope for.

If we now conſider Ourſelves as *Chriſtians*, We ſhall find that the *Beſt Religion* is founded in *Love*; and that this *Love* is not a *Paſſion*, or a *Fancy*, or an *Enthuſiaſm*, of the Mind, but the *Beneficence* of Practice; that it conſiſts, not in *Profeſſion*, and *Words*, but in Deed, and *Action*; that it hath no other Signification, in the Law of *Chriſtians*, but *doing Good*, that is, adding to the Happineſs, or diminiſhing the Miſeries, of *Others.* This is that *true Friendſhip*, with regard to particular Perſons, which alone deſerves that Name; and this is that true *Publick Spirit*, with regard to the *whole Society* to which We belong, which comprehends and enlivens every Duty we owe to it. If we have *Chriſtian Charity*, We have that *Beneficent Temper* which promotes the *Good* of *Others*; and the more Diffuſive and Extenſive this is, the more *Chriſtian* it is: And if We feel nothing of the Deſire of the Happineſs of Others, in Us, We are certainly void of All that *Love*, which is the Foundation, and Eſſence, of the Goſpel.

The *laſt* thing I ſhall mention, is, *Self-love* and *Self-intereſt*, rightly underſtood. For I am perſuaded that, if *this* be wholly left out of the *Queſtion*; and All regard to *Themſelves* be excluded, ſo that Men ſhall find that they are neither to reap *Profit*, nor *Pleaſure*, nor *Honour*, nor any *Advantage*, from the Part they are to act, it is in vain to enter into Argument with Them. Their Practice muſt be determined another way; and the *Paſſions* of their Hearts will eaſily hurry Them, whitherſoever They pleaſe. And here, if Men have any native Goodneſs and Probity of Mind, They will feel within Themſelves the *Pleaſure* and *Honour* of keeping ſtrictly to thoſe *Engagements*, which the Nature of *Human Society* layeth upon them; and for which alone They receive the Supports and Protection of it. They will have the Reward within of a peaceful Breaſt, undiſturbed with the Tumults of Paſſion, Pride, Covetouſneſs, or Revenge.

They will feel that it is, truly ſpeaking, much more happy to *Themſelves*, to give Bounds to their own Deſires and Views, in Conjunction with the *Ends* of *Society*; than to break through their own Obligations, to ruffle and diſcompoſe their own Breaſts, merely for the ſake of laying hold on every Opportunity of adding, for the preſent Moment, either to their *Riches*, or their *Power*.

The Difference is this, that They will not indeed have the Satisfaction of gratifying every preſent *Humour*, or *Inclination*, or *Rage*; (if *that* can be called a *Satisfaction*, which often brings ſo much Private, as well as Publick, Evil along with it:) but They will have the Satisfaction, even as to *Themſelves*, of purſuing their preſent Intereſt in a more ſteady and ſecure, as well as a more honourable way; and at the ſame Time of continuing down thoſe Goods to their own *Poſterity*, which They enjoy themſelves. Whereas every Breach or Violence, made upon the *Scheme* of *Publick Good*, hath appeared, in Multitudes of Inſtances, to have ended even in the Temporal Diſadvantage, or Ruine, of the Perſons Themſelves who have been tempted to join in it. So it may *probably* be always, becauſe in its Nature it tends to it: But it will *certainly* affect many hereafter, in whom They ought to think Themſelves nearly and deeply concerned.

If, therefore, Men have any Regard to inward Peace and Tranquillity; if They have any Senſe of Contentment within, or Security without; if They will conſult their Underſtanding, and not their *Paſſion*, about their *Intereſt*; if They are not loſt to all Senſe of the Good of their own *Poſterity*; if They have not thrown off all Regard to their *Reaſon*, as well as all *Belief* in *God*; They will think even their preſent Intereſt, (as well as their Future Reward,) ſufficiently conſulted and ſecured, by ſuch a Temper of Mind, as will teach Them to diſdain to accept of the *Benefits* of *Society*, without adding to the Happineſs of it; and to purſue their own preſent Good, always in Conjunction with *that* of the *Publick*, to which They belong.

I muſt not make an End, without ſaying ſomething upon the preſent Occaſion of our meeting together. This *Society* hath many *Circumſtances* of Advantage above Others of the like Nature, not only as it comprehends, in its Intent, a very great Number of the moſt Antient and Noble *Families* of this *Iſland*; but as it flouriſhes under a moſt *Illuſtrious* and *Royal Preſident*; as it was firſt inſtituted to the Honour of a *Princeſs*, whoſe Name carries every happy Influence along with it; as it is expreſly founded upon a Principle of Affection, as well as Duty, to that *Royal Family*, in which We are now ſo happy above all the Nations around us; and as it is peculiarly deſigned to diffuſe and propagate that *Publick Spirit*, or Love to our *Country*, which is inſeparably the ſame with *Their* Intereſt. If You conſider Yourſelves in this View, You will from hence receive new Supplies of *Zeal*, and freſh *Motives* to every thing, You owe to *Yourſelves*, Your *Fellow-ſubjects*, and Your *Poſterity*.

When *this Day* leads your Thoughts from a *Dead Saint*, whoſe Virtues You ought to celebrate, as far as the *Hiſtory* of ſo remote and dark an *Age* will permit, to that *Living* Example of Virtue, whoſe Birth gives it its preſent Luſtre and Brightneſs; to a *Saint*, not dreſſed up in the Pageantry of a blind Superſtition; but adorned with thoſe real and ſubſtantial Graces, the Practice of which You can ſee with Admiration, and the Effect of which the World feels with Happineſs: When *this Day* directs your Thoughts in this Manner, the Honour You pay to *Her* is paid to *Virtue*: And the Pleaſure you perceive, in paying it, ariſeth from a Regard to the *Publick*; when You are carried by the ſame Thought to view *Poſterity*, made happy, perhaps in many Countries, by *Thoſe*, whoſe Minds and Manners She is now forming to every Thing Great, and Beneficent; as well as to remark the Influences of Wiſdom and Goodneſs upon the preſent Generation.

When You conſider *Yourſelves*, as under the *Preſidency* of His ROYAL HIGHNESS, *His* Zeal for the Good of *Great Britain* will animate and inflame your own. In the Calm of Proſperity, He will always praiſe and extol your Love of your Laws and of your Country. In the Times of Hazard and Diſtreſs, if any ſuch ſhould come, *He* will lead You on to Glory by his Example. And if You follow Him through the Paths of Honour and Courage, You will make *Yourſelves*, and your *Poſterity*, as happy as He wiſhes You to be; and that is, as happy as You can wiſh yourſelves to be.

Your Thoughts will now naturally lead you to that truly Great and Good KING, whom the particular Providence of *God* hath placed, and preſerved, upon the Throne of theſe *Kingdoms*. If You conſider *Him* in His Diſpoſition, His Temper, His Reſolutions; how much Encouragement will You find in all theſe, to your improving and inflaming a true *Publick-ſpiritedneſs* in Yourſelves! And how much need of it will you diſcover, if you reflect upon that *Scene* of Behaviour towards Him, to which our own Eyes have been, and are Witneſſes! *He* came to Us, clothed with all the Circumſtances that could recommend Him, even to our Paſſionate Love. *Power* and *Authority* He had enjoyed, in its Supreme Heighth, long before, in his own Country. But He always choſe to Reign, not by His *Power*, but by His *Goodneſs*: And They who lived under his Influences, *loved* Him too well, to be ſenſible They *obeyed* Him. His Beneficence made every Part of their Behaviour, reſult from *Affection*, rather than *Duty*. And yet, though this was His known and experienced Conduct: and though He came hither diſpoſed to cheriſh *Our* Happineſs, as *His own*; and to eſtabliſh this Nation, by Juſtice, and Temper, and Wiſdom: We have ſeen Thoſe amongſt Ourſelves, who have been ready to prefer the *Certain Enemies* of their *Religion* and *Liberties*, before the *Greateſt Friend* Thoſe invaluable Goods ever yet could boaſt of. They have been willing to call in the Bigotry and Revenge of *Popery*: And, when that alone hath failed, even to invite in a Deluge of relentleſs Deſtruction, and Deſolation, in order to get rid of a State of Happineſs, which they are conſcious They do not deſerve, and have ſhewn themſelves not able to bear.

But let not the *Zeal* of ſome, to tear in Pieces that *Scheme* of *Bleſſings* which Heaven hath put into our Hands, exceed our *Zeal* to ſtop its paſſage from Us, and to ſecure it to Ourſelves and all Poſterity. As We have a *Prince* upon the *Throne*, who, unlike moſt of the *Princes* of this *World*, deſires nothing of Us, but to make ourſelves happy; as We have all the Inducements that *Men*, and *Chriſtians*, and *Proteſtants*, can have; as We have all the Terrors, and Evils, that the ſtrongeſt Imagination can invent, to fear for our Country, if the Cauſe of Religion and Liberty ſhould be overturned and oppreſſed; as We are ourſelves, in our own Perſons, deeply concerned in all the miſerable Conſequences of ſuch an Event; and are under all the Obligations of Honour, and Conſcience, to promote the Happineſs of the *Publick*, of which We are Members; and as We muſt expect to anſwer to God, as well as to our own Conſciences, for our Stupidity and Madneſs, in neglecting ſo great and invaluable Good Things: Let Us not permit the Zeal of a true *Publick Spirit* to cool in our Breaſts; let us not only improve it in Ourſelves, but let us kindle and increaſe it in *Others*; till it may come to be too powerful for that *Narrow*, *Vicious*, *Selfiſhneſs*, which is the Root of all *Publick Evil*; and ſetle Us at laſt upon the unmoveable Foundation of *Peace* and *Happineſs*.

SERMON XV.

Preached at the Funeral of Mrs. ELIZABETH HOWLAND, in the Pariſh-Church of STREATHAM in SURRY, on *Friday*, *May* 1, 1719.

REVELATIONS xiv. 13.

I heard a Voice from Heaven, ſaying unto me, Write, Bleſſed are the Dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth: Yea, ſaith the Spirit, that They may reſt from their Labours; and their Works do follow them.

THERE is nothing in which the Weakneſs of Mankind is more betrayed, than in the Notions commonly received in the World, about Happineſs and Unhappineſs. We all profeſs ourſelves engaged in the Purſuit of the one, and the avoiding the other; and Conſequently very much concerned to fix the juſteſt Notions of Them in our Minds. We all feel what a kind of World we now inhabit; and what a ſort of Life we now live: How full of Vexations, Troubles, Uneaſineſſes, and Uncertainties; that is, in other Words, how utterly inconſiſtent with Happineſs. And yet we are commonly ſo fooliſh as to call the *Living* only *Happy*; as to think Thoſe *Bleſſed*, who have Fields, and Houſes, and Treaſures, in Poſſeſſion; who yet breath this groſs Air, and enjoy the good Things of this ſordid Earth. If we ſee any of Thoſe taken away, in whom we have any Concern; and an End put to their Deſigns, and a Stop given to the poor Proſpect of Happineſs They had here below; We are apt to Mourn over This, as ſome ſort of Miſery, though We know not what; and to think of *Them*, as the Unfortunate; and of *Ourſelves*, who remain, as the Happy.

This Frame of Mind is owing, indeed, to that ſtrong Love of the preſent Life, which the Author of our Nature has thought fit to implant in Us, in order to make Us *bear* a Life, which otherwiſe We ſhould not, in many Caſes, be able to ſuſtain, ſo as to anſwer, in any degree, the Deſigns of his Wiſdom, in placing us in this Scene of Things. But though there be ſomewhat in this, which unavoidably reſults from the Nature of Man; yet the Exceſs of this Weakneſs is to be corrected by Reaſon and Religion; Both deſigned for the ridding Men's Minds of all falſe Apprehenſions, eſpecially in Matters of ſo great Importance. Senſe itſelf, indeed, is ſufficient to ſatisfy Us very effectually, that this World is not ſo deſirable a State, as that We ſhould be ſolicitous to confine either Ourſelves, or Thoſe whom we wiſh Happy, to it: And there needs but very little Experience, and the Trial of a very few Days, to make Us *feel* this Truth, without the Trouble of much Thought, or Reflexion. And then, Reaſon and Religion open to Us another Scene of Things; a future State of Stable Happineſs: A State of Eaſe and Quiet; of Freedom from Pain, and Grief, and Trouble, and Uneaſineſs; without Uncertainty, or Anxiety, or Fear, or Terror; out of the Reach of what we call Fortune, or Malice, or Envy, or Detraction, or any Evil; and full of all the Real Goods that We can be capable of enjoying.

And as Religion opens to Us the Proſpect of ſuch a Scene; ſo it aſſures us, it is prepared for the good and virtuous Part of Mankind; for Thoſe who, *by patient Continuance in Well-doing, have ſought after Honour, and Glory, and Immortality.*

And conſequently, it teaches Us to correct theſe Unjuſt Conceptions, and Partial Notions, about Happineſs; not to call any Perſons *Bleſſed* before their Death; nor to fix that Appellation upon Any, though never ſo Rich, never ſo Honourable, never ſo Good, whilſt They are in a State full of a Succeſſion of hazardous Trials, and Uncertain Events; of Tormenting Cares, and Uneaſy Diſappointments: And to account *Thoſe* only properly *Bleſſed*, who have lived, as Men ought to live, in the Practice of all Virtue, and Goodneſs; and are removed out of ſuch a State as this; and ſafely arrived at a better.

This is the *Leſſon* which the Words I have now read to you, will eaſily lead Us to: If We conſider Them, not with regard only to thoſe Times to which They may be ſuppoſed peculiarly to relate, in their firſt Intention; but as a General *Leſſon*, extending itſelf to all Times and Places, and adapted to the Ordinary State of the *Chriſtian* World. They are introduced in a Manner ſo ſolemn and extraordinary, as to raiſe ſuch a Surprize in the Hearers, as naturally increaſes their Attention. *I heard a Voice from Heaven, ſaying unto me, Write, Bleſſed are the Dead, which die in the Lord:—Yea, ſaith the Spirit*; *that They may reſt from their Labours*; *and their Works do follow them.*

In proſecution, therefore, of my preſent Deſign, in ſo general an Extent, it will, I think, be natural and proper, from theſe Words,

I. To conſider, Who they are that may be truly ſaid, according to the Terms of the Goſpel, to *Die in the Lord:* So that We may judge, Who They are that have a Title to that Word *Bleſſed*, ſo ſolemnly here pronounced upon Them.

II. To ſhew on what accounts They may be ſaid to be *Bleſſed*, from what is included in the latter Part of the Words, *That They may reſt from their Labours; and their Works do follow them.*

I. The *firſt* Point is, to conſider, Who they are that may be truly ſaid, in the Senſe of the Goſpel, *To die in the Lord:* So that We may judge, Who they are that have a Title to the Word, *Bleſſed*, ſo ſolemnly here pronounced upon Them. And if we be ſincere and in earneſt, This Enquiry will quickly come to an Iſſue; and preſently end in a certain Reſolution. For every honeſt *Chriſtian*, who ſearches in order to find the Truth, will preſently collect from the original Deſign, from the whole Tenor, and from the expreſs Words of the *Goſpel*, that They only can be properly ſaid to *Die in the Lord*, who may truly be ſaid to have *lived in the Lord*; that is, to have lived ſo, as that Our Bleſſed Lord will own Them at the laſt Day for his true Followers. *To Die in the Lord*, is *To die* in the Happy Relation of a ſincere Diſciple to *Jeſus Chriſt*, and of a good and faithful Servant to our Great Maſter. And who can be ſaid to *die* thus, but They who have contracted that Relation by a former Life, led by his Rules, and conducted by his Will? They, who have ſhewn themſelves *His* Diſciples by ſuch plain Marks and Characters, as He himſelf has declared to be the only Marks and Characters by which He will know them?

This then we may certainly conclude, That *To die in the Lord*, cannot ſignify merely to die in the Faith of *Jeſus Chriſt*; believing and confeſſing Him to be our Lord and Maſter; acknowledging him the Saviour of the World; and confidently applying, at laſt, the Remedy of his Merits to the Evil of a Life ſpent in the willful and habitual Tranſgreſſion of his Laws. If the Reaſon of the Thing, and the Nature of God himſelf, did not lead Us to this, the expreſs Declaration of *Chriſt* himſelf would be ſufficient, *Not every one that ſaith unto me, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but He that doth the Will of my Father which is in Heaven.* And to do the Will of his Father, is to live in a ſincere and uniform

Obedience to all God's Commands, and all his Laws equally, as far as They are made known to Us.

Nor is it a more ſecure Preſumption in Men, to imagine that, in order *to die in the Lord*, or to die a happy Death, it is enough to take Refuge in the Sorrow and Contrition of a Death-bed; or in confeſſing and deteſting thoſe Sins in Death, which they would never be once perſuaded to quit through their whole Life. For *to die in the Lord*, being to die in the Relation of a true Diſciple to Him; and the Marks and Characters of that Relation having been ſetled and declared by Himſelf, and eſtabliſhed long ago upon the Nature of his Deſign, and the End of his Appearance in the World: The Imaginations of Men are not to be conſulted; but his Will, and his Declarations. And as the great End of his Appearance was to preach Repentance to the Living, and not to the Dying; as Men are not called in the Goſpel only, or chiefly, to grieve for their Sins; but to forſake them, and amend their Lives, by *bringing forth Fruits meet for Repentance*; and as *the Wrath of God is reveled* in it *from Heaven* againſt all Wilful and Habitual Sin: It is impoſſible for Any, who are not reſolved to flatter themſelves into Deſtruction, to conceive that *to die in the Lord*, or to die happily, can poſſibly be the Reſult of Sorrow and Grief at the laſt Moments; or that any ſuch Frame of Mind can be the End aimed at by the Diſpenſation of the Goſpel, or any good Foundation of that *Bleſſedneſs* which is declared in it.

No one can be ſaid, with any ſort of Propriety, to die a happy Death, or *to die in the Lord*, who, at the Time of his Death, has not a Title, upon the expreſs Terms of the Goſpel, to Eternal Life. And there are otherguiſe Conditions of Eternal Life laid down to *Chriſtians*, than Sorrow and Contrition for Sins which They can now no longer live in. *If thou wouldſt enter into Life, keep the Commandments. Ye are my Friends, if ye do what I command you. The Righteous ſhall go into Life Eternal, and the Wicked into Everlaſting Puniſhment.* And He only, *who doth Righteouſneſs, is Righteous*, in the Senſe of the *Goſpel*. Theſe are Declarations ſufficient to awaken any *Chriſtians* out of ſo fatal a Dream, as They are in, who have Recourſe to Inventions of their own; who indulge Themſelves in laying Schemes inconſiſtent with the whole Deſign of *Chriſtianity*; and in forming Projects of Salvation, which the Goſpel of Salvation knows nothing of. For as They only ſhall inherit Eternal Life, who have patiently perſevered in Well-doing; as far as the Terms of God's Favour have been made known to Us: So it is as plain, as Words can make it, that the only Road to a happy Death, is a *Chriſtian* Life; and that they only can, with any Degree of Aſſurance, be ſaid to *Die in the Lord*, who have lived with all the Eſſential Characters of his Diſciples upon them; whoſe Lives have been conducted by his Laws, and filled with the Fruits of his Spirit. I come now to the *Second* Thing I propoſed:

II. To conſider, on what accounts They may be ſaid to be *Bleſſed*, from what is included in the latter Part of the Words, *That they may reſt from their Labours; and Their Works do follow them.*

1. They *reſt from their Labours.* This *Life* is as full of Cares, and Fears, and Uneaſineſſes, and Diſappointments, as it is of Days; And in the Scripture-phraſe, *Man is born to Trouble*, and as naturally tends to it, *as the Sparks fly upwards.* Conſider a little the Conditions and Terms, upon which, generally ſpeaking, We *live* in this World; and You will ſee, it is no very inconſiderable Thing to *reſt from the Labours* of ſuch a Life. If We continue in this State for any Time, We live, not in order to die one ſingle Death at laſt, at the End of our Term; but rather to die a Thouſand Deaths, through the ſeveral Days, and Months, and

Years, We are ſaid *to live.* We *live* indeed in Name and Appearance: That is, We breathe, and move, and perceive, and have Senſes. But We live, either to feel ſuch Degrees of Miſery in Ourſelves, or to ſee ſuch Scenes of Unhappineſs in Others, as are ſufficient often to interrupt our Courſe of Joy, and to embitter the few Pleaſures this State can pretend to. We often live to inherit Sickneſs and Pain; to be Burnt by Fevers; or to be Tormented by the Returns of Stone or Gout; or to be conſumed and wearied out by ſome other Diſtemper, which has it in its Power to make Us uneaſy to Ourſelves, and troubleſome to thoſe about Us. We often ſurvive the Loſs of our Eſtates, our Health, our Reputation; Every one of which, to Many, is worſe than Death itſelf. We live ſometimes to ſee Ourſelves ſacrificed to the Fraud and Perfidy of Others; to be forſaken by Profeſſed Friends, and inſulted by Outrageous Enemies; to be perſecuted by the Malice of Evil Tongues, and covered with the Reproaches of Men.

We ſpend perhaps ſome Years; and watch Days and Nights, in projecting ſome Scheme of Happineſs: And in bringing this to a tolerable Perfection. And when, by much Labour, We think We are come to the End of our Wiſhes and Deſires; *ſomewhat* almoſt always intervenes between Us and Happineſs; and is appointed to ſtop Us in our Career. After much Labour in a tempeſtuous Sea, We are perhaps ſhipwrecked in the Port itſelf: And are either taken off within View of the Poſſeſſion; or elſe the Poſſeſſion itſelf is ſo far from anſwering our Expectations, that our former Expectations, by being diſappointed, do themſelves only ſerve to make Us the more completely miſerable, in the midſt of Poſſeſſion.

But as theſe daily Diſappointments never weary out the natural Deſire and Purſuit of Happineſs; but it returns, after numberleſs Trials, to Freſh Propoſals and New Projects with the ſame Eagerneſs of Expectation and Aſſurance; there is nothing more common than for Men ſtill to go on to imagine, that the Accompliſhment and Succeſs of ſuch and ſuch particular Wiſhes and Deſigns, would go a great Way towards a perfect Eaſe and Contentment. But when again, theſe are permitted to have Succeſs; (as they are ſometimes, to convince Us of our own Incapacity of Judging in this Caſe;) What are We the nearer? Something or other again invades our Repoſe: and We find it in the Power of a Multitude of Accidents, never to be foreſeen, to Diſcompoſe and Ruine the whole Fabrick of Happineſs which We have raiſed in our Imaginations. Nay, whatever it be, from which We have any Expectations of Happineſs, it is frequently ſeen that This itſelf, upon that very Account, is what ſerves to make Us moſt Unhappy.

Such is the Condition of our Life here! Either, not to have our moſt paſſionate Wiſhes granted Us; which is preſent Unhappineſs: Or, if We have them granted, to find, by a comfortleſs Experiment, that We have ſought *Miſery* inſtead of ***Happineſs***; and embrace a vain Shadow, where We expected a ſubſtantial Good. Our Enjoyments, at beſt, are but Few: And thoſe Few continually daſhed with the Mixture of many Ills, and the Intervention of Unforeſeen Misfortunes, which are powerful enough to ſpoil our *Good*, and change it into *Evil*. In the mean while, *Iniquity* often triumphs; and extends its Conqueſts over all that can be called Virtuous and Praiſe-worthy. The *Beſt* that can be ſaid is, that, though Virtue always tends, in its Nature, to Peace and Happineſs, yet here below, *There is one Event to the Righteous and the Wicked*: But *Worſe* may too often be ſaid, That the Good Man, who alone has a Claim to the *Favour* of Providence, ſeems, ſometimes, in this State, to have little

Title even to its *Protection.* *In the midſt of Life*, are We thus *in Death:* In the midſt of *Virtue* itſelf, encompaſſed with the Puniſhments of *Vice:* In the midſt of Enjoyment, under the Apprehenſion of Loſs and Diſappointment: And the higher We are ſeated in what We have Thought fit to imagine our Happineſs, ſo much the nearer are We to a Precipice, and liable to a ſo much greater and more terrible Downfal.

When We take a View of *Life*, encompaſſed with all theſe Circumſtances, Who would not, in Reaſon, be led to rejoice in the Thought of *Reſting from the Labours* of ſuch a Life? And were We happily removed out of it; how unkind an Office of Love ſhould We think it, were it poſſible, for the Wiſhes and Deſires of Friends to call Us back again! To *live* indeed, even in ſuch a State as this, is made the Natural Deſire of Men: And to *Die* is appointed to carry ſomewhat of Terror along with it, for wiſe and good Reaſons. But were We once ſucceſsfully delivered from the Waves of this Tempeſtuous Sea; what could move Us to truſt Ourſelves to their Mercy again? Were we once gone off this Stage of Combats and Hazards, with Glory; What could incline Us to renew our own Dangers and Labours? Were we once *dead in the Lord*, with the Conſcience of a well-ſpent Life, and a virtuous Converſation; What could be of Force enough to engage Us willingly to revive our Acquaintance with a World of Cares and Troubles; and to live a Life over again, attended with all Thoſe Uneveneſſes, Solicitudes, Diſquiets, Expectations, Diſappointments, Hopes, Fears, Deſpairs, Small Goods, and Great Evils, which We have before ſeen and felt to make up its Train; and to be inſeparably united to it? *Bleſſed are the Dead which die in the Lord:* For *they reſt from their Labours.* This is *one* Conſideration.

2. The other Conſideration is, That They not only *reſt from their Labours* of ſuch a Life as this is; but *Their Works do follow them:* that is, The Life of Good Works which they have led here below, and without which They could not be ſaid to *die in the Lord*; (as I have before explained it;) This Life of Univerſal Virtue is remembred, by the Mercy of God, to their Eternal Honour and Advantage. Thoſe Works *follow* them, to which the Promiſe of Glory and Immortality is made; to which the Favour of God is annexed, and the Rewards of Heaven ſolemnly promiſed: And theſe are the *Works of the Spirit*; the Effects of Noble Principles, and the Fruits of a well-grounded Faith; the Works of Love, Beneficence, Juſtice, Patience, Humility, and all the Train of Virtues, the End of which is declared in the Goſpel to be *Eternal Life*, and Bleſſedneſs for ever.

This is the State of thoſe who *die in the Lord*, if we take in both Parts of what is here pronounced, to prove and denominate them truly *Bleſſed. They reſt from their Labours:* They ceaſe from a Life of Impertinence, Imperfection, and Miſery. And *Their Works follow them:* They change this Life, for the Rewards of thoſe Virtues which they practiſed in it. They Change this Miſerable, Low, Unſatisfactory, and Uneaſy State, for Another, in which neither Miſery, nor Diſſatisfaction, nor Uneaſineſs, are known: But in their ſtead, All that can be wiſhed for; and Every thing that can reſult from the Favour and Love of God; from a Mind filled with the Remembrance of a ſincere and upright Conduct; from a Conſcience at Peace with itſelf; and from the Aſſurance of a laſting and certain Happineſs, communicated by never-failing Goodneſs, and guarded by Almighty Power. How *Bleſſed* therefore, above what we can expreſs or conceive, muſt the Good *Chriſtian* be, when, inſtead of the *Images* of *Death* which fill up the Scenes of what we call *Life* here below, He ſhall know, in Himſelf, what *Life* is; and be ſatisfied, by his own Experience, that to *Live* is to be *Happy!* When, inſtead of the Uncertainties and Diſappointments; the Viciſſitudes of Pain and Pleaſure; the Changes of Sorrow and Joy; the Returns of Evil; the Afflictions, Calamities, and Reproaches, in the midſt of which he has paſſed his Hours here on Earth; He ſhall meet with the Certainty of a ſtable Habitation; with Unmixed and pure Happineſs; with an Unmoveable State of all that is truly Good, without the Fear or Suſpicion of Loſs or Diminution; out of the Reach of Tempeſts and Convulſions, and ſudden Turns of Empire and Fortune! With a State, in which the Eſtabliſhed Favour of God is the Security; and in which the Perfection of Mutual Sincerity and Unbounded Charity cannot fail to make Society the greateſt Delight, of which Rational Creatures are capable!

The Time will not allow Me to enlarge farther upon this. I have endeavoured to give You as uſeful Leſſons as I could, from the Words I firſt read to You; and as proper, as any can be, to the preſent Occaſion of our meeting together. But I muſt not end here. Whilſt we are paying our laſt Regards to the Remains of an excellent Perſon, who is gone before Us to a Bleſſed Immortality, I eſteem myſelf particularly engaged, in Juſtice and Gratitude, not to paſs over in Silence what I think, or know, to be due to the *Memory* of *One*, who has a Right to our Remembrance; and to the *Example* of *One*, in whoſe Life and Death We may ſee the *Truth* of what I have been laying before you.

I will begin where all true Religion either does, or ought to begin. As it pleaſed God to bleſs Her with an uncommon Degree of Good Senſe and Underſtanding; ſo, it was manifeſtly her great Endeavour to make a proper Uſe of ſo great an Happineſs, by laying the Foundation both of her Faith and Conduct in the moſt rational, the moſt juſt, and moſt certain Notions of God, and of his Perfections, within her own Mind. By theſe She judged of Doctrines and of Practices: And by theſe She was led into that Juſt and Lovely Notion of Religion, which ſupported her under the Evils of this Life, and carried Her forward to the Enjoyments of a Better. Upon this Foundation She embraced *Chriſtianity*, with her Underſtanding as well as her Heart, as agreeable to the Natural Notions of the Supreme Being: And upon This, ſhe eſteemed it the Glory of the Goſpel, that it was worthy of a Good God, Plain, Practical, and Uſeful. Nor did I ever obſerve Her to be better pleaſed, than when the Great Duties of it were preached and inculcated, in their native Plainneſs and Simplicity.

It was by theſe ſound Notions of Almighty God, and his Will, that She was truly *Religious*, without any of the uneaſy Mixtures of *Superſtition*; and truly *Pious*, without any of the undue Heats of *Enthuſiaſm*. It was by theſe ſame Notions of God and his Providence, that She preſerved her Soul in that Uncommon Compoſure, in all the Events, and under all the Evils of Life, which is very rarely ſeen. Such a Courage and Preſence of Mind, in the many Attacks of Pain and Sickneſs which She experienced, (much greater than She would ever diſcover by any of her own Complaints;) ſuch a Reſignation, and ſuch a Fortitude, beyond what may ſtrictly be called Patience, under all that was laid upon Her, are ſeldom equalled, and never exceeded.

And as it was to theſe juſt Notions of God and his Perfections, that She owed her own *Chriſtian* Conduct; ſo it was by the ſame, that She was led, uniformly and conſtantly, to be of the moſt favourable and charitable Diſpoſition towards all Perſons, in whom the Marks of Sincerity and Honeſty appeared, amidſt all their differing Sentiments concerning the Methods of worſhiping and pleaſing God. Thoſe Diviſions upon Religious Accounts, which She lamented, She thought might be covered with Charity; but never could be cured by Violence and Oppreſſion, without bringing in much greater Evils than ſuch Methods could pretend to remove. And therefore, the Doctrine of Univerſal Love, and Mutual Forbearance, was That which ſhe always expreſſed the greateſt Pleaſure to hear inforced upon Men's Minds; and from which alone She expected any Remedy to the Evil Tempers and Paſſions of Men.

Of her compaſſionate Regard to the Outward Miſeries of the Poor and diſtreſſed Part of the World, were I to ſpeak only from my own Knowledge, This I could ſay, that I myſelf ever found Her diſpoſed both to hear and to relieve; and have myſelf known, in many Inſtances of Diſtreſs which have come before Her, very liberal Supplies, afforded with the Heart of a *chearful Giver*. And I can appeal to many now living, who, I know, in many more Caſes, (in which the Removal of Miſery, or the procuring ſome Good to the Afflicted Part of Mankind, were concerned,) have received very large and very Noble Proofs of her Charitable Diſpoſition, to be applied to thoſe good Ends. But *They* will ſpeak moſt feelingly who themſelves have partaken of it: *They* particularly, in theſe Parts, whoſe Families have been chiefly ſupported by her Bounty, whoſe Pains and Sickneſſes have been abated or removed by her Compaſſion, and Remedies; whoſe Children have been Clothed and Taught at her Expenſe; and whoſe repeated Wants have received Redreſs from her repeated Goodneſs: Whoſe Condition I was going now to lament; but I conſider that They may ſtill promiſe Themſelves the Continuance of the ſame Beneficence, and the ſame Supplies.

She had too great a Soul, and too comprehenſive a Compaſs of Thought, not to judge well of the Publick Intereſt of Her Country; and not to think herſelf too deeply concerned in it, to ſit by an Unconcerned Spectator of its Condition. She underſtood, as well as any One, in what Point True Liberty was placed; between Licentiouſneſs on one hand, and Tyranny on the other. She knew as well as any One, the Value to be ſet upon ſuch a Liberty, of being governed by Laws framed by Conſent; and not by Arbitrary Will. And She was ſenſible, to the higheſt Degree, of how great Conſequence and Neceſſity the preſent Eſtabliſhment was, to make ſo great a Happineſs laſting to Us and our Poſterity. I ſpeak this to her Honour, as I think it none of the leaſt Parts of Her Character, that, with reſpect to her *Country*, She was full of ſuch Sentiments as naturally ariſe from an Extenſive Love to the Happineſs of Mankind; from a Benevolent Temper, and Good Diſpoſition towards Poſterity itſelf; and from a Tender Regard to the Good of Human Society. And Her Joy or Grief, her Pleaſure or Uneaſineſs, were proportionable to theſe Sentiments; and ſuch as ſhewed them to be ſincere. Nothing hardly was ever ſeen to give Her a more ſenſible Delight, than the Good Succeſs of any thing which tended to eſtabliſh ſo great an Happineſs. Nothing hardly was ever ſeen to give Her a more ſenſible Pain, or to force from Her more Uneaſy Expreſſions, than even the leaſt Appearance of any thing which interrupted the Proſpect, or tended to ſhake the Foundation, of Publick Good.

Of her Uncommon Prudence in her Private Affairs, I need ſay the leſs, becauſe her Name has been long known in this Part of the World, and celebrated with Honour upon that Account. It pleaſed God, that She was left, almoſt at her firſt Appearance in the World, with the entire Management of a very great Eſtate; enough to try the Strength of any Head, and the Force of any Heart. But with what Applauſe to her Conduct, and with what Approbation of Her Behaviour, She paſſed through Circumſtances of ſo delicate a

Nature; the World has been Witneſs: Whilſt She acted like a Perſon diſengaged from Herſelf; regardleſs of all the Amuſements and Pleaſures that ſuch a Fortune could Place in her Way; and centering all her Thoughts in *Another*, over whom She firſt watched with the Regards of the Tendereſt Mother, and with whom She afterwards lived in the Endearments of the moſt intimate Friendſhip; partaking in her Cares, and her Counſels, for the Good of that Noble Young Family, who already Promiſe to the World all the Fruits that can be expected from ſo much Solicitude.

And here, indeed, the Part She acted was one almoſt uninterrupted Scene of the moſt ſerious Concern, tempered with a Pleaſing Affability, and a conſtant Good-humour, which made Her the Love of Thoſe whoſe Improvement and Accompliſhment She was making the Labour of her Life. Her End was to lead them gently into the right Path; and to the willing Choice of that Virtue, which She knew would be their Great and only laſting Good. And it ſeemed, indeed, from her never-ceaſing Care, as if all her Happineſs depended upon the Succeſs of her Concern here. Her Words and Looks were Pleaſure itſelf, when She ſpoke of the Improvements She at any Time ſaw in Thoſe She ſo truly loved. And the Promiſes of Future Good, in the Virtuous Diſpoſitions and great Endowments, which She perceived to anſwer, if not to go before, her Wiſhes, ſeemed to give her a more touching Delight than all the World beſides could afford Her.

But it did not pleaſe God to continue her Life to that [i] Age to which many arrive; and in which She might have hoped to ſee thoſe Promiſes made good. She was ſeized with her laſt Illneſs, and called out of the World, at a Time when She might have found very peculiar Reaſons to deſire Life ſome few Years longer. But yet, far from imagining Herſelf the Judge of this, She never once indulged the Thought of Life, from the firſt Attack to the laſt Moment. In the midſt of all her Illneſs, which was of that Nature as ſometimes to indiſpoſe Her, one would think, to ſuch a Guard over Herſelf, Her Great and Conſtant Care was to render Herſelf as little uneaſy to Others as poſſible; to appear Fearleſs, in order to cure the Fears of Thoſe about Her; and to keep all the Signs of what She felt in Herſelf, from ſhewing Themſelves to Thoſe who, She knew, would have but too much to bear when the Stroke ſhould come. Every Thing was Eaſy, Quiet, and Prepared within. She reſigned Herſelf to (what, from the Beginning, She looked upon as certain) Death, with all that Compoſedneſs and Calmneſs which might accompany any ordinary Action of Life. And whilſt She was all along perſuaded of her own dying Condition, She watched over all her own Words: And ſuffered not any one Mark of that Perſuaſion to proceed from her in the Preſence of thoſe who were moſt Dear to Her; nor any one Sign of Uneaſineſs, which might diſcompoſe Thoſe, for whom, at Death, She retained the ſame True Tenderneſs, which She had ever demonſtrated through her Life.

She is now removed from Us. She is at reſt from the Labours of a Life, which, in the midſt of an Affluence of Riches, She experienced to be full enough of Cares within, and Pain and Affliction without. *She reſts from her Labours: And her Works follow her.* Her Example remains to Thoſe who are left behind her: And the Memory of her *Excellencies*, to Thoſe who follow Her.

May Almighty God ſupport Thoſe who are moſt nearly concerned, under ſo great a Loſs! And may They and We, all prepare Ourſelves, by a Life of

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[i] *She died in the Fifty-eighth Year of her Age,* April 19, 1719.

True Religion, and Univerſal Obedience to God's Laws, for a happy Death: That it may be ſaid of Us, when that Hour ſhall come which muſt come, *Bleſſed are the Dead which Die in the Lord—For they reſt from their Labours, and their Works do follow them!*

SERMON XVI.

Preached before the Houſe of Lords, at ST. PETER'S, WESTMINSTER, on *Jan.* 30, 172^{0}_{1}, being the Anniverſary of the Martyrdom of K. CHARLES I.

1 COR. x. former Part of ver. 11.

Now all theſe things happened unto them for Enſamples.

YOU will eaſily perceive, from my chooſing theſe Words, as an Introduction to what I am now going to ſay, That it is my Deſign to make uſe of that Black and Unhappy Part of our *Engliſh* Hiſtory, which we are commanded by Authority to call to mind on *this Day*, in ſuch a manner as to make ſuch Obſervations upon it, and draw ſuch Leſſons from it, as may be of moſt Service to Ourſelves, in order to prevent and avoid thoſe *Evils*, which *happened unto* our Forefathers, *for Enſamples* to Us their Poſterity: juſt as the Unhappineſſes and Wickedneſſes of the *Jews* in former Ages, are here in the Text ſet before the Eyes of their Followers by St. *Paul.*

To open unneceſſarily any old Wounds that are now cloſed up, and make them bleed afreſh; To widen any that are now open, and to inflame them ſtill more and more: Theſe Things are as far from my Inclination and Temper, as They are contrary to All that I know of Religion. I had much rather pour Oyl into Any that remain, and apply Nothing but ſoft and healing Medicines: Nay, if it were poſſible, I would caſt a Veil over every Mark of paſt Infamy, or even Imperfection, on all Sides; were it not for Fear, We might at the ſame Time loſe ſome of the Beſt Leſſons, and moſt Uſeful Obſervations, for our own Conduct.

To run with Violence againſt Any One Sort of Men now in being: To fix the Guilt of *That* upon All of One general Denomination, which All the Chief of them deteſted by a publick Remonſtrance at the Time of the Tranſaction: To lay *That* upon the *Generality* of a Nation, which even in the *Firſt Zeal* againſt it, was declared by publick [k] Authority to be the Work of a *Few*, at that Time poſſeſſed of Power: Or, to load with all poſſible Aggravations the unjuſtifiable Proceedings on *One* ſide only, and to clear the *Other* of every Thing that looks like Guilt: Theſe are Points, which common Juſtice and Equity (not to mention Compaſſion and Charity) forbid Us to do.

But to teach Ourſelves to avoid what we rightly blame in Others; to take Care that True and Juſt Principles of Publick Good do not ſuffer in the Eſteem of Men, through the Miſtakes or Wickedneſs of Such as were Strangers to them, or only pretended to make uſe of them; and that the Memory of *true Patriots* may not be curſed, for the Sake of the *Infamy* of *Uſurpers* ruling by mere Power and Armed Force: To learn, from the Review of former Unhappineſſes, every Thing that can be of Uſe to help Us in the Preventing Any the like Miſeries for the Time to come, or the Curing any preſent Evils: *Theſe*, and the like, are *Points* worthy of Perſons concerned for the Good of their Country; and Such, as may render this Faſt, not a *Faſt for Strife and Debate*, nor merely a Faſt for *Shame* and *Reproach*; but a *Day* of Uſeful Inſtruction, in the Paths which lead to Publick Peace, and the Eſtabliſhment of all that is valuable in human Society.

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[k] *Proclam.* King *Charles* II. 1660.

The main Points which *this Day* recalls to our Minds, I ſhall connect together in the following Manner, in order to introduce the Obſervations I deſign: —That there was, in the *Days* of our Forefathers, to which we now look back, a Zeal in the Repreſentatives of *England*, in Parliament aſſembled, to oppoſe Every Arbitrary Encroachment upon the *Legal Liberties* and *Properties* of the Subject:—That, by Degrees, and by the Concurrence of many Accidents, the Paſſions, and Rage, and Revenge, of *Some*, by the Help of mutual *Provocations*, mixed themſelves too much in the Conteſt:—That Ambitious, and Deſigning, and Deſperate Men, took occaſion from hence to ſet their own Machines on work:—That the various and contradictory Schemes of *Belief* aud *Worſhip*, embraced at that Time, (All equally honoured with the Name of *Religion)* were called in, to heat the Imaginations of Men, and to help forward the common Ruine:—That at length this ended in the Deſtruction of the *Legal Conſtitution*; in confounding even all Appearance of Freedom in what remained of a *Parliament*; in an *Uſurped Power*, ſupported by *Force* againſt the Conſent of the Nation, and with the Abhorrence of the greateſt Friends to *Legal Liberty*; and in the *Murther* of the KING, againſt the Voices of *All*, but Such as then began to find themſelves to have no Security but from an *Armed Force*. A *Fact*, which, as I truly deteſt; and am led to do ſo by all the *Princirles* I know any thing of: ſo, if any Words of mine could aggravate, conſidered in all its Circumſtances, They never ſhould be wanting. Theſe are the Main Parts of the Hiſtory now before Us; upon which I ſhall proceed to build ſome *Obſervations*. And,

I. I ſhall take leave to Warn againſt One Uſe which may ſometimes have been made of *this* Part of our Hiſtory; and That is, The arguing from the Bad Event of Things, contrary to the Wiſhes and Deſigns of the Beſt and Wiſeſt Men, againſt all ſuch Oppoſition to *Illegal Encroachments*, and *Arbitrary Proceedings*, as firſt opened the Scene. For, As, in *Argument*, nothing is more *injudicious*, than to plead againſt *One thing*, becauſe *Another thing* of a quite different Nature ſucceeded to it, through the wicked Deſigns of ſome Men; and the unaccountable Concurrence of a thouſand *Accidents*: So, in *Political* Affairs, nothing can be more *fatal*, than to draw a *Concluſion*, from ſuch Events, which muſt lay the Foundation of Uninterrupted and Hopeleſs Slavery. The Nature and Reaſon of Things abhors ſuch an *Inference*: which would at once take away all the Right of a *Free Nation*; and make their Meeting together in *Parliament*, only a more *Solemn Form* of *Abſolute Submiſſion* to whatever the *Will* of Another ſhall lay upon them. *All* in the Adminiſtration of Government, who are *Wiſe*, would not wiſh to have ſuch a Temptation to *Evil* laid in their Way: *All*, who are *Good*, would even oppoſe and prevent ſuch a dangerous Piece of *Servile Subjection*: and *All*, who are *Bad* enough to wiſh for it, deſerve, for that very Reaſon, to have the *Terror* of the *Contrary* before their Eyes; that ſo, what They will not refrain from for *Conſcience*, yet for *Wrath's Sake* may be avoided. Let that Leſſon, therefore, of *Good*, remain untouched, which under an *Adminiſtration*, by which the *Liberties* and *Laws* of the *Country* are preſerved unviolated, can do no hurt; and under *One*, which aſſumes the Power of acting *without* or *againſt* Law, is of Abſolute Neceſſity to prevent *Publick Ruine*.

There is the leſs Occaſion for *Argument* upon *this Head*, becauſe the *Beſt* of *Thoſe Hiſtorians*, and Other Writers, who have ſhewn the greateſt Warmth againſt what followed, yet have been far from condemning thoſe *Beginnings* of Zeal for the *Publick*, which tended in their natural Conſequences to the laſting Good of the *King* and the *Whole Body*; and could not have been diverted from attaining that End, but by the Unreaſonableneſs, and private Views, of ſuch on each Side, as had nothing leſs at Heart than either the *Greatneſs* of their *King*, or the *Good* of their *Country*: Two Things, which in our Conſtitution are ſo happily *joined together*, that They can never *be put aſunder*.

And what is ſtill a Greater Conſolation, is, that, though ſuch *Leſſons* of *Subjection* may have been taught by perſons of Leiſure, little verſed in the Affairs of Human Life, yet We have ſeen with Pleaſure that All Sorts, and *Parties*, (if I muſt uſe that Word,) of Men amongſt Us, have, (to their Honour be it ſpoken) in their ſeveral Turns, and as conſtantly as any Opportunity offered itſelf, openly and zealouſly made Oppoſition to Any Attempts, which They either knew, or imagined, to affect the known Laws and Liberties of their Country. Nay, it muſt be acknowledged, that *None* have ſhewn more of this Spirit *in Parliament*, than *Thoſe* who have ſeemed fearful of giving too great Encouragement to *Liberty*, for fear of the ill Conſequences of it: And it ought ever to be accounted one Part of their great Glory, that *out* of *Parliament*, in the greateſt and happieſt Struggle for *Publick Liberty*, which the preſent Generation, or perhaps any other, ever was witneſs to, *Their Part* was great and remarkable, in oppoſing the Encroachments of *Arbitrary Power*, and even in inviting an Armed Force to make that Oppoſition ſucceſsful: The only appearing Difference between *Them* and *Others*, if we may judge by *Practice*, being This, that, whilſt They are both equally jealous of Every ſuppoſed Attempt againſt their Liberties, the *One* ſort may imagine *That* to be ſo, which the Other do not; and the *One* ſort may be fearful leſt the Defenſe of their own *Practice* ſhould impreſs too great a Senſe of *Liberty* upon the Minds of Men; whilſt the *Other* may think it beſt not only to vindicate what is in itſelf praiſe-worthy, but to ſcatter the Light of *Legal Liberty* into all Corners of the Land, and to inſpire the Love of it into the Heart of Every Subject.

If We, therefore, conſider ſuch Leſſons of Submiſſion with regard to the Practice of the Wiſeſt and Beſt on *all Sides*; We may ſee how *Vain*, as well as how *Reproachful*, on All equally, they are: If we conſider them in a *Political* Light; They preſent Us with nothing but Certain Slavery without any poſſible *Chance* for the contrary: If We conſider them in the way of *Argument* merely; They are no better than *This*, That we ought not to do what is neceſſary for the Preſervation of a Whole Nation, becauſe it may happen that We may be ruined afterwards in another way; or, That a Man ought not to ſave himſelf from preſent Imminent Death, becauſe it is poſſible that in the Struggle He may put himſelf into a *Fever*, which may afterwards prove mortal; Or, That a *Good Thing* ought not to be attempted, becauſe a *Bad Thing* may poſſibly happen ſome Time afterwards, which is neither the natural Conſequence of the *Former*, nor could be foreſeen by the Wiſeſt of Men. This leads us to obſerve,

II. The Unreaſonableneſs of caſting the Reproach of this Day's Fact, and of every Thing before and after it, upon the Principles of *True Liberty*, in general; and upon the *Defenders* of them: Whereas it will appear, upon a ſerious Conſideration, (however it may ſound at firſt hearing,) That, of *all* Men, *Theſe* are led by their *Principles*, if they underſtand them, to an utter and ſetled Diſapprobation of what They have the Reproach of favouring. For what is the *Liberty* contended for, by all Men of Honeſty, and Underſtanding? Not Licentiouſneſs: Not a Right to overturn *Laws* and *Conſtitutions*, whenever Paſſion or Rage dictate; and the favourable Opportunity of *Power* offers itſelf: Much leſs, a *Licence*, under Pretenſe of *Liberty*, to deſtroy all Freedom in Parliament; to ſet up an Arbitrary Power, and maintain it by Force of Arms: Nothing of all this; but every thing contrary to it. It is the *Liberty* which reſults from being governed by *Laws* made by *Conſent*; the *Liberty* which reſults from theſe *Laws* being ſetled in ſuch a manner, that the Innocent ſhall always know their own Defenſe from Injuries, and even the moſt *Guilty* know before-hand upon what their Guilt ſhall be founded: It is the ſecure Enjoyment of *Property*, and *Privileges*, granted by Laws, free from every thing that looks like Violence.

The *End* of theſe *Laws* is to guard againſt the worſt of all worldly Evils, *Arbitrary Power*, in whatſoever Shapes or Degrees it may pretend to ſhew itſelf, and upon whatſoever *Pretext* it may found ſuch Pretenſions; to preſerve Judgement and Juſtice from the Influences of Paſſion and Private Reſentment; and Puniſhment itſelf, in the Caſe even of the meaneſt Subjects, from becoming Cruelty. A Scheme of Happineſs, not known in the Nations round about Us, either under *Abſolute Monarchies*, or *Republicks*; depending, one would judge from hence, entirely upon the Nature of that *Mixt Form* under which We live.

But what was the Caſe now before Us? We find plainly that a *Fact*, as ſhocking in itſelf, as it was oppoſite to the Temper of *Engliſhmen*, and contrary to the Maxims of the *Engliſh Government*, could not be ſo much as attempted, till the Freedom of *Parliament* was totally deſtroyed; the *Balances* which keep our Government in an even Situation, torn aſunder; and an *Armed Force* made the Support of what remained of *Civil Government*.

This Proceeding is much more agreeable to the Maxims of Thoſe who think and teach (if any ſuch ſtill remain) that *Arbitrary Power* is the beſt and fitteſt for the Government of Mankind; than to the Sentiments of *Others* of a contrary Judgement. For in this Caſe, All of *Legiſlation*, as well as of *Government*, that remained, was influenced and ſupported by mere *Force*, which is always *abſolute*. Nay, the Crime and Evil of *Uſurpation* itſelf, upon their own *Scheme*, is ſo qualified in proceſs of Time, that *Preſcription* or *Poſſeſſion*, maintained for a Term of Years, relieves Them at length of very much of their *Firſt Abhorrence* of it. Whereas, No Length of Time, No Tenure of *Preſcription*, can reconcile the Minds of Thoſe who underſtand what *Legal Liberty* is, to the total Deſtruction of a *Legal Conſtitution*, and to the Setlement of mere Power. The very Thing which, at the End of ſome Years, would have comforted *Others*, if a long Poſſeſſion of Arbitrary Power had continued amongſt Us, ſeems to *Them* ſo big with *Publick Miſery*, and *Calamity*, that it heightens and inflames their Deteſtation of all Proceedings which were thought neceſſary to ſuch an Evil: an Evil, which, if one Cunning and Daring *Uſurper* had been ſucceeded by *Another*, *might probably have cleaved to Us, and our Seed for ever*; and have come at length to have been the Subject of Fulſome *Panegyrick* to All the Admirers of Uncontrollable Power; and left to be lamented *in private* only by Such as *Thoſe*, whoſe *Principles* are ſometimes reproached as if They favoured what is abſolutely inconſiſtent with them. This leads Us,

III. To obſerve the perfect *Conſiſtency* which there is between a well-grounded Diſapprobation of that Scene of Things, which We this Day lament; and a ſetled and hearty Approbation of that *Great Tranſaction* in our own Days, upon which the preſent Eſtabliſhment of our *Conſtitution* is founded. There may be Thoſe, who are ſo little uſed to conſider a Cauſe thoroughly, and to purſue it through all its Conſequences, that They may be ſurprized to hear a thing ſo diſtant from what they have been uſed to. But yet it will be found certainly true, that *Theſe two* Things are ſo far from being *Inconſiſtent*; that the very Same Principles which lead Men of Conſideration to Approve the *Latter*, Direct and Influence Them to Diſapprove the *Former*. For Inſtance, The Maxim, that there is in the Whole Nation a Right to preſerve Themſelves and their *Conſtitution* of *Government*, from Ruine, is ſo far from implying in it, that a *Particular Party* of a Nation has a *Right* to poſſeſs itſelf of the *Governing Power* by *Force*, or *Trick*; or to tear in Pieces a *Legal Conſtitution*; or to commit Acts of Violence againſt Every Branch of that *Conſtitution*, as well as againſt *Private* Men: *It is ſo far*, I ſay, from implying theſe things, that it ſtrongly implies, and inforces, the Contrary. As therefore, in the *One* Caſe, there was the Concurrence of All Ranks, and All the Differing Sorts, amongſt Us, *againſt* all the *Armed Force* in the Land, contending whoſe Cries and Calls ſhould be loudeſt for Relief; and in the *Other*, the Conjunction of a *Few*, ſecured only by their having all the *Armed Force*, then in being, on their Side: As, on the *One* hand, the Concurrence of the *Whole* was directly and truly deſigned for the Preſervation of our *Legal Conſtitution*; and, on the *Other* hand, the Views of particular Men were to be carried on by the *Deſtruction* of that Conſtitution, and the extinguiſhing all Freedom of *Parliament*: As the *One* ended in the antient Form of *Legal Government*, and a ſtronger Eſtabliſhment of the *Rights* of *Subjects*, and *Parliaments*; and the *Other* in a direct Avowal of *Arbitrary Power*, where any of the Legal Rights or Privileges, belonging to *Parliament* or *People*, ſtood in the Way: As there are Theſe and the like, *Eſſential*, and Irreconcileable Differences between the *One* and the *Other*; (too many to be now enumerated;) it is evident that the *Proceedings* of the *Whole Nation*, in the *One* Caſe, ſtand approved and ſupported by the *ſame Principles*, which lead moſt effectually to the Condemnation of the Proceedings of a *Part* poſſeſſed of *Power*, in the *Other* Caſe. But,

IV. As *theſe Things happened* to our Forefathers *for Enſamples*; ſo let Them be *Enſamples* to *Us*, not only to chooſe what was *Good* in the *Conduct* of *Some*, but to avoid what was Evil in *Others*, and what indeed hindred all the *Good* which was propoſed. The *Great Leſſon* is, that on all Sides Men ſuffer not their Perſonal Reſentments, Paſſions, Diſappointments, or Private Intereſts, to enter into their Conteſts, where the Publick is concerned: At leaſt, Let them guard againſt their Influences, as much as it is poſſible for Human Nature to do. I ſay, *As much as poſſible*, well knowing how hard a Leſſon this is, and how ſeldom the Practice of it is to be hoped for. There is ſomething in *Self-love* ſo deeply rooted, that Private Intereſts and Private Views have often a ſilent and effectual Influence upon Men, even when their Movements are not diſtinctly felt within. Nor would I be underſtood to inſinuate, that it is always impoſſible that *Theſe* ſhould happen to fall in with what is truly for the *Publick Good*. But this is by Accident: and it being really the Satisfaction of our *Paſſions*, which gives *Life* to all Proceedings in which *Theſe* mix themſelves, the *Experiment*, upon this Account, is always dangerous. For the Nature and Operation of Theſe Principles is ſuch, that They will obſcure or diſcolour the brighteſt *Object*: They will make *That* appear *reaſonable*, which is *profitable*, or agreeable to ſome Preſent View; and throw a Diſgrace upon whatever does not tend to ſatisfy Themſelves. Take away *Theſe*; and *Publick Good* appears naked and open to every Eye, free from all Difficulties and Embarraſſments: But let *Theſe* enter in their full Strength; and *Publick Good* becomes only *Another Word* for our own *Private Views* and *Paſſions*. But of All *Principles* of *Action* in Human Nature, *Revenge* for Perſonal Injuries is ſeen to make the greateſt Havock in all Publick Diſputes and Diſorders. For, as it is naturally *blind* againſt all Light, and *Deaf* to all Argument; ſo, it can be Sated by nothing but ſome one particular *Sacrifice* which it propoſes; after which is compaſſed, it generally ends in Shame and Repentance. The Power of theſe Principles is known to be ſo great in Civil Affairs, that one main Foundation of all *Civil Government*, is, That Men ought not to be the Avengers of their own Perſonal Injuries; And this Fundamental Maxim of *Society* is ſacredly obſerved through the Whole Tenor of our *Engliſh Laws:* and never tranſgreſſed or neglected, but upon Extraordinary Occaſions.

How terrible was the Force of *Theſe* ſeen to be in the Days of our *Fathers*; Eſpecially, when they were ſet on Fire by that *miſtaken Zeal*, (the true and genuine *Enthuſiaſm*,) which at once *inflames* and *conſecrates* the *Paſſions*; at once actuates them into *Rage* to all Extremities, and ſanctifies that *Rage* by the ſacred Names of *God* and *Religion:* By which it came to paſs, that the Cauſe of every heated Imagination became the Cauſe of God; that whatever Men thought well of, in Religious Affairs, for Themſelves, They came to think it their Duty to force upon others; and that *Mutual Toleration* was declared by *Some*, who once wanted it themſelves, the *Greateſt* of all the *Monſters* which thoſe unhappy Times brought forth!

We have much to learn from theſe Things; and much to avoid. Let us imitate all that Zeal of our *Forefathers* for our *Legal Conſtitution*, which was viſibly deſigned, and naturally tended, to prevent future Encroachments of Power, either *againſt*, or *without*, Law: And let us fly far from all thoſe *Methods*, which naturally paved the Way to the *Loſs* of all that *Freedom* which they pretended to ſecure. Let us value our Liberties, as Honeſt Men: Not only for the Pleaſure and Security They afford to Ourſelves; but as a *Truſt* repoſed in Us for our *Poſterity*, much more *Sacred* and *Important* than any other Legacy of this World, that we can leave them. Let not our *Paſſions* be our firſt Inſtructors in any Step of our *Publick Conduct:* But let them Themſelves be inſtructed and guided by our *Reaſon*. Let our *Love* to what we juſtly approve, and chooſe for Ourſelves in *Religion*, engage Us to ſuch Charity and Forbearance towards *Others*, as may demonſtrate our Gratitude for our own Happineſs; and our deep Senſe that Whatſoever we may account the *Cauſe* of *God* is to be promoted by None but the *Methods* of *God*.

In a word, As *Britons*, enjoying the Bleſſings of a *Conſtitution* unknown to all the Countries around Us, even where the Word *Liberty* is ſtill uſed; and, As *Chriſtians*, enjoying the Light and Liberty of the *Goſpel*; Let us ſecure, as much as can be, the Repoſe and Comforts of this preſent Life, by valuing and preſerving that *Form* of *Government* which adminiſters ſo much Good to Us; and let Us preſs, with unwearied Steps, to the Rewards of the *Life which is to come*, (free from all the Viciſſitudes, and Confuſions, of the happieſt Kingdoms of this World) by *walking worthy of our Holy Vocation*, and adorning our Profeſſion by a truly *Chriſtian* and unblameable Converſation.

Which God *grant, for the ſake of* Jeſus Chriſt *our Lord,* &c.

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Of Chriſtian Moderation.

SERMON XVII.

Preached at St. SWITHIN's Church, on *January* 30, $170\frac{2}{3}$.

PHILIPP. iv. 5.

Let your Moderation be known unto all Men.

THE Word which is here tranſlated *Moderation*, ſignifies an Eaſineſs and Gentleneſs of Mind, diſpoſing Men, not only to be contented and quiet themſelves, but to be pliable and yielding to Thoſe around them, in order to the general Good; a Temper always ready, by all reaſonable Methods, to promote and eſtabliſh the Happineſs of Themſelves, and of the World about them This Temper, we ſee, St. *Paul* doth moſt heartily recommend to *Chriſtians*, nay, he deſires it may be One of the more conſpicuous and viſible Parts of their Character; a Mark, as it were, to diſtinguiſh them from the World of ill-natured and inflexible Men; and to make a Difference between Them, and the other Part of Mankind, who are not to be moved by any Conſiderations, to yield or bend to any Terms of Love and Peace. And yet, notwithſtanding this, how little of this excellent Virtue do we ſee in the World! And what little Hopes have we of ſeeing more of it? Many Men take the Word into their Mouths, and uſe it as they ſee fit: *Some*, to ridicule, and make a Jeſt of it; Some, to put it, as a falſe Colouring to Something bad underneath: And Many miſtake Something Elſe for it; and whilſt they think they are poſſeſſed of it, are far removed from it. There ſeem to be Few, who have that Charity that is neceſſary to the very being of it; and for want of this, Many can neither underſtand, nor heartily ſeek after it. And yet, from the want of this Virtue have proceeded very many of thoſe Miſeries Men have felt in their own Minds; the Plagues of Impatience, Malice, and Revenge; and almoſt all the Unhappineſſes and Ruines that have befallen *publick Societies*. Why then ſhould not Men be willing, if they have any Senſe left of their own private Quiet; if they have any Regard to the Happineſs of their Neighbours; if they be touched with any Concern for the Good of that Society they belong to; nay if they but conſider the Share they may have, and their Poſterity, in the Miſchiefs and Diſturbances that ſhall befall it; why ſhould not Men, I ſay, if any ſuch Conſiderations are worthy their Notice, (as certainly they are;) be ready to underſtand what this Virtue is, and to practiſe it; and be ſolicitous to know, (by their own Experience) what are the Properties and the bleſſed Fruits of it? And, ſince the great Apoſtle ſo particularly recommends it, why ſhould they not (far from being aſhamed of it,) glory in letting their *Moderation be known unto all Men?*

And this Subject I purpoſely now chooſe, becauſe I am perſuaded it is moſt proper for the ſad Occaſion of this Day, which I judge to be obſerved moſt according to the Deſign of it, when ſuch material Points are inſiſted on, as, if they had been heartily embraced, would have prevented the Effects of that violent Spirit, the Characters of which it now bears; and will prevent all Like Evils, and mutual Outrages, for the future, if ſincerely embraced on all hands.

What I deſign at preſent upon this Subject, ſhall be compriſed under theſe three Heads:

I. I ſhall endeavour to ſhew what *Chriſtian* Moderation is, by pointing out ſome of the chief Properties of it, and of the Vice oppoſed to it.

II. I ſhall propoſe ſome proper Arguments to move us to purſue after it, and to poſſeſs Ourſelves of it.

III. I ſhall endeavour to lay down ſome Rules for the attaining it.

Firſt, I ſay, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew what *Chriſtian Moderation* includes in it, by pointing out ſome of the chief Properties of it, and of the Vice contrary to it, *viz. Violence.* I ſhall mention but two or three.

1. *Chriſtian Moderation* will diſpoſe us to be always ready to hear whatſoever can be reaſonably offered, for the making up the Differences, and reconciling the Quarrels and Diſſenſions, amongſt Men. It is a Virtue compoſed of Charity, Humility, and Peaceableneſs; and therefore muſt lead to the bleſſed Fruits of thoſe Graces: and, upon the ſame account, it is utterly inconſiſtent with a Mind averſe to Overtures of Peace; indiſpoſed to hear of Union and Temper, where there have once been Differences; and reſolved againſt Compliance, and an healing Diſpoſition, where once there have been Breaches, and Provocations. This, indeed, is the Temper of Violence and Paſſion, which cannot be conceived to enter into any Breaſt, without the Mixture of Pride, and Prejudice, and Revenge; or elſe without the Leaven of ſome private Deſign, which too often is the Caſe. But, to be more particular; In order to Peace and Union,

2. *Chriſtian Moderation* will diſpoſe Men not to be too hard upon their Brethren of different Parties, or different Denominations; not to aggravate their Faults beyond due Meaſure; not to be ever incenſing and inflaming them, by the Repetition, and lively Repreſentation, of them, in what Colours they think fit; and this, not in order to make them themſelves ſenſible of the Guilt of them, but to make them odious to the World, and hateful to all about them; the Miſchief and Wickedneſs of which we eaſily ſee in Others, though we too eaſily overlook it in Ourſelves.

Chriſtian Moderation forbids not that Men ſhould be very fully ſatisfied with the Cauſe which they themſelves eſpouſe; or the way they chooſe themſelves to walk in: but it forbids them to be ever railing at Others; to be always cloathing the Miſtakes and Failings of Others in the worſt Circumſtances they can invent; or, to manage their own Cauſe ſo as to irritate, and not convince, thoſe that oppoſe it, or do not fall in with it. It forbids us not to have a due Senſe of any Crimes or Errors committed, or embraced, by Others, or to do our utmoſt to convince them in a Way proper for us to take; and likely to have Effect upon them: But it forbids us to lay them open, after ſuch a Manner, as tends to raiſe their Paſſions, and utterly indiſpoſe them to hear and receive what can be offered. It forbids us to charge All, of any Sort, with the Crimes of a Few: for that is fixing Crimes upon Thoſe, who are not guilty of them. This is not the Way of Charity and Condeſcenſion; this is not the Road to any tolerable degree of Harmony and Quiet in the World; and is teaching Others but a bad Leſſon againſt Ourſelves. And where is the Good, and what will be the Iſſue, when the great Buſineſs going forward in a Nation, is a Conteſt between the differing Parts that make it up, who ſhall find moſt Faults in the other; and aggravate them with the greateſt Spleen and Keenneſs; and paint them out in the worſt and blackeſt Colours They can find: or, who ſhall repreſent their Brethren ſo as moſt effectually to vex and anger *Them* Themſelves, as well as to ſet the World on Fire againſt them? I ſay what good Iſſue can there be of this, unleſs the Good of a People conſiſts in mutual Hatred, and a Readineſs to deſtroy one another? And yet how many Men think it almoſt their Duty to ſay any thing of Perſons of differing Notions, and differing Meaſures, from themſelves! How many Men, who are not contented with being in what they judge to be a good Way themſelves, with the Advantages of Truth and Right on their own Side; not without ſuch a due Senſe of the Miſtakes and Faults of others, as may inſpire Them with a Deſire to reclaim and amend them; but think their Buſineſs is to irritate and expoſe them, as far as poſſible; and imagine, that they cannot be juſt to their own Cauſe, without being unjuſt to that of others; nay, that no one is truly and heartily in their Way of thinking, as to the main Object of their Zeal, who doth not join in the reviling, abuſing, and unchriſtian Treatment, of all who think otherwiſe? This is viſible in many of all Parties, and all Sects, throughout the World; and yet this is as certainly contrary to *Chriſtian Moderation*, as it is to all Hopes of Peace in the World. For if *Chriſtian Moderation* be a yielding and pliable Diſpoſition of Mind, then it certainly tends to the uniting the Differences of Men: And if it does, whatever is wholly contrary to That, whatever lays the Foundation of eternal Variance, is contrary to it, and inconſiſtent with it.

But, once more, *Thirdly*, *Chriſtian Moderation* will diſpoſe us to yield up Things of little Importance, and ſmall Concern, for the ſake of a greater Union, and a more ſtrong Foundation for laſting Happineſs and Peace amongſt Men: much more, will it diſpoſe Men to amend and reform what may be made better, for the ſame Ends. To be heartily concerned for the Subſtantials and Fundamentals of Religion; for Things of great Importance either to Church or State; for what is of Moment in the Worſhip of God, or the Government of Chriſtian People, is that which all are obliged to. Nor doth *Chriſtian Moderation* lay the leaſt Obligation upon Us to yield in theſe Points. But when theſe are ſecured; and when, without any prejudice to theſe, ſomething may be granted, ſomething may be altered or amended; or added: and this, either good in itſelf, or, at leaſt, not at all blameable, and highly advantageous to the Intereſt and Peace of the World about us, and very much conducing to a ſtrong Union, and a laſting good Correſpondence amongſt *Chriſtians*;—Not to be ready to yield in ſuch Caſes; not to be diſpoſed to comply in ſuch Matters, ſeems directly contrary to any Deſire of Peace and Concord; and therefore muſt be contrary to *Chriſtian Moderation*. For what Reaſon can there be againſt it? Will it do us any Prejudice to have a larger Ground for Union? Is it not a Chriſtian Diſpoſition ſometimes to yield even to the unreaſonable Humour of Others, and, by ſomewhat which will do Ourſelves no Prejudice, to conſult the Good and promote the Agreement of *Chriſtians?* Or is it too great a Condeſcenſion, and too noble an Inſtance of Humility, to be more willing to agree than Others are, and to comply, as far as is reaſonable with Them, who will not comply, ſo far as we think reaſonable, with Us? Which of the two is it, that it becomes *Chriſtians* to contend for; Who ſhall ſtand moſt upon their Guard againſt Union, or who ſhall ſtep firſt towards it? Who ſhall inſiſt moſt ſtiffly upon little Punctilios, of none or very ſmall Concern to the main of Religion; or who ſhall be moſt diſpoſed to part with things of that Nature, for the ſake of what God and their common Saviour love infinitely better? And which of the two ſorts of Men will come off at the great Day of Accounts with greater Glory, *They*, who have preferred the Union of the Chriſtian World before their own Humour, or Opinions of little Importance; or They, who have abſolutely refuſed to yield up the leaſt or moſt indifferent Circumſtance to that Conſideration?

But I ſhall not enlarge on this any more, nor ſearch out any more Particulars at preſent, of Chriſtian Moderation. But only obſerve, from what has been ſaid, how unjuſt and unreaſonable that Account is, which is given by many, of this Virtue; by Thoſe only, I mean, who are ſuch Strangers to it themſelves, that they cannot bear the leaſt Pretenſe to it in Others; who would make the World believe, that it proceeds from an Indifference to all Religion, and from a Mind very lukewarm in its Zeal for God: when, in truth, *Chriſtian Moderation* proceeds from a great Zeal for all that deſerves it, and a hearty Concern for the Honour of God. Let them, therefore, anſwer for it to God, and their own Conſciences, whoever preſume to bring a Diſgrace and Contempt upon this Virtue, and thoſe that endeavour to practiſe it. A moderate Man, who is truly ſo, values every thing as it deſerves, and no farther. And as St. *James* ſays, that the Wiſdom from Above is firſt *pure*, and then *peaceable*; ſo, next to his own *Purity*, he has a ſacred Regard to the Happineſs and *Peace* of the World about him. And I ſee no Reaſon he has to be aſhamed of the Name; or to envy any others a contrary Character.

But I paſs on now to the *Second* thing I propoſed, *viz.* to mention ſome proper Arguments to move us heartily to purſue after it, and to poſſeſs ourſelves of it: For Inſtance;

Firſt, If we conſider the Peace and Quiet this Virtue includes in it, I mean with reſpect to the Breaſt of every private Man, this will inflame us with ſome Deſire to attain it. Compare the Man who is poſſeſſed of it, with one that is void of it; the Man who has a Mind ever ready to hear of Peace and Unity, Agreement and Harmony, with the Man who is never in Humour to attend to any thing but what tends to the widening and opening of Wounds and Breaches; the Man who is ever willing to make Allowances for the Miſtakes and Faults of Men of different Opinions from himſelf, with the Man who is always raking into them, and always eager to repreſent them in the moſt inflaming Manner; the Man who is ready to yield up a Thing of little Moment, and many an inconſiderable Point, to obtain Peace, and ſetle a good Correſpondence amongſt the ſeveral Members of the ſame Body, with the Man who knows no ſuch thing as Yielding or Compliance, but is rather ready to ſacrifice the Univerſal Peace to his own private Fancies: Compare theſe two together, and conſider in whoſe Breaſt moſt Quiet and Satisfaction is to be found; and it will be no very difficult Matter to determine, whether more Serenity and Happineſs of Mind will not always accompany a Diſpoſition inclined to Concord and Unity, than a Mind always upon the Rack how to inflame and highten Differences; or, always ready to take ſuch Meaſures as may be moſt effectual for the keeping alive, or inflaming, the Variances and Animoſities in the World.

But, *Secondly*, As this Temper of Mind implies Quiet and Happineſs in itſelf, ſo it is the moſt ready, and, I may ſay, the only Temper, that can, and muſt at laſt, heal the evil Diſpoſitions of Mankind; and produce Peace and Happineſs in publick Societies: which is, I am ſure, a good Argument, why every ſingle Perſon ſhould think himſelf obliged to purſue after it. In vain are other Methods thought of, and made uſe of, to join the Hands of Men in Friendſhip, unleſs their Hearts be diſpoſed to this candid and compliant Temper. There will always be paſſionate and wicked Men in the World, to foment the Differences in it. And if none in it will yield one Step; if none will ever bend and comply; what can be hoped for? If the Method taken on all ſides be to rail and revile, to aggravate and miſrepreſent, to ſearch out Faults, and then to make what they pleaſe of them; this rather looks like a Declaration of perpetual War againſt one another, and is in effect a ſolemn Proteſtation, that they neither hope for, nor deſire, Reconciliation and Peace; and ſeems to be a firm Reſolution of deſtroying and ruining one another, whenever an Opportunity offers itſelf. And what a bleſſed Aſpect upon the publick Happineſs have ſuch Reſolutions as theſe! It may be ſafely affirmed, that the Men of ſuch Tempers, and ſuch Diſpoſitions, are They, who have, in all Ages, diſturbed the Quiet of the World, ruined the Happineſs of Societies, and who are ever hindering all Hopes of a better State for the future.

But ſee if another Scene might not be reaſonably hoped for, and That, a Scene of Happineſs to the Publick, would Men but be perſuaded to be as moderate, as yielding, as compliant, as good-natured, as ready to make Allowances, as willing to ſtudy the publick Advantage (which is publick Peace and Agreement) as the Chriſtian Religion obliges them to be. Would not this be viſible in its beneficent Influences upon the whole Society? At leaſt, would not this diſpoſe us to live as *Chriſtians* ought to do with *Chriſtians*; and with all Members of the ſame Civil Society? But enough of *this*.—I ſhall mention but one Argument more, to move us to endeavour after this Chriſtian Frame of Mind; and that is,

Thirdly, That it is a divine and god-like Temper, an Imitation of God himſelf, in what ought to appear the moſt amiable Part of his Character in our own Eyes. He never has ſhewn himſelf willing to aggravate our Faults beyond the Hope of Pardon; or indiſpoſed to come to Terms of Accommodation and Peace with his Sinful Creatures. He deſires to be united to *Us* in Love and Friendſhip, who are at a greater Diſtance from Him by far, than Thoſe who differ the moſt from us, can poſſibly be. He is willing to recede from the ſtricteſt Right, and the Rigour of Juſtice, in order to Our Happineſs. And ſhall not we be willing, and diſpoſed, after ſo divine a Copy, to yield and bend, in order to meet our Brethren in any Deſign, that tends to the Foundation or Eſtabliſhment of a thing of ſuch vaſt Importance as univerſal Peace and Happineſs? Almighty God himſelf ſhews Us, in the moſt ſurpriſing Inſtance of our Redemption, how much he values the Happineſs of his Creatures. It is our Duty to imitate him; and do every thing in our Power for the compaſſing the ſame End: and eſpecially to imitate *Him*, in what he accounts One of his greateſt Glories.

I come now to the *Third* thing propoſed at firſt, *i. e.* To lay down ſome Rules, in order to our obtaining this Chriſtian Temper of Mind.

And, 1. Let us often conſider ſuch Arguments, to move us to the Purſuit after it, as I have before mentioned: How eaſy, and ſedate, and happy, it will make us in the inward State, and the ſecret Receſſes, of our own Minds; how beneficial it will be in its Influences upon the Publick; how many Miſeries it might have prevented; how many Happineſſes it would procure, were it univerſally practiſed. Let us then conſider of how bad Conſequence, and of what wretched Influence, the Temper contrary to it muſt neceſſarily be, upon Society; what Wrath and Anger, what Malice and Ill-will; what Outrages, and Tumults, and Wars, and Maſſacres, it has been, and ever will be, the Occaſion of: A deep Senſe of theſe, and of the great Duty of imitating God in our Tempers and Practice, will help us in the obtaining and poſſeſſing this divine Virtue. And

2. In order to this, it is abſolutely neceſſary that we ſhould free ourſelves from Hatred and Malice, Pride and Arrogance. Love and Humility are the proper Road to this Virtue; but Uncharitableneſs and Pride lead us into Paths quite diſtinct from, and oppoſite to it. For the more we love our Neighbour, the more ready ſhall we be to deſign and promote his Happineſs; and the more deſirous and ſtudious we are of that, the more ſhall we be willing to yield all leſſer Points up to it; to comply in any thing of no great Importance, when that demands it. And then, the more humble we are, the leſs Opinion and Value we ſet upon Ourſelves; the leſs ſhall we be ſenſible of any undervaluing of ourſelves by Compliance and Yielding; the more ready ſhall we be to ſubmit to all good Offices; to recede from what we might, perhaps, in Juſtice, claim, and to ſhew a Pattern to all about us, of Moderation and Condeſcenſion. But, on the other ſide, if we have conceived, or do nouriſh, any Prejudices againſt Men's Perſons; if we hate and abhor Men, becauſe they do not fall in with us in all things; or entertain any ſort of Ill-will againſt them; this will make us glad to diſpleaſe and incenſe them to heighten their Prejudices already embraced, but is never likely to make us conſult their Good at any Time, or prefer it before the leaſt Advantage, or moſt inſignificant Humour, of our own; or to make us ſolicitous in our Endeavours after a Frame of Mind, which conſiſts in a Readineſs to yield and comply, for the ſake of our common Good and Happineſs.

And therefore, if our Breaſts be filled with Pride, with an overweening Conceit of Ourſelves, of our own Abilities, and our own Way; if we be too arrogant to hear of any Alteration in Ourſelves; if we think it beneath our Dignity to ſtoop or deſcend, or to recede from any thing, though of never ſo little Conſequence; we may e'en put a ſtop to our Endeavours after a Virtue which will dwell only with a Man of an humble and yielding Spirit; and ſit down contented with our own great Acquirements, and not think any more of a Temper, which cannot poſſibly reſide in a Breaſt, where Pride and Arrogance are nouriſhed.

3. It is abſolutely neceſſary, alſo, that we free our Breaſts from Covetouſneſs; Ambition; and All ſuch Deſigns, as terminate in our own private Profit or Honour. For Moderation, in a truly Chriſtian Senſe, (however the Word ſound in *Engliſh*,) is a publick-ſpirited and noble Virtue; and can never be completely and conſiſtently exerciſed by a Man, who has propoſed to himſelf his own private Gain, or Advancement, for the End of his Labours. How can He be ready and willing to recede one ſtep from his own Intereſt, in order to the univerſal Good of Others, who has fixed his Eye only upon himſelf; and thinks *That* only to be good, which is a preſent Profit or Honour to himſelf? How confined muſt his Deſires and his Deſigns be; and how little muſt *He* be moved with a Senſe of any Advantage to others, who has not left any room for ſuch Conſiderations to come at him, but is wholly wrapt up in himſelf, and his own Bye-ends! We can never hope to have our *Moderation*, our yielding and eaſy Temper, *be known unto all Men*; nay, we can never hope to have any thing to do with it, till we have baniſhed all private Ends out of our Hearts; at leaſt till we have brought them all entirely into Subjection to a greater End; and have ſuch a Command over Ourſelves, as that we can make them yield, at any time, to more weighty and generous Conſiderations.

Theſe Rules will help us, if we are ſincere in the uſe of them, to form Ourſelves into this god-like Temper of Mind; and then to proceed and improve in it, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition of the violent Part of the World.

To conclude with one word proper on this Occaſion; Had the Men of this Nation been univerſally ſenſible of the Nature and Obligation of this Duty, and poſſeſſed it in any Degree; the wicked Violences, and Evils, of *this* Day, and many both *before*, and after it, had not now been called to our Remembrance. I will not enumerate them; but rather pray, that the Records of Them, in our Hiſtories, may make us, on all ſides, more in love with true Chriſtian Moderation: without which (I will be bold to ſay) we can never (in Time to come) be ſecure againſt the like deplorable Calamities; nor tranſmit thoſe ineſtimable Bleſſings of Religious and Civil Liberty, we at preſent enjoy, (under the wiſe Government of Thoſe who appear to know the Value of this Virtue) ſafe, and unviolated, to future Times: And this, I am ſure, ought to be the hearty Endeavour of every *Proteſtant Engliſhman*, of what Denomination ſoever.

SERMON XVIII.

Preached at St. SWITHIN's Church, on *Sept.* 2, 1702, being the Faſt-day obſerved in Remembrance of the Fire of LONDON, 1666.

LUKE xix. 41, 42.

And when he was come near, he beheld the City, and wept over it, ſaying, If thou hadſt known, even thou, at leaſt in this thy Day, the Things that belong unto thy Peace! But now they are hid from thine Eyes.

THE City our bleſſed Lord thus wept over, was *Jeruſalem*; eſteemed, by the *Jews*, as the Glory of the whole Earth. But he wept not over it, as a Collection of fine Buildings; but as it was the Capital City, and principal Reſort, of the whole *Jewiſh* Nation; as it contained in it a vaſt Number of that People whom God had choſen out of the World to be his own: an ungrateful and rebellious People, that had had all Methods tried with them, to make them better and happier, but could not be reclaimed by any; that had killed and ſtoned the Prophets God had ſent to them, and now were going to reject and kill his Son; and ſo were deſtined, through their own Wickedneſs, to a great and remarkable Ruine and Deſtruction. The Thought and Foreſight of this moved the Compaſſion of our Lord, who came to ſave them. *When he was near, He beheld the City*; and that View brought to his Mind thoſe diſmal Calamities the Inhabitants of it were calling down upon themſelves: And *he wept over it*, expreſſing his tender Regard to its Inhabitants in this Wiſh, *If thou hadſt known, even thou, in this thy Day*, i. e. if, in this your laſt Trial, now at this Time when I am ſent to You with the laſt Offers of God's Mercy, *the Things that belong to thy Peace!* If You, the Inhabitants, had underſtood what is your true and real Intereſt, your Duty and your Happineſs! *But now they are hid from thine Eyes*, i. e. from this Time, If You, the People highly favoured of God, are reſolved to perſiſt in Infidelity, and even to reject Me your long-expected Meſſiah, whom God has ſent to you, with his laſt Offers;

there can be no more Hopes. God Almighty moſt juſtly now gives you over, to be led by that perverſe Spirit into Ruine and Deſtruction. And this ſame thing our bleſſed Lord ſets forth in another Place, in the Parable of the Houſeholder, who planted a Vineyard, and let it out to Huſbandmen, and ſent ſeveral Servants to receive the Fruits of it for him; and, after they had been Abuſed and Murthered, laſt of all ſent his Son: and when they refuſed Obedience to this laſt and worthieſt Meſſenger, he could ſend, He reſolves to try them no more, but miſerably to deſtroy thoſe wicked Men.

From this Caſe of the Nation of the *Jews*, and the City of *Jeruſalem*, we are naturally led to obſerve theſe *Three* things:

I. That, according to the conſtant Repreſentations of the Holy Scriptures, there is a Day appointed for wicked Societies and Nations, till which Time Almighty God waits for their Repentance, and defers their utter Ruine; but beyond which, they ſhall not be tried.

II. That this is not fixed by Arbitrary Will and Pleaſure, but upon juſt Reaſons: Or, in other Words, That there is not a Day for the utter Ruine of any Nation, or Society, ſo determined by God, but that, if they repent, and amend their Lives, before that Day comes, they ſhall certainly be pardoned and bleſſed. And, agreeably to this,

III. That before the final Deſtruction of any Societies, or Nations, God uſes many and ſufficient Means of reforming and amending them; that they may go on to flouriſh and proſper in the World.

I. We may obſerve, that there is a Day appointed for wicked Societies and Nations, till which Almighty God waits for their Repentance, but beyond which their utter Ruine ſhall not be deferred.

Thus, We ſee, in the Paſſage of the Goſpel now before Us, there was a Time beyond which *Jeruſalem*, and the whole Nation of the *Jews*, were not to be tried; and no more Offers of Mercy were to be tendered to them; but if they did not, at the Coming of the Son of God, repent, and turn from their Evil Ways; they were, from that Inſtant, devoted to Miſery and Ruine: Or, if They did not, in *this their Day*, *know and practiſe the Things that belonged to their Peace*, *They would from that Time be hid from their Eyes.*

Thus it was with the Firſt World; when their Sins were many and heinous, and the whole Earth was corrupt, *My Spirit*, ſays God, *ſhall not always ſtrive with Man*; I will not ever wait for their Repentance and Amendment; but their Days ſhall be an Hundred and Twenty Years. (*Gen.* vi. 3.) So long, and no longer, the Men of that World were to be waited on; and then a Flood of Waters to be brought in upon them, if they continued ungodly. Thus we ſee, though the Poſterity of *Abraham* were by Promiſe to poſſeſs the Land of the *Amorites*, yet it was not to be, *till the Iniquity of the Amorites was full* (Gen. xv. 16.) till they had been tried to the utmoſt, and were found to be fit for nothing but a ſignal Deſtruction. Now theſe Things that were written before, were written for our Inſtruction, and theſe Things happened unto them for Enſamples. And we may argue, that, as there was a Pitch of Wickedneſs, beyond which God would not let theſe Societies of Men go on, without a remarkable Vengeance; and as there was a Day certainly ſet, beyond which they ſhould not be tried, and after which no farther Offers ſhould be made for their Reformation and Happineſs: ſo it is with Us Ourſelves, with this Nation and People to which we belong; So certainly, there is a determinate Highth of Wickedneſs, beyond which God will not bear with us; and a Day, in the Purpoſe of Almighty God, beyond which he will not try us, and after which nothing ſhall prevent our utter Deſolation and Ruine.

II. We may obſerve, that, according to the Repreſentations of the ſame *Holy Scriptures*, There is not a Day for the final Ruine of any Nations or Societies, ſo determined by God, but that, if they repent before that Time come, they ſhall certainly be pardoned, and bleſſed with Proſperity and Succeſs. Thus *Noah* was to preach Repentance and Righteouſneſs to the World before the Flood, in order to prevent that great Calamity; and an Hundred and twenty Years were given, to try if they would hear his Voice and live. Thus *Jonas* was ordered by God to go to *Nineveh*, and cry aloud in it, *yet Forty Days, and Nineveh ſhall be overthrown*; and yet, when all the People of that City joined together to humble themſelves before God, and *God ſaw their Works, that they turned from their evil Ways, God repented of the Evil he had ſaid he would do unto them, and he did it not.* Thus, without doubt, he would have done with the *Jews*; if they had repented and *ſeen the Things that belonged to their Peace in that their Day*, which was deſtined to be their laſt Trial: if, inſtead of rejecting the Lord of Life, they had accepted his Offers, and become his Subjects and Servants; all their ſtoning and killing the Prophets, that had been ſent before, and all their numberleſs paſt Provocations, would have been pardoned and forgotten.

For that this was the Method in which He would always proceed, He himſelf had aſſured the *Jews* by his Prophet *Jeremiah* (xviii. 7.) *At what Inſtant I ſhall ſpeak concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to deſtroy it; if that Nation, againſt whom I have pronounced, turn from their Evil Ways, I will repent of the Evil that I thought to do unto them*, i. e. I will not do it, though I have threatned it in Words of the moſt peremptory, and abſolute Sort. If Repentance intervene, the Evil ſhall never be executed; and it is threatned, upon Suppoſition only that a Repentance does not follow upon ſuch Threatning. And this is a very conſiderable Satisfaction, that we have not to do with an arbitrary and unreaſonable Tyrant, but one who deſires and wiſhes our Repentance; who threatens Ruine, in order to bring a Nation to Repentance and Amendment; and who does not threaten it, in order to execute it, if Repentance and Amendment follow. *Turn ye, turn ye; why will ye die, O Houſe of Iſrael?* And thus he ſpeaks, not only to Them, but to all Nations and Societies: *Turn ye from your evil Ways, and ſo Iniquity ſhall not be your Ruine.* But,

III. We are led, by the Caſe before Us of *Jeruſalem*, and the *Jewiſh* Nation, to obſerve, That, before the final Ruine of any Nation or Society, God uſes many and ſufficient Means to reform and amend them: *How often*, ſays our Lord to *Jeruſalem*, *would I have gathered thy Children together, even as a Hen gathereth her Chickens under her Wings; and Ye would not!* How many Prophets were ſent, with mighty Signs and Wonders, to allarm this People of the *Jews!* how many wiſe Men to guide and inſtruct them! With how immediate and ſpecial a Regard did God himſelf dwell amongſt them and preſide over them! How many extraordinary and miraculous Mercies, Deliverances, and Victories, were they bleſſed with! And, becauſe that Method was unſucceſsful, how many Plagues and Judgements, Famines, Swords, and Peſtilences, did they experience! And, after they had been Proof againſt Inſtruction, againſt Mercies, and Judgements, and all other Efforts of his Good-will, *laſt of all he ſent unto them his Son*, with all the Signs, and Miracles, and Evidences, of the promiſed Meſſiah; in order, at the very Approach of the End of his Forbearance, to prevent their Ruine by their Amendment. Almighty God himſelf gives an Account, in the *Fifth* Chap. of *Iſaiah*, what he had done to his Vineyard. *And now*, ſays he, *O Inhabitants*

habitants of Jeruſalem, and Men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt Me and my Vineyard; what could have been done more to my Vineyard, that I have not done in it? And this is a plain Demonſtration of his Mercy, and Long-ſuffering, that, although he muſt, in Juſtice, and leſt Virtue ſhould periſh from off the Earth, ſometimes decree the utter Ruine and Deſolation of a People; yet, before that, he tries many and different Methods to bring them to Reformation: A certain Proof, I ſay, that he delights not in their Ruine; that *Judgement is his ſtrange Work*, in this Senſe, that it is not what by Choice He inclines to: Nay, that, before a Nation be totally deſtroyed, it muſt be paſt even the Poſſibility of Recovering, by thoſe Methods in which God thinks fit to deal with ſuch Creatures as We are.

Having gone over thoſe *Three* Obſervations I propoſed at firſt, it will not be improper to conſider *two Queſtions*, which offer themſelves upon this Subject. The *firſt* is, why whole Societies and Nations are often puniſhed ſo remarkably in this World? And the *other* is, why *good Men* often ſuffer in thoſe Calamities and Deſtructions, which are brought on a People for the Wickedneſs of others?

Firſt, Why whole Societies and Nations of Men are puniſhed often, in ſo remarkable a Manner, in this World. And the plain Reaſons ſeem to me to be theſe two. 1. Becauſe when once a whole Society, or Nation, is univerſally corrupt and debauched, Virtue muſt neceſſarily, and infallibly, periſh from amongſt the Men of that Society or Nation; and, Secondly, that this Deſtruction may be an Example to all other Societies. As to the firſt, the Corruption of a whole Nation is not like the Corruption of a particular Perſon; which may be let alone, and yet the Cauſe of Virtue and Goodneſs not run ſo very low, but that there may be Encouragement enough left to others to be religious and good: but it is of ſo very bad Conſequence, that there is not the leaſt Probability, if it be not reſtrained and checked, by ſome extraordinary Methods, that Virtue ſhould ever ſhew its Head again in that Nation. The Examples in ſuch a Society are bad; the Education of Youth directly leading to Vice and Debauchery; the Principles upon which Men act apparently wicked, and tending on ſtill to greater and greater Degrees of Wickedneſs. Now God, as he is holy, and of purer Eyes than to behold Iniquity oppoſing itſelf to thoſe Rules, He himſelf acts, and would have all others act, by; as He is the Governor and Judge of the World; is concerned to hinder, by all poſſible Methods, ſuch an univerſal Wickedneſs as would ruine Virtue, ſo that it ſhould have no Hopes of ever appearing again. And this is a ſufficient Reaſon why he ſhould uſe Judgements and Calamities, as well as Mercies, to prevent ſuch an Increaſe of it in a Nation: and, if thoſe leſſer Methods are not ſucceſsful, why he ſhould bring utter Ruine and Deſolation upon that whole Nation. Eſpecially conſidering,

2. What a moving Example this may be to other Societies and Nations. Precedents, or Examples, are apt to influence our Minds very much; And to ſee how other Societies of People have been loſt and ruined, when they refuſed to be reformed by milder Methods, naturally leads us to think how it muſt fare at laſt with Ourſelves, if we go on. For the Queſtion preſently offers itſelf to our Minds, what Reaſon is there why We ſhould Hope to be excepted? or, if we imitate other incorrigible Nations, in our Manners and Behaviour, why ſhould We not reſemble them in a remarkable and fatal End? Almighty God may therefore, juſtly puniſh wicked Societies, or Nations, to affright them from going on to a State of univerſal, ſetled, unreſtrained Wickedneſs; and, if that cannot be done, may puniſh them with an utter Deſtruction, rather than permit

ſuch univerſal Wickedneſs to triumph and flouriſh, or ſuffer a Foundation to be laid for an uninterrupted Courſe of it. For this is exactly agreeable to the Rules of his Supreme Moral Government: as it is abſolutely neceſſary to the maintaining the World in any tolerable Order, and conſulting the Happineſs of other Societies, and of thoſe Perſons that ſhall be born after, who will be alarmed by theſe Examples, to fly from what has before brought down Ruine upon whole Nations. *When thy Judgements are in the Earth, the Inhabitants of the World will learn Righteouſneſs*, ſays the Prophet. When there is a remarkable Viſitation, a viſible Puniſhment of the Sins of any Nation; this will draw the Eyes of others, and teach them, that Righteouſneſs is the only ſure Way to eſtabliſh the Happineſs of a People. For if, (as *Solomon* ſays) *becauſe Sentence againſt* any one *evil Work, is not ſpeedily executed, therefore the Hearts of the Sons of Men are fully ſet in them to do Evil*; Certainly, if Sentence were never executed in this World againſt the great and repeated evil Works, of which a whole Body of Men are notoriouſly and univerſally guilty, much more would the Hearts of the Sons of Men be ſet in them to do Evil; when They have Reaſon to think themſelves ſecure; and ſo all Religion and Virtue would, by Degrees, long ago have vaniſhed from the Earth. Theſe two Reaſons ſeem fully ſufficient to ſatisfy us, why God ſhould often puniſh, and ſometimes totally deſtroy, Societies and Nations of Men.

There is another Reaſon, why wicked Societies and Nations ſhould be puniſhed in *this* World, mentioned by Some, *viz.* becauſe they cannot be puniſhed, *as Societies*, in the World to come. But this I do not urge, becauſe I either do not underſtand it; or do not underſtand it to be a good Reaſon: and becauſe the Reaſons I mentioned before ſeem to be fully ſufficient, without inquiring after any others.

I come now to another Queſtion, which has ſometimes been aſked upon this Subject, *viz.* Why good Men often ſuffer in thoſe Calamities, and Deſtructions, which are brought on any Society, or Nation, for the Sins of others? And as to this, ſuppoſing the Fact true,

1. We may obſerve, that good Men have often very great Imprudences and Weakneſſes: and theſe may, ſometimes, naturally tend to help on publick Calamities and Misfortunes.

Some of the beſt of them may be Men of great natural Paſſions, hurrying them on to ſudden Reſolutions, and Counſels; and at the ſame Time of ſo little Reach, as to be eaſily miſtaken in their political Conduct; and think *That* to be good for the repairing the Breaches of a Nation, which will really help to widen them; and That for the Intereſt and Happineſs of a People, which really tends to their Ruine and Unhappineſs. Almighty God is not obliged to free the Minds of good Men from all Failings, or to conquer their Paſſions miraculouſly, for them; or to give their Minds ſuch a Reach, as that they ſhall not miſtake in their Notions of publick Intereſt and Happineſs; and they may juſtly ſuffer in thoſe temporal Evils which they themſelves thus help to bring upon their Country. But

2. There may be many good Men, unexceptionable in their private and perſonal Conduct, who think it ſufficient to look after themſelves, and are too little concerned at ſeeing their Country over-run with Wickedneſs, to uſe their Endeavours to give a Check to it, or to put in Execution the beſt Laws made againſt the Progreſs of That which tends to the final Ruine of a Nation. The Inſtances before mentioned, from the ſacred Hiſtory, would teach them another Leſſon. *Noah* was preſerved from the general Flood: but then, he not only

was a good Man himſelf, but had Zeal enough to make him concern himſelf for other People, and even to be troubleſome to them, by being a *Preacher of Righteouſneſs*, (as St. *Peter* ſays) in order to reclaim them, and prevent that Ruine that threatened them. So *Lot* was delivered, when *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* were conſumed; but then, he was not only righteous himſelf, but St. *Peter* obſerves, that *That righteous Man dwelling amongſt them, in ſeeing and hearing vexed his righteous Soul, from Day to Day, with their unlawful Deeds*; nay, intereſted himſelf ſo much in their Behaviour, as not only to be grieved at their Impieties, but, without doubt, to endeavour their Reformation: For ſo much we gather with great Reaſon, from that Speech of the Inhabitants of *Sodom*, *This one Fellow came in to ſojourn, and he will needs be a Judge*, Gen. xiv. 9.

In theſe Caſes, therefore, in which the unactive Coldneſs of ſome, or the weak Underſtandings, or ſtrong Paſſions, of other, good Men, have naturally tended, and led to the Ruine of that Society to which they belong; they themſelves cannot think Almighty God to act unjuſtly by them, if he does not miraculouſly exempt them, from the common Lot in ſuch Calamities, as may indeed juſtly be ſaid to be brought upon their Country for the ſake of the *Wickedneſs* of Others; but yet are ſuch as theſe good Men themſelves did not endeavour to prevent by their Zeal and Interpoſition; or perhaps helped forward by the Imprudence of their Counſels, or Violence of their natural Tempers. But,

3. It will take away the very Ground of this Objection, to obſerve that, according to the Repreſentations of the Scriptures, the Fact itſelf is not certainly true. We all know that the ſame Holy Books, which relate the Stories of the Deſolation of Cities and Nations, for the Wickedneſs of the People, give us Inſtances of good Men wonderfully preſerved, and delivered, in ſuch Calamities. Thus, when the Old World was to be deſtroyed, we find *Noah*, a good and righteous Perſon, who had never either aſſented to, or winked at, the Wickedneſs of thoſe about him, ſtrangely delivered by the Particular Providence of God, when the Flood was brought upon the World of the Ungodly.

Thus, when the Cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* were turned into Aſhes, and *condemned* with an *Overthrow, juſt Lot, who was vexed with the filthy Converſation of the Wicked*; who abhorred their Deeds, and was righteous in Oppoſition to all their Examples, was delivered and ſent away from that fiery Deſtruction. Theſe are taken notice of by St. *Peter*, as a ſufficient Foundation to ground this Conſequence upon, *The Lord knoweth how to deliver the Godly*, (2 Pet. ii. 9.) Nay, Almighty God ſeems himſelf by the Prophet *Ezekiel* (Chap. xiv. 12, &c.) to give ſuch good and holy Perſons (under the Names of *Noah*, *Daniel*, and *Job*,) a Title to ſuch a Deliverance: in this Caſe of the extraordinary Puniſhment of a Society, by the Hand of God, expreſsly for the Sins of the wicked Part of it; repeating this often, that though they ſhould not deliver any other Perſons, yet they ſhould deliver their own Souls, by their Righteouſneſs.

And indeed, it ſeems agreeable to Reaſon, and Equity, that, in thoſe Caſes, in which it pleaſes Almighty God thus immediately to interpoſe, and bring immediate Deſolation upon any Society, for the ſake of the Wickedneſs of Many of the Men who compoſe it; That, I ſay, in ſuch Caſes, the *truly Good Men* belonging to it ſhould be preſerved and delivered. Otherwiſe, theſe Calamities could not well be ſaid to be decreed, or wrought, by God himſelf, for the Puniſhment of ſuch Wickedneſs only.

And this appears plainly to be the very Foundation and Strength of *Abraham's* Argument, in the Eighteenth Chapter of *Geneſis*. There we find, at the 20th Verſe, That God is ſaid to condeſcend to inform *Abraham* of his Reſolution with regard to *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, which, it is plain from *Abraham's* Anſwer, was a Declaration, that He would himſelf interpoſe, and bring a total Deſtruction upon thoſe Cities, ſolely on account of the enormous Wickedneſs of the Inhabitants. This was the Fact, which moved *Abraham* to the Boldneſs of Arguing with God himſelf, upon the Principles of Juſtice and Equity, from Verſe 23, to the End. *Wilt Thou alſo deſtroy the Righteous with the Wicked?—That be far from Thee to do after this manner, to ſlay the Righteous with the Wicked; and that the Righteous ſhould be as the Wicked*; *That be far from thee. Shall not the Judge of all the Earth do right?* This is his Argument: Since this Deſtruction is to be brought upon theſe Places for the Sins of the Wicked only, ſtrict Juſtice requires that the righteous Part of the People ſhould not be deſtroyed for the Wickedneſs of Others, for the ſake of which alone the Deſtruction is brought. *Abraham's* main Intention is not to intercede for Thoſe whoſe *Iniquities were full*; but to contend, from the Nature of Juſtice, and of God himſelf, That a Method ought to be found for the Preſervation of the Righteous, in ſuch a particular Caſe. And we ſee, the Great God is ſo far from being diſpleaſed with a Mortal Man for pretending to argue with him, from ſuch excellent Principles; that He plainly approves of the Argument, and goes ſo far as to declare, That, rather than the Righteous ſhall not be preſerved, He will, for their Sakes, if a Few be found, ſpare the City, and even put off the Deſtruction of the Wicked, now ripe for his Vengeance. And, as it appears that there was but one good Man and Family there; This one Man and Family alone are preſerved. And thus we ſee, that it is the Repreſentation of Holy Scripture, that Good Men are actually delivered, and preſerved, according to the Rules of Juſtice, by that God, that Righteous Judge of the Earth, in thoſe Deſolations and Deſtructions, which He himſelf immediately brings upon a People, expreſsly and merely on account of the crying Wickedneſs, of the Worſt Part of them. And this is the Caſe particularly meant in the Objection. For,

4. As for Thoſe Deſtructive, or Calamitous Events, apparently ariſing from the Original Frame and Contexture of this Earth, or of the Air around it; or from the Imperfections, Weakneſſes, and Wickedneſs of Men themſelves, the Inhabitants of this Earth; or from any the like Cauſes; the Good Part of Mankind, (the Beſt of whom have many Imperfections, and are placed Here, only as in a Country, deſigned not for a Paradiſe, or their Heaven, but for a State of Probation, ſuitable to the Ends propoſed by their Maker,) ought not to complain, that They partake with the Wicked in ſuch ſort of Evils, natural to this State. Nor do the Juſtice and Equity of God's Government need any Vindication, on account of Good Men ſuffering with the Wicked, in theſe and the like common Calamities of Nature, any more than They do, on account of his not exempting the Beſt of Men from the common Lot of Sickneſs, and even Death itſelf, pronounced and executed equally upon the Bad and the Good, the Juſt Man and the Sinner, in this World.

This is all that I can preſume to offer concerning the Caſe of good Men's ſuffering, in Calamities brought upon any Nation, for the Sins of Others: And if what I have ſaid upon ſo dark a Subject, not entirely laid open to our Capacities, cannot fully anſwer the *Curioſity* of Some, or the honeſt Deſire of Satiſfaction in Others, yet it ſeems ſufficient to abate the Force of the Objection; and to give Them ſome ground to think, that there may be ſtill ſtronger Reaſons, in the Counſels of the All-knowing GOD, for this Method of proceeding with the Beſt, as well as Worſt, Part of his imperfect Creatures, in this preſent State of Things.

Having thus gone over the Three principal Points I firſt propoſed; and then conſidered *Two Difficulties*, ariſing upon them; I will only now make a ſhort Application of all to Ourſelves, and our own Nation.

If it appears from what has been ſaid, That Succeſs and Proſperity have, by the Command and Laws of the Great Governour of the World, attended upon Families, and Nations, where Religion and Virtue have been encouraged and practiſed; we may conclude, that the ſame will wait upon *Us*, if Religion and Virtue are encouraged and practiſed amongſt us. If we read that his Wrath has been executed, and remarkable Vengeance taken, upon Nations in which Impiety and Immorality have been triumphant; we may be certain, that Deſolation and Deſtruction is appointed for Us, if Impiety and Debauchery triumph in the ſame manner amongſt us. And, to be more particular, As We find by the Words upon which I have been diſcourſing, and other Paſſages of the Goſpel, that the Nation of the *Jews*, in our Saviour's Time, were called upon to caſt back their Eyes upon all the Trials God had formerly made of them, and all the Methods He had uſed to amend them; not only by his Prophets, but by all his Mercies, and all his Judgements: and were plainly told, that, after all the ungrateful Returns made by them, God would not ſtrive with them much longer; but that, if they did not truly repent, and receive their Meſſiah, the Day of Deſtruction was ſoon to come upon them: ſo, We of this Nation may find too much Reaſon to think that That Day is not at any very great Diſtance from us, beyond which God will not try us, or bear with us; I mean, if we conſider how many Methods he has uſed to awaken us, and how little we have hitherto been alarmed, to any good Purpoſe of Amendment: how many Happineſſes and Mercies He has favoured us with, as a Nation—Placed Us in a Situation, and in Circumſtances, which Point out to Us all Opportunities imaginable of being a great and flouriſhing People;—Made us the Subjects of a Power governed by Laws, and not of Arbitrary and Unbounded Tyranny; often delivered our Liberties and Lives from imminent Ruine, and our Happineſs from the very Jaws of Deſtruction;—Called us to the Knowledge of his *Goſpel* (a Mercy which we can never duely value), not as it was hid, and obſcured, and made uſeleſs, by ignorant and wicked Men, but, by his Providence, reſtored to Light, ſo far, as to lie open to All, in that Native Simplicity and Purity, in which his firſt Followers preached, and wrote it, for the Uſe of All. And, to engage us the more to it, He himſelf has made This happy Condition of Ours ſo much his Care, that no Attempts hitherto againſt it have proſpered, but all have been wonderfully defeated. And then We may go on to conſider, That, as Mercies have not been wanting to draw us, ſo neither have Judgements to alarm and drive Us of this Generation to Amendment. It is not very long ſince all was Confuſion and Diſorder; ſince the Sword of Civil Fury was dyed in Blood and Slaughter; nor much leſs Time ſince a fatal Peſtilence raged amongſt Us, and a terrible *Fire* laid waſte this City. Now, if we reflect on all theſe, we muſt think, either that we are amended and reformed ſo much as to turn away God's Diſpleaſure; or elſe, that the Day for Ruine and Deſtruction cannot be at a very great Diſtance, unleſs we do very ſoon and very ſeriouſly prevent it, by forſaking our Vices, and turning to Him in Holineſs and Righteouſneſs of Life. For thus We ſhould call to Remembrance, He has dealt with the Nations of old; and particularly with his choſen People, the People of *Iſrael*. And therefore, We ſhould argue, in this ſame Manner, and theſe ſame Methods, will He deal with us, in the future Diſpenſations of his Mercy, or of his Wrath.

The Thoughts, which I have now pointed out, will, in their natural Tendency, lead us all moſt heartily to endeavour to amend our own Lives, and to do what in Us lies to diſcourage, and put a ſtop to, the open Wickedneſs of Others; and ſo to conſult our own Intereſt and Happineſs, in the Proſperity and Happineſs of that Nation, and Society, of which we are Members. And, as what I have now offered cannot but be thought very ſeaſonable upon the Occaſion, which has at this Time brought Us together; ſo, let me add, with regard to our preſent publick Circumſtances; that ſuch Conſiderations can never be more ſeaſonable, than at a Time, when a Torrent of open Wickedneſs, and Shameful Diviſions at *Home*, and a Powerful Enemy *Abroad*, ſeem to conſpire to open the Way, to the Ruine of all that is dear to Us, as *Engliſhmen*, and *Proteſtants*.

God grant, *We may know, even We, in this our Day, the Things that belong to our Peace*; and all of Us act according to what *We* ſee to be our Duty, and our *Intereſt*!

SERMON XIX.

Preached at St. Peter's Poor, *March* 8, 170$^{8}_{9}$, being the Anniverſary of the Queen's Acceſſion, &c.

1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

I exhort therefore, that firſt of all Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, and giving of Thanks, be made for all Men: for Kings, and for all that are in Authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life, in all Godlineſs and Honeſty.

THESE Words are a Direction to *Timothy*, who had the Care and Overſight both of Paſtors and People, in the Parts about *Epheſus*; and they relate to the publick Prayers of *Chriſtian* Congregations: exhorting, that they ſhould extend their Charity to the whole World, by recommending all Mankind to the Favour of Almighty God; particularly, that they ſhould pray, and give Thanks, for Kings, and all that were in Authority, or, as the Margin expreſſes it, nearer to the Original, *in eminent Place*; for All whom the Providence of God has raiſed to any Degree of Power; that they ſhould pray for all ſuch, that *Chriſtians* might lead a quiet and peaceable Life under them, in all Godlineſs and Honeſty. Which laſt Words are either deſigned to direct them what ſhould be the Matter of their Prayers; or elſe to expreſs one End which he propoſed by *Chriſtians* thus publickly praying for All in Authority, or Eminence; *viz.* that theſe Perſons in Power might be induced by this to be favourable to them, or, at leaſt not to treat them as Enemies. If they be underſtood the firſt Way, the Direction is, That they ſhould pray for all in Eminence, to this Effect, that God would be pleaſed ſo to diſpoſe their Hearts, that They might ſo uſe their Power, as that ſo good Men, and Profeſſors of ſo holy a Religion, as the *Chriſtians*, might be ſafe and ſecure under them; that they might be Terrors only to Evil-doers, and a Praiſe and Safeguard to them that do well. If they be underſtood in the latter Senſe, as one End propoſed by St. *Paul*, why *Chriſtians* ſhould at that Time particularly pray for all in high Stations, the

Meaning of them will be this, That he would have them pray for their Superiours and Governours, not only becauſe it was their Duty, but becauſe it was their Intereſt; to the End that thoſe Men in Power might be induced, when they knew that *Chriſtians* did heartily pray for them, to uſe them as Friends; to permit them to lead quiet and peaceable Lives, and not to perſecute and harraſs them as Enemies; that ſo the Church might have Peace and Encouragement by means of the powerful Men of the World, when they ſhould find that *Chriſtianity* was no Enemy to them, or their Government, but was likely to be a great Support to it, by its Prayers and Interceſſions for them.

Both theſe Ways may the Words, I think, be underſtood; though I rather think, that St. *Paul* might have the latter in his Eye, at a Time when *Chriſtianity* was ſurrounded with Enemies; and perpetual Perſecution was very likely to be its Fate, from the Notion that they had entertained, of its diſpoſing Men to be of turbulent, and troubleſome, and ungovernable Tempers; or that, being wholly taken up with the Thoughts of another State of Happineſs to come hereafter, they might be entirely diſregardful of the Intereſt and Good of Human Society below.

My Deſign is not to inſiſt upon theſe Words as they may peculiarly belong to the firſt *Chriſtians*, ſurrounded by Enemies, looked upon with a jealous Eye by Princes and Men in Power, and continually liable to the Frowns of all around them; but to conſider them with a more general View, as they may be applied, and very reaſonably ſuppoſed to be directed, to all *Chriſtians*, in all Ages, under all Forms of Government: and to Ourſelves in particular, under an excellent Form of Government, and an excellent QUEEN, who, as this Day, by the Providence of God, ſucceeded to the Crown, and Glory, of her Illuſtrious Predeceſſor.

Only before I proceed, I cannot forbear remarking, how eager ſome Men are to catch at any thing that may impoſe a Yoke of Bondage upon Themſelves and their Neighbours, when they lay hold on ſuch a Text as this; and argue from St. *Paul's* commanding *Chriſtians* to pray for all in Eminence, or Power, that he commanded them, in this, to be wholly paſſive, at all Times, and in all Circumſtances, under all poſſible ill Uſage, even under ſuch Adminiſtrations as muſt ruine the whole publick Society, as well as themſelves; nay, farther, that they ſhould pray for Proſperity to Thoſe in Power, in all their violent Attempts, and all their Undertakings of all Sorts. But in one word, they may as well argue, from our being commanded to pray for our Enemies, or from our being commanded to pray for all Men here in the Text, that we are therefore obliged to wiſh them well in all their unjuſt Attempts againſt Ourſelves; nay, in all their contradictory Deſigns againſt one another; to ſubmit our Necks, our Families, our worldly Concerns, to the Inſults and the Devaſtation of any who will be ſo hardy as to attack us, and to attempt our Ruine. And if ſome of the primitive *Chriſtians* do, in their Apologies, declare to the Emperours, in abſolute Terms, and without any Exceptions, that They pray for their Happineſs and Succeſs; it muſt be ſaid, that they could mean this in no Senſe pleaſing to Almighty God, but in this, that they might be proſpered and find Succeſs in all their lawful and honourable Enterprizes; or elſe, if They meant this, in any other Senſe, that theſe *Chriſtians*, who were fallible Men, miſtook the Nature of their Duty; and put up Prayers very unacceptable to the great Fountain of Good, and Lover of That only which is ever Juſt and Right.

To proſecute my preſent Deſign, it will be proper,

Firſt, to conſider the Importance and Burthen of Government; together with the unſpeakable Benefit of good Government; from which,

Secondly, We may eaſily ſee, both the Need there is of the hearticſt united Prayers of the governed Society, in the Behalf of Governours; and likewiſe, what muſt be the chief Matter of theſe Prayers, as well as of their Thankſgivings, plainly pointed out in thoſe Words, *That we may lead quiet and peaceable Lives, in all Godlineſs and Honeſty*.

After which, there will not need many Words to apply what ſhall have been ſaid, to the preſent Occaſion of our meeting together; and the Bleſſings which this Day has continued and confirmed to us.

Firſt, The Importance and Burthen of Government deſerves to be ſpoken to, together with the unſpeakable and extenſive Benefit of good Government. Were one to judge of Matters by mere Outſide and Shew; or, were one to form his Sentiments, concerning Objects, by the Zeal that Poor Mortals ſhew to obtain them, one would think a State of Power, and Riches, (which are the Sinews of Power,) to be the moſt lovely and deſireable State in the World; made up of nothing but moſt agreeable Amuſements, or magnificent Scenes of all that is deſirable.

Through how much Blood, and at the Expence of how many Thouſand Lives, will a Man, fired by Ambition, ſeek after a Crown that is to be purchaſed at any rate; and think perhaps, all the while, that he is in Purſuit of one of the moſt agreeable Stations this World can ſhew! And how eager will the Contention often be, even where one would think Men have had enough of their own Power before, and felt enough of the Weight of Government? But, there being ſomething gawdy and great in outward Appearance, the Senſes of Men are more taken up with the Outſide, than their Reaſon and Conſideration are with what is within. For, alas! if the Matter be laid open, how many Thorns grow inwards! how many Cares, and Fears, and Anxieties, muſt moleſt, even one, who is but little ſolicitous about the good Eſtate of thoſe under him! How many Enmities muſt he encounter, how many Parties muſt he ſteer between, how many Applications muſt he endure! how many Jealouſies muſt he entertain, of every Thing, and every Body! eſpecially if he knows himſelf rather to be an Enemy, than a Friend, to his People!

But I ſpeak not merely of this. Put the Caſe, that the true End of Government be conſtantly in the View of the Governour, and that it is his ſincere Intention to conſult the Good and Intereſt of the Governed; what a laborious, what an uninterrupted Courſe of Cares and Anxieties! what a Burthen of neverceaſing Thought, (the Labour of the Mind,) doth this imply in it! To guard againſt the evil Deſigns of Flatterers, and artful Courtiers; againſt thoſe who preſs for high Stations, in order to hinder the good Influences of better Men above them, and only to anſwer their own private Ends; to combat the Enmity and Oppoſition of thoſe who diſlike every thing that is truly good, and never put more Impediments in the Way of Governours, than when they are truly in the Intereſt of the People under them: To ſee with the Eyes of others, and yet to ſee Things in their true Colours; to hear with the Ears of Others, and yet not to be deceived; to penetrate into the dark Receſſes of the Breaſt of Others; to be Proof againſt Vain, and Empty, and Extravagant Complements, and to be armed againſt rough and unmannerly Contradiction: To know what is the true Intereſt of a People, in every conſiderable Branch, to have Courage enough to profeſs this to be their own; to have Conduct enough to proſecute it in the wiſeſt Methods; and Hardineſs to adhere to it, againſt all the deluding Offers, and all the boldeſt Threats, to the contrary: To do Juſtice impartially, and yet to exerciſe Mercy in due Time and Place: What ſhall I ſay? To act the Part of a God in the World, by Beneficence and Goodneſs; to protect the Injured, to defend the Oppreſſed, and to be ever prepared for all Occaſions of doing good.

This is the Part of Governours, the Part of all who are poſſeſſed of Civil Power, in their ſeveral Places and Stations. And is not this a Burthen that requires God's Aſſiſtance; a Burthren for more than human Abilities? But how excellent in its Uſe, and how beneficial, when this Burthen is borne, and this Office executed, by Such as are not taken with the external Title and Appearance, but regard the internal Parts of it, and its true Deſign! how doth the benign Influence deſcend from the Head down to the loweſt Parts of the Body! Mutual Love, Reſt, Quiet, Security, in all their Concerns; Theſe and many more Goods, are owing to the Fountain above, from whence they flow in mighty and uſeful Streams. On the contrary, when all this internal Part of Government is diſregarded, and only the external Grandeur aimed at, and carried to an Exceſs of Heighth by a Governour, how doth the Malignity of this ſpread itſelf over a Country! Uneaſineſs, and Miſery, and every evil Work, is the Effect; and Nothing good to be depended upon; but every Thing that is valuable or delightful, to be ſacrificed to Humour and Paſſion!

Let us, therefore, *Secondly*, learn from hence how much it concerns us, and our Governours, that we heartily and fervently put up our Prayers to God, for Them; that this laborious and invidious Taſk may be made light and eaſy, through the kind Diſpoſitions of his Providence, to all ſuch as truly deſign his Glory, and the Good of thoſe over whom they are placed. For indeed, his fatherly Eye, and friendly Concurrence, ſeem more neceſſary in *This*, than in any other ſecular Work whatſoever: as it is evident that in *This*, the Happineſs, or Miſery, of whole Nations, and of the Children yet unborn, are highly concerned.

And hence we ſhall be naturally led to ſee, what the Matter, and chief Subject, of our Prayers, ſhould be. For Inſtance, that, through the kind Diſpoſitions of Providence, it may not be in the Power of evil-minded Men to diſturb the Reign, or obſtruct the Management, of ſuch Rulers as are indeed a Terror to evil Works, and a Praiſe to them that do well; that they may have Eyes perpetually open to ſee, and Ears perpetually diſpoſed to hear, what is for the common and univerſal Intereſt; that they may have Hearts armed againſt every thing that can hinder the Proſecution of it, and Courage and Conduct to make Government as uſeful as God Almighty deſigned it ſhould be: That every thing may be propoſed and paſſed into Laws, that may eſtabliſh Peace and Righteouſneſs upon a laſting Foundation; and build up ſuch a Structure of Publick Virtue and Happineſs, as no Time may be able to demoliſh, nor any Attempts to ruine.

To theſe Subjects of our Prayers, the Importance, the Burthen, the Nature, and the End of their Office direct us.

For their temporal Proſperity and Succeſs we muſt frame our ſerious Wiſhes, and adapt our Prayers, ſo as to make them agreeable in all Reſpects to the Will of God: and this can be only done effectually, by praying to God, that They may be ſucceſsful in all ſuch Deſigns and Endeavours as are approved of by him; as are juſt, honourable, reaſonable, fitting, and becoming: all beyond this being little leſs than Blaſphemy. To pray to God that any Perſons may have Succeſs in Works which He hates and abhors; in the Works of that evil Spirit which is always repreſented as the greateſt Enemy to his Will; is to affront and anger Him. The Goſpel of *Chriſt* knows no ſuch Duty as this. Though the Duty of Prayer for *Governours* be laid down in general Terms; yet common Senſe, and the Commands of God in other Caſes, muſt regulate and bring this into due Form. Suppoſe all the Mariners and Paſſengers, in a Ship, were commanded to pray for their Pilot, and for his Succeſs, in general Terms; could any one argue from hence, that they are obliged to pray for Succeſs to him, even when he is endeavouring to ſplit the Ship upon a Rock, to daſh it into a thouſand Pieces, and deſtroy the Life of every one in it? Or, Would not every one underſtand ſuch a general Expreſſion to imply in it only an Obligation to ſuch Prayer as is ſuitable to the Nature and End of his Office, the preſerving the Ship, and bringing it ſafe into Port?

So, in the Caſe of Thankſgiving, if that were likewiſe injoined; could any Man be ſo abſurd as to ſay, that thoſe Paſſengers, who ſaw this Danger evidently, and the evil Deſign of this Pilot, were yet obliged to bleſs God for ſuch a Pilot, who was juſt going, evidently, to daſh them againſt a Rock, and to deſtroy both their Goods and their Lives?

Beſides, if the *Chriſtian* Religion can be ſuppoſed to enjoin either Prayer, or Thankſgiving, in ſo unlimited a Manner; then muſt it be ſuppoſed, that the *Chriſtians* of ſeveral Countries muſt be obliged in Duty to pray to God for the moſt contradictory things in Nature: one Part, that he will pleaſe to proſper Tyranny and Oppreſſion; another Part, that he will be pleaſed to give Succeſs to Juſtice, and proſper the beſt of Adminiſtrations; which it is highly abſurd to fix upon the *Chriſtian* Inſtitution. Can thoſe Subjects of any Monarch, in Countries abroad, for inſtance, who groan under his Oppreſſion and his exorbitant Demands, for the ſake of what they themſelves may think unjuſt Attempts of Force and War upon Others; can ſuch *Chriſtian* Subjects, I ſay, be obliged by the *Goſpel* to pray for his outward Proſperity in all his Undertakings? This cannot be the Duty of ſuch unhappy Subjects. We of this Nation, indeed, feel the Sweets of good Government, and know what it is to be engaged in a righteous Cauſe; and therefore, are obliged to pray for Succeſs to our Sovereign, whom we willingly obey, and of whoſe Adminiſtration we are ſo gratefully ſenſible, and of whoſe Juſtice in the Cauſe She publickly maintains in *Europe*, we are ſo perfectly ſatisfied. This is the Difference between Us and Others. And, as it is impoſſible that Contradictions ſhould be true; it is impoſſible that the Duty of *Chriſtians*, in ſeveral Places, ſhould be ſo abſolutely contradictory of itſelf. No, our Prayers and Thanſgivings muſt be agreeable to God's Will. We muſt not pray to him to proſper Wickedneſs, even in high Places: nor muſt we thank him, as for temporal Bleſſings, for the Victories of Tyranny. For this is to thank Him, for what is, in truth, one of the greateſt Curſes that even his Almighty Power can ſend down upon any Nation. A Curſe, which ſome Nations Abroad may either labour againſt, or thank God for, according as their Hearts and Diſpoſitions have been preſerved in their natural State; or by continual Oppreſſion, and the Cuſtom of Injury and Inſult, are become callous and totally inſenſible. For our Parts, we know no ſuch Sentiment; and therefore cannot, without Blaſphemy, think, that the Succeſs of Power, ſporting itſelf in the Miſeries of thoſe around it, can be any Subject for Thankſgiving to the great Governour of the World; who wiſhes Happineſs to all Civil Societies, and expects from their Rulers, a conſtant Attention to that Happineſs, for which they were ſet over their People.

The *Third* Particular propoſed was this: Suppoſing that the Subject of our Prayers be granted, or that it pleaſes God to give us that uncommon Bleſſing of good and juſt Government over us; what our Behaviour, under a Senſe of this, ought to be; and what Uſe we ought to make of ſo great an Happineſs. Theſe are particularly pointed out to us in the laſt Words of the Text, *That we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life, in all Godlineſs and Honeſty.*

Firſt, This is the very End propoſed by the *Apoſtle*, in theſe *Interceſſions* which he recommends for *Kings*, and all others in Authority; that, ſhewing Ourſelves thus their ſincere Friends and Well-wiſhers, we may, under them, enjoy an undiſturbed Repoſe, and a State of Quiet, which we could not ſo well hope for, if we did not give them this Teſtimony of our Affection and Good-will. This is as great an Happineſs, as the Condition of Men in this World allows to any Society; to enjoy, under the Protection of Power, lodged in good Hands, and exerciſed in the Manner, and to the End for which alone it was appointed, the Comforts, and Conveniences of Life, as well as Neceſſaries; to reap the Fruits of their own Labours, and poſſeſs their own Acquiſitions and Inheritances, without the continual Dread of Violence, and Arbitrary Rage, tearing them away and conſuming them all. An Happineſs, which we of this Part of the World, at this Time, may be ſaid peculiarly to enjoy, whilſt we may view, at a great Diſtance, the Storms and Tempeſts which beat upon others; and the Exerciſe of all Power by military Force, to the utter Ruine of the Quiet and Repoſe of their Lives, and of the peaceful Enjoyment of what they have at leaſt as ſtrict a Right to enjoy ſecurely, as their Governours have to rule over them. And hence indeed, will appear our peculiar great Concern in theſe Expreſſions. For if we are ſo peculiarly happy, as that our Governours watch over us, and rule us by Laws made and known by Ourſelves; and make our peaceable Poſſeſſion of what is our own, as ſecure as this World admits of; we muſt be void of all Senſe, and abandoned of all Underſtanding, to be Ourſelves the Troublers of our own calm and ſmooth Waters; and, by unreaſonable and undeſerved Noiſe and Diſquiet, to break in upon ſuch a happy Scene of publick Serenity, as can alone give a Reliſh to all the Goods of the Earth, and alone ſecure the Happineſs of Ourſelves, and Families, and Poſterity, in it. But,

Secondly, There is ſomething farther added by the *Apoſtle*, in his Deſcription of the Conduct of *Chriſtians*, under the Senſe of the great Bleſſing of a good and beneficent Government. They muſt not only lead *quiet and peaceable Lives*, but muſt lead their Lives *in all Godlineſs, and Honeſty*. Religion and Piety towards God, and Honeſty, or, (as the Word ſignifies) all that is *decent* and becoming towards Men; Theſe are recommended, as our own Duty; and, in the next Verſes, hinted at, as the moſt proper and efficacious Means to reconcile all around us, not only to us Ourſelves, but to God himſelf, *who wills*, and deſires moſt affectionately that *all Men ſhould be ſaved*, as well as Ourſelves, by *coming to the Knowledge of his Truth.*

But though this was ſaid, when the *Chriſtians* were in the midſt of Heathens, and Unbelievers; yet the Injunction, and the Reaſon of it, ſtill ſubſiſts in great Force. For *Chriſtian* Governours want and claim our Prayers as well as Heathen ones: and *Chriſtians*, as well now as at firſt, may find the good Effect of ſuch a Behaviour, towards their *Chriſtian* Governours; that it may even now tend to their own Peace and Quiet, in all their Enjoyments, as it did under others: and always have the ſame indiſpenſable Duty, of leading a quiet and peaceable Life, in all Godlineſs, and all Decency, or in all and every Practice that is truly lovely, and truly becoming them in the relation they ſtand in, to all around them, in the Civil Society of which they are Members. This is ſo evident, in every Page of the Goſpel, that it needs not one Word here to prove it; nor does the Time now allow me to go on upon this Head.

I will therefore, only add a word or two, upon a pleaſing Subject, which offers itſelf unavoidably to our Thoughts, in applying what has been ſaid, to the preſent Occaſion of our meeting together. I believe you will be beforehand with me in calling to mind, that the Proſperity, and outward Succeſs, of the *Queen*, whom we obey, is our own Proſperity and Succeſs; that when we pray for Her, we pray for Ourſelves: That when we give Thanks for Her, we give Thanks for our own envied Happineſs, in having One ſtill at the Helm, who has, for many Years, ſo wiſely ſteered between all the dangerous Rocks, that many Others have formerly ſplit upon. And indeed, if we look around us, the State of all other Nations will engage us to acknowledge thankfully our own Happineſs; whilſt we enjoy by written *Laws*, what is truly valuable in this Life, as ſecure as Human Affairs can be, from the Inconveniences moſt to be feared in a Civil Society; and whilſt the *Supreme Executive Power* is lodged in ſuch Hands, as have made us, for a Succeſſion of ſeveral Years, feel the kindly Influences of good Government.

I need ſay no more. Our own daily and hourly Experience ſay enough to move us to pray for the Increaſe of Proſperity to ſuch a Government, and the long Continuance of ſuch a State; and eſpecially at a Time when the Bleſſings of Peace and Plenty at Home, ſeem to be vying with the Glory of our Arms Abroad: Moderation and Piety preſiding here; Courage and Conduct exerting themſelves Abroad: and contending with each Other, in their Efforts to Eſtabliſh our Happineſs at preſent, and to tranſmit it down ſecure to the lateſt Poſterity. May we all, therefore, in Gratitude for ſuch Mercies, join our Hearts and Voices to praiſe the Great Diſpoſer of all Things for them; and to entreat the Preſervation of them! and may we all reſolve, in thankful Return to our Governours, and to God himſelf, to *lead quiet and peaceable Lives, in all Godlineſs and Honeſty.*

Which God grant, &c.

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SERMON XX.

Preached at the Church of St. PETER's POOR, on *May* 29, 1709.

PSAL. cxvii. former Part of ver. 1.

The Lord reigneth, let the Earth rejoice.

THE Sentence I have now read to You, carries along with it a moſt uſeful Leſſon; full of as much Satisfaction and Comfort, as reaſonable Creatures could deſire, in ſuch Circumſtances as Men are in, whilſt they are upon this Earth. And what it ſets forth to us is plainly this, that God, who firſt created all Things, doth alſo order the Courſe of this World, as we now ſee it; and ſtill continues to exerciſe a paternal Providence over it; and to direct and govern the ſeveral Parts and Inhabitants of it: and that we have the greateſt Reaſon to *rejoice* that it is ſo. *The Lord reigneth, let the Earth rejoice.*

In ſpeaking farther to theſe Words I propoſe, *Firſt*, To ſhew what is implied in the Affirmation, *The Lord reigneth*; and at the ſame Time, the Truth of it; and,

Secondly, to give ſome Reaſons why the Inhabitants of the Earth ſhould rejoice, *becauſe the Lord reigneth*.

Firſt, I propoſe to ſhew what is implied in this Affirmation, *The Lord reigneth*; and at the ſame Time, the Truth of it. And,

1. The general Meaning of it is certainly this: That a wiſe and powerful God preſides over the whole World; that nothing comes to paſs without his Will, his Decree, or his Permiſſion; unleſs he ſees fit to order it, or to ſuffer it to come to paſs: That he holds the Sceptre of the Univerſe; and, comprehending all Things by an infinite Knowledge, and being able to order all Things by an omnipotent Will, he doth whatever pleaſes him both in Heaven and Earth: That, as nothing was made without Him, ſo nothing, from the firſt Moment of the Creation, hath happened in all the vaſt Extent of the World, amongſt all the Multitude of Beings in it, which he did not think fit either to bring to paſs himſelf, or to let other Beings bring to paſs.

But, 2. In order to be more particular, Let us conſider his Government, as it reſpects the material and irrational Part of the Creation; and his Government, as it repects the intelligent and rational Part of it.

As to his Government with reſpect to the material and irrational Part of his Creation; let us obſerve, that it was He, who, after he had created every Thing, placed and fixed it in its proper Place; and all in that peculiar and admirable Order, in which we now find the Univerſe with Wonder and Aſtoniſhment. And this was one Act of Government and Empire in him, to give Laws to all the Matter that he had put into ſeveral Forms, and allot to every Portion of it, and to every Machine, its proper Province and proper Office; within what Bounds it ſhall abide; how far its Influence ſhould reach; what ſort of Motion it ſhould have; with what Quickneſs, and with what Determination, and to what End and Purpoſe, it ſhould move. Thus, having collected an unconceivable Number of Particles of Light and Heat, and fixed them in one vaſt Body, he may be ſaid to have impreſſed on it a Law, though it was incapable of Knowledge and Perception; and commanded it to bear ſuch a Relation to a certain Part of the World about it, as that the Inhabitants of it might receive Light and Heat, and the Comforts of both, from it. And from this Time the Sun is ſaid figuratively to have *known* its Riſing, and its Going down; and has diſpenſed its Heat and Light in one regular and continued Courſe: illuminating and invigorating thoſe Bodies that perform their ſeveral Motions round it, in a ſtupendous and never-failing Order. Particularly, the Place and Station of this vaſt Body is ſo ordered by this wiſe God, with reſpect to this Earth we live on, that it is the immediate Cauſe of the greateſt Benefits in Nature. If the Seaſons ſucceed one another in a conſtant and never-interrupted Courſe; Autumn and Winter, Spring and Summer; if by this means the Earth is prepared to afford us its Riches, and doth accordingly bring forth its Increaſe, and all its Fruits, in due Seaſon; if the Vapours are carried up on High, and then let fall in kindly and benign Showers to refreſh the Earth, and ſo circulate in a very beneficial and wonderful Manner; if Corn, and all the Fruits of the Earth, have in them what is proper to nouriſh, ſtrengthen, and refreſh the Bodies of Animals, to gratify their Appetites, to continue and add an Agreeableneſs to their Lives: and if theſe Fruits, all in their proper Seaſon, may be ſo cultivated, as to offer Themſelves, in a regular yearly Courſe, to the Neceſſities and Conveniences of Man: If the Air be ſuch as he can live and breathe in, adapted to his Lungs, and the Frame of his Body; all this is owing to the Government of Almighty God; his original and firſt Decree by which He confined all Things to the Places they are now in, and fixed them in their preſent Relations and Proportions to one another; and particularly, to his planting the Sun, that immenſe Collection of Light and Heat, exactly where it might be moſt ſubſervient to the Wants of that Part of his Creation to which He firſt ordained it to belong. All is owing to his Wiſdom, who at firſt ſaid, *Let there be Light*, *Let the Earth bring forth her Increaſe*; and who by his firſt Commands conſtituted the Nature, the Properties, the Place, and the diſtinct Office, of every Work of his Hands. Theſe, and the like numberleſs Appearances, regular and orderly, are great and manifeſt Inſtances of the Providence, or Government, of God; and therefore may be ſaid to be implied in that expreſſion, *The Lord reigneth*; and are not only ſo many wonderful and agreeable Appearances, but undeniable Demonſtrations, that a moſt knowing, and powerful, and merciful Being preſides, and has always preſided and ruled, in the Univerſe.

But then, we muſt obſerve farther, that this God not only firſt conſtituted all Things, what they are in their Nature, and allotted them their ſeveral Places, and aſſigned them their ſeveral Offices; but that He has reſerved in his own Hands, the Reins, to moderate and manage them as he ſees fit: That He is not ſo tied up to the ordinary Methods and Cauſes which he has eſtabliſhed, but that He ſometimes interpoſes, and interrupts them, upon great and remarkable Occaſions; and ſhews that He can make the ordinary Courſe of Things yield to his great Deſigns. Particularly when He has a Religion to propagate in the World; a choſen People to deliver; a Nation to deſtroy; a falſe Religion to ſhame and confound; He reigns over Nature: and, as He is the God of it, He ſeems to go out of the ordinary Courſe He himſelf once ſetled, to make the World of rational Creatures attend, and to raiſe their Thoughts towards *Him*, their Father and King. And this alſo may be ſuppoſed to be implied in the Government of God, as it reſpects the material and irrational Part of the World.

Let us now conſider it, as it reſpects the rational and underſtanding Part of the Creation. And here it is plain, That, when he firſt endowed any Beings with Underſtanding, and a Faculty of Knowledge ſuperior to other Animals; and gave them, by this Means, a Power of anſwering the higher Ends of his creating ſuch Beings; of adorning the Station in which He ſhould place them; and of imitating Him, whoſe Exiſtence and Providence They could not but plainly diſcover: That, I ſay, this very adorning Them with theſe Powers, and noble Qualifications, was one Inſtance of his Government; and ſo was the placing them, Every one in his proper Sphere of Action. And becauſe all his Creatures, of the moſt excellent Sort, are of finite Underſtandings, and of limited Powers; and particularly, becauſe many of theſe intelligent Beings, not only Men, but, as it is repreſented to us in the Holy Scriptures, Angels, or Beings of an higher Rank, have left their proper Stations; and, inſtead of carrying forward the Beauty of the whole, and making themſelves ſubſervient to the Deſigns of God, ſeem to have made it their Buſineſs to reſiſt thoſe Deſigns; to interpoſe in the Midſt of his Government; to ſcatter Wickedneſs wherever they can; and by that to bring Diſorder, and Miſchief, and Confuſion, into the World, by all the Arts and Methods they are Maſters of; and even inſolently to oppoſe his Purpoſes, as far as They can: Therefore, it is a moſt agreeable Obſervation, That Almighty God can never be ſuppoſed to leave the World to the Management of theſe Beings of an inferior Rank; but to interpoſe himſelf, either immediately, or by the faithful Miniſters of his Will and Pleaſure, to ſhew that *Power* belongs unto him; and that, though He has given ſome Meaſure of Underſtanding to inferiour Beings, yet he has not given them the Government of the World; nor put into their Hands the Diſpoſal of the Fortunes of any of their Fellow-creatures.

He may permit wicked Spirits, and wicked Men, to plot, and contrive, and lay down their Schemes to themſelves, by which they hope to do Miſchief in the World: He may permit them to go on in thoſe wicked Thoughts, which their own evil and corrupted Natures ſuggeſt to them. But, whether they ſhall accompliſh them, and bring them to Effect; whether they ſhall ſucceed, or be diſappointed; is reſerved to Him, and remains in his Breaſt only. He often laughs at their wretched Contrivances, and has them in Deriſion, and overthrows their whole Projects; and with one Nod, controlls their Malice, and checks their Deſigns. He often infatuates their Counſels; breathes Folly and Inconſiſtency upon their Debates, and apparent Imprudence into all their Meaſures. And then, They work themſelves into Ruine, and take the moſt effectual Courſe to bring on the Deſtruction of their own main Purpoſes. He often permits their abominable Deſigns to come to the End which They themſelves wiſh and propoſe. But then, this is for ſome wiſe and good Purpoſe, He has in his own Eye; for the Puniſhment of other wicked Perſons, or for the Reformation of a wicked People; or for the more conſpicuous and terrible Downfal of theſe very wicked Beings.

He often, by ſecret and unknown Ways; by a falſe Friend or a cunning Enemy; by their own Jealouſies, Quarrels, and mutual Animoſities; or ſome more miraculous Method; diſcovers and prevents their Miſchief. And then, they Themſelves *fall into the Pit which themſelves digged for others:* And the *Miſchief* they meant for *others*, *falls upon their own Heads.* He often permits them to take every Step they pleaſe, and every Chain of their Deſign to be ſucceſsful; that, when they come to the End of it, they may ſee that He governs and over-rules even their Wickedneſs: and be ſurpriſed at laſt to find the Conſequence of their Deſigns ſo different from what they intended it ſhould be; and ſuch Effects to proceed from their Contrivances, as theſe Contrivances themſeves were thought the only Ways to prevent.

To prove what I have been ſaying, I will juſt mention ſome very remarkable Inſtances of the *Superintendency* of God, in the *Spiritual* and *Temporal* Concerns of his rational Creatures here below. As to the firſt ſort; Could any thing, for inſtance, be more maliciouſly contrived by the worſt of Beings, than the ignominious Death and Crucifixion of *Chriſt*, which was his Plot, when he is ſaid to have entered into the Heart of *Judas?* And yet, could any thing be more agreeable to the End of *Chriſt's* coming into the World, or the Deſign of Almighty God, in ſending Him; and therefore more contrary to the Mind of that accurſed Spirit in bringing it about? Could any thing be thought of, more adapted to the Deſigns of the unbelieving *Jews*, than, after *Jeſus* was dead, to ſet a Guard at his Sepulchre, leſt his Diſciples ſhould ſteal him, and ſay he was riſen, and his Religion ſhould be propagated by this Means? And yet, how were his Enemies over-reached by Providence in this! This very Circumſtance helps to prove that his Diſciples did *not* ſteal him away; and therefore, that he truly aroſe from the Dead; and therefore, that his Religion is true: and ſo they aſſiſted in the propagating his Religion, whilſt they meant to extinguiſh his very Name and Memory.

And, in temporal Matters, Could any thing be more artfully contrived to ſerve the Jealouſy and Hatred of *Joſeph's* Brethren, than the ſelling him into *Egypt*: and yet, what admirable Purpoſes were ſerved by it! *Joſeph* raiſed to

Honour; a Nation and Family ſaved from Famine; the Foundation laid for the viſible Diſplaying of God's Glory, in all his wonderful Diſpenſations towards the People of the *Jews*; in his bringing them out of Slavery, and ſeparating them from all the World about them.

But I need not go far for more Examples of this Truth, in the Concerns of this World. This Day furniſhes us with one as ſurpriſing and as remarkable as any to be met with in Civil Hiſtory. Who that lived in the late unhappy Times of Confuſion, that accompanied and followed the Civil War; Who that ſaw that State of Things, and how many Barriers there were ſet againſt the Reſtoration of the ancient Form; and how deeply Multitudes were engaged in private Intereſt, and in private Revenge, to reſiſt every thing tending that way;—Who that knew theſe Things, I ſay, could have thought of that which afterwards happened? And yet, notwithſtanding all the Contrivances of the moſt politick, and all the Care of the wiſeſt Heads, by a wonderful Providence, the ancient Form of Government, and that very Form which we now ſo much glory in, was reſtored with the greateſt Quiet imaginable, to the great Surprize both of Thoſe who wiſhed it, and of Thoſe who oppoſed it.

I have now done with the *firſt* Head. And I hope, it has ſufficiently appeared, from what I have ſaid under it, what is implied in the Affirmation, *The Lord reigneth*; and, at the ſame Time, how ſtrong the Argument is, that the ſetled Order, and regular Diſpoſition, of all the Parts of the World about us; the Excellencies of his Rational Creatures, and the Great *Events*, with regard to *Them*; plainly declare the Care and Government of a moſt perfect Being over us; and that, *where* there are all the Marks and Characters of Wiſdom, and Power, and Goodneſs, *there* Wiſdom, Power, and Goodneſs, ought to be acknowledged. And indeed, if we purſue the Subject a little farther, what can be more reaſonable than to argue, That, as God firſt created us, and brought us into being, and placed us in this State; ſo, He did by that contract the Relation of a *Father* to us, and with it all the Obligation of Care, and Proviſion, and tender Regard, that reſult from thence—That He, who thus brought Creatures into Being, to make them happy, ſtill wiſhes their Happineſs; That He, who is perfect in Knowledge, cannot help knowing their Neceſſities; that He, who is perfect in Goodneſs, is moſt ready to ſupply them; and that He, who is perfect in Power, is able to do whatever he pleaſes for them: and that therefore, He will not forſake or reject them, till they have rejected Him:—Eſpecially, ſince there is a wicked Part of his Creatures deſigning Miſery and Ruine to the other, who are not always able to provide againſt it? For ſurely, we cannot be miſtaken in this, which appears ſo evident, that a perfect Being cannot make Worlds of Creatures to ſport with their Misfortunes; or to leave them to the Mercy of any inferior wicked Beings: and that God, who makes no Creatures out of the Reach of his own Knowledge, or Power, muſt be ſuppoſed to govern what He creates. For, that He is concerned for them, is plain from his bringing them into Being: and, if He be concerned for their Happineſs, it is abſurd to ſay that He doth not exerciſe a paternal Providence over them.

II. But I muſt now proceed to the other main Point, which I propoſed, plainly implied in the Text, *viz.* That we have all the reaſon in the World to rejoice, and to be perfectly ſatisfied under the Conſideration of ſuch a Providence ruling over this World, or under the Thought, that *the Lord reigneth. The Lord reigneth, Let the Earth rejoice.* And,

Firſt, How happy is it for us, that this World, and every Thing in it, was conſtituted and ordered, and is ſtill governed, by God, *i. e.* by perfect Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and Power! How can we imagine the Nature of Things, the Stations in which they are ſetled, the Courſes of the celeſtial Bodies, the Succeſſion of the Seaſons, the Fruits of the Earth, the Qualities of them, the Bodies of Animals, better contrived and ordered, with reſpect to Ourſelves, and the Sphere we are to act in, and the Ends of our Life here? What Failures, and Errors, and Irregularities, might we juſtly imagine and expect; nay, What miſchievous and pernicious Blunders, did any Being of leſs than perfect Wiſdom, and Power, and Goodneſs, preſide over this World, and adminiſter the Government of it! Here, indeed, appears the perfect Satisfaction we ought to have in the Thought of ſuch a ſupreme Governour; when we know and conſider, that, as Nothing is out of the Reach of infinite Knowledge, ſo Nothing can happen, in all the vaſt Univerſe of Beings, but what ſuch a Being is aware of: That, as no Inſtance of Benignity, and the tendereſt Love, is too low for infinite Goodneſs; ſo ſuch a Being muſt ever be diſpoſed to all Acts of Beneficence and Kindneſs to his Creatures: and that, as nothing is too difficult for infinite Power, ſo ſuch a Being muſt be able to do for his Offspring whatever his Goodneſs repreſents them to ſtand in Need of, and his Wiſdom knows fitting to be done, and becoming his Perfections, and their Situation: That Nothing doth or can happen to them, amidſt all the Changes and Chances they are ſubject to, but what a moſt wiſe Being judges proper, either to order, or permit, to come upon them; as Nothing can be deſigned againſt them, but what He has Power to prevent, if He pleaſes; and as this Power is accompanied with perfect Goodneſs, and the tendereſt Regard to his Creatures. But, what I am now ſaying, will farther appear, by conſidering,

Secondly, What a great Unhappineſs it would be to us, were we left to our own Management, and the Reins of Government put into our own Hands. Many are apt to think that, if they had the Diſpoſal of Themſelves, of their own Fortunes, and of all that belongs to them, they ſhould entirely conſult their Happineſs, and ſecure their good Eſtate for ever: but very unjuſtly and unreaſonably, as they would find to their coſt, if God ſhould be ſo unmerciful to them, as to take them at their Word, and put them from under his own Juriſdiction, and make them to be the Framers of their own Fortunes. Such finite and imperfect Creatures as we are, ſee but a little Way. We can ſometimes perhaps diſcern one Side of Things, and ſometimes may gueſs right at the Conſequences of them. But all our Knowledge that Way is but Gueſs at beſt; and is confined within a Compaſs that takes not in half the Circumſtances of Things, that ought to be conſidered, before we ſhould determine our Wiſhes and Prayers. And we are not only imperfect, and of a ſhort and finite View; but we are paſſionate, educated with Prejudices, corrupted by evil Habits; often ſtrongly inclined to Conſiderations on one Side, and averſe to any (though never ſo plain, and never ſo material) on the other. And what excellent Governours we ſhould be of Ourſelves, and of our own Fortunes, is plain. And again, what ſtrange Confuſion and Diſorder muſt follow, were every other Man his own Maſter, as we deſire to be in our own Caſe; and as He has the ſame Right to wiſh to be in *His*: whilſt our ſeveral Deſigns, and Luſts, and Paſſions, muſt perpetually be claſhing, and always annoying, diſturbing, and confounding one another! Happy, therefore, is it for us, that we have it not in our Power, to often as we pleaſe, to Ruine Ourſelves, and diſorder the World about us! And very happy is it for us, that perfect Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and Power, preſide over us, to deny us what is not fit for us; to afford us what is proper for us; and to deliver us from the Effects of our own Follies and Paſſions!

And then, *Thirdly*, as it is an Happineſs to be out of our own Juriſdiction, and exempt from our own Management; ſo it ought likewiſe to be a great Satiſfaction to us, that we are not left to the Will and Government of other Beings, of an inferiour Rank; to the Mercy of that Part of the intelligent Creation, that have thrown off the Laws of God, and are always deſigning Miſchief to their Fellow-creatures; and, as far as they can, helping forward the Ruine of all the World about them: whilſt the Innocent are at Reſt, without Suſpicion and without Fear. How much Miſery, and Diſorder, and Confuſion would They bring about, were there only the good Part of the World to oppoſe their Deſigns, to detect their Contrivances, and reſiſt their Power! How much Ruine would they joyfully be the Authors of, did not *the Lord reign*, and protect his Servants from their Rage! And how often would they procure, and bring about the Deſolation of Nations, and Societies, and Families, did not an All-ſeeing Eye interpoſe to diſcloſe their Arts; and an Almighty Arm, to reſiſt and controll their Power!

How great Reaſon, therefore, has every Man, and every Nation, and Society, to rejoice that the Providence of God leaves them not to the Contrivances of ill-diſpoſed and malevolent Beings; and on this Account to *rejoice that the Lord reigneth*, that He has reſerved the Government of them, and the Diſpoſal of their Fortune and Eſtate, in His own Hands ſo, as to controll the Malice, and deliver them from the Power, of their Enemies; and to hinder all wicked Beings from triumphing in the Ruine of the Souls and Bodies of their Fellow-creatures!

Thus have I finiſhed what I deſigned at this Time. *Firſt*, I have ſhewn, what we may ſuppoſe to be implied in theſe Words, *The Lord reigneth:* And obſerved what was ſufficient to prove the Truth of this Propoſition. And *Secondly*, I have ſhewn the great Reaſon we have to rejoice, and be entirely ſatiſfied, that *the Lord reigneth*. And now, let us reap ſome Benefit from what has been ſaid, and not let ſo noble and uſeful a Subject paſs by us, without thoſe Advantages it ſo plainly brings along with it.

If the Lord be truly the Diſpoſer and Governour of this World of Creatures which he at firſt created; if He preſides over it with a watchful and careful Eye; let the Conſideration of this fill us with Peace and Quiet within, and entire Reſignation to his Will and Pleaſure. To whom can we ſubmit, and in whoſe Diſpoſals can we acquieſce, if not in the Diſpoſals of perfect Wiſdom and Goodneſs? If *the Lord reigns*, and nothing can happen to us but by his Decree or Permiſſion; let us reſt ſatisfied, that all the united Force of evil Spirits and wicked Men ſhall not be able to hurt us, unleſs He thinks fit, it ſhould be ſo. And be our Circumſtances what they will, and our Caſe in appearance never ſo deſperate, let the Thought of ſuch a Governour, and ſuch a King of Heaven, and Earth, comfort and compoſe our Hearts; the Thought that He that adminiſters our Affairs is knowing, and wiſe, and good, to an infinite Degree; is moſt ready and willing to do us Good, and is powerful enough to free us from all Evil, if it be beſt for us. If God be for us; if his Eye be over us every-where; it imports little, Who is againſt us. And as He will always be for them that truly fear him; then, *the Sun ſhall not ſmite them by Day, neither the Moon by Night*, for he is the God and Governour of Nature; *They ſhall not be afraid for the Arrow that flieth by Day, nor for the Peſtilence that walketh in Darkneſs, nor for the Deſtruction that waſteth at Noon-day:* for all the Inſtruments of Death are in his Hand, and under his Direction. *The Lord ſhall preſerve them from all Evil, he ſhall preſerve their Souls.*

Theſe are ſome of the Pſalmiſt's pious Thoughts upon this Subject; and ſome of the general Aſſurances the Holy Scriptures give to good Men.

And now, to apply what has been ſaid more particularly; Let public Societies rejoice, in a peculiar Manner, that *the Lord reigneth*; that, amidſt all the Dangers that threaten them, they are the Care of an almighty and wiſe Providence; that, whilſt contending Parties within them are purſuing their own particular Intereſts, and tearing in pieces the very Bands of all Happineſs: and whilſt powerful Enemies, without them, are threatning and contriving their Deſtruction; that in ſuch Circumſtances, in which the Wiſdom and Power of Men often fail, an infallible Pilot ſits at the Helm; an all-ſeeing and gracious Eye watches and obſerves every thing that can happen; and an almighty and tender Hand directs and determines every Event, as it is beſt and fitteſt it ſhould be, all things conſidered.

But I ſhould be unjuſt to the joyful Occaſion of this Day, and to the Reaſon of my appearing here at this Time, if I ſhould not take more particular Notice of the great Reaſon we of this Nation have to rejoice, on every Return of this Day, that *the Lord reigneth.* For we are now met together to commemorate before God, one of the moſt ſurprizing Diſpenſations of his Providence towards us; the Reſtoration of the Royal Family, and with it the Reſtoration of our ancient Form of Government that had long been baniſhed from Us,—That Excellent Form of Government, ſo happily tempered between the Extremes of Lawleſs Power, and Lawleſs Confuſion, as if it had been the Effect of a Conſultation between the greateſt Politicians, and the wiſeſt Heads in the World;—That envied Conſtitution, in which the Commands of the Prince, and the Obedience of the Subjects, are equally regulated by Laws, and Both ſecured from all thoſe Unhappineſſes that attend ſome Sorts of Government, as long as the one is ſo wiſe as to enjoin nothing but what the Laws enjoin; and the other ſo honeſt as to make a Conſcience of obeying the Dictates of thoſe Laws—And, what is more to Us, That Conſtitution which we yet, by the wonderful Goodneſs of God, enjoy, and upon which We are every Day congratulating our own Happineſs. Such was the Bleſſing of this Day, in its Deſign, and natural Conſequence; and ſuch the Reaſon We have to rejoice that *the Lord reigneth.*

What uſe was made of it, and what were the immediate Returns to Heaven for it, I do not willingly ſay, but would gladly draw a Veil over them, if they could be hid. But it is too plain that they were agreeable to our uſual Gratitude to Heaven; and too evident to be diſſembled, that a mighty Torrent of Vice came with Violence into the Land, with theſe mighty Bleſſings; that Men ſhewed their Thankfulneſs to God, not by the Integrity and Sobriety of their Lives, but by the higheſt Flights and Tranſports of Debauchery; that they ſhewed their Zeal againſt that Hypocriſy which, they complained, had defiled the Land, by open Profaneneſs; and their Loyalty to the King, by forgetting the God, by whom Kings reign; and that many of them took occaſion, from the Miſeries that had followed the Overthrow of this Government, to uſe their beſt Endeavours to transform it into an abſolute and arbitrary Tyranny. Indeed, theſe groſs Abuſes of ſo gracious a Providence reflect only a Diſhonour upon thoſe, who had ſo little Ingenuity as to be guilty of them. But they do not at all diminiſh the Bleſſing that Heaven deſigned for this Nation. We Ourſelves feel the benign Influence of it at this very Day, in the quiet Enjoyment of our Lives and Properties, under that Legal Government which it reſtored; and which We ſtill enjoy, in a manner never perhaps before experienced.

May We all, by Gratitude itſelf, be induced to live ſo, as to reflect Honour upon the God who has thus regarded us; and may We, in a Senſe of the Happineſs we enjoy, all of us, in our ſeveral Stations, uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to tranſmit the ſame Happineſs ſecure to our Poſterity; by guarding it againſt ſuch as think Mankind fit for nothing but the Chains of Slavery; and alſo by paying a cheerful and conſcientious Obedience to the Legiſlative and Executive Power, now ſo happily ſetled, and in ſo excellent a Manner adminiſtered, amongſt Us.

Which God grant, &c.

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SERMON XXI.

Preached at the Church of St. Peter's Poor, on the publick Faſt-day, 1709.

Acts vii. latter Part of Ver. 26.

Sirs, ye are Brethren, why do ye Wrong One to Another?

THESE are the Words of *Moſes*, by which he endeavoured to reconcile two of his Brethren, of the Children of *Iſrael*, who were quarreling and ſtriving with one another. This was not the firſt Inſtance he had given them of his Regard to their true and real Intereſt; and of his Readineſs to do his Nation the greateſt Service he was capable of doing: for it was but the Day before that he had defended one of his Brethren againſt the Inſults and Violence of a barbarous *Egyptian*, and delivered him out of his Hands; by this means giving them a Preſage of that great Deliverance which God would, ere long, bring about by Him. But *Moſes*, whilſt he hoped they would immediately cloſe with this friendly Deſign, and unanimouſly accept of his Advice and Propoſals, met with the common Fate of almoſt all who pretend either to be Deliverers of the Oppreſſed, or Reconcilers of the contending and quarreling Parts of Mankind. For the *Iſraelites*, though they were of the ſame Nation and Family, linked together by the Ties of the ſame Religion and Profeſſion, involved in the ſame common Slavery, Fellow-ſufferers in the ſame Barbarities and Cruelties, and ſurrounded by the ſame common Enemies; yet, could not only find Time to abuſe, and quarrel with, one another, but affronted and abuſed their beſt Friend and Adviſer, only becauſe he perſuaded them to a mutual Love and Concord; and to avoid thoſe inteſtine Diſſenſions and Quarrels which would inevitably weaken their common Intereſt, and obſtruct all Hopes of their future Proſperity. Indeed, we do not read, that after he had completed their Deliverance, and was taken from them, there were any amongſt them ſo inſenſible of the Benefits he had conferred upon them, as to purſue his Memory with Affronts and Indignities. Such Ingratitude was reſerved for latter Times. As to *Moſes*; after *His* Death we hear of Nothing but the Celebration of his Praiſes, the moſt grateful Acknowledgments imaginable offered at every Remembrance of Him, and all but Divine Honours paid to his Name. But, as I obſerved, whilſt he lived amongſt them, they treated him ungratefully upon every Occaſion: And here, at the Beginning of his Regard to them, and whilſt he was preparing them, by his good Advice, for Freedom and Happineſs, the Perſon whom he would have perſuaded to Juſtice and Peace, inſtead of thanking him for his good Offices, endeavoured to touch even his Life.

There is ſomething in this ſo applicable to Ourſelves, that I could not but think it proper and ſeaſonable for us to ſpend ſome of our ſerious Thoughts upon this Expoſtulation of *Moſes* in the Text. We are divided and torn to pieces by our mutual Hatreds, and inteſtine Heats, by our ſhameful Diviſions and unchriſtian Tempers: Few amongſt us care to hear of Love and Friendſhip; but will even revile the Man that but ſpeaks to them of Peace: whilſt in the mean while all acknowledge that it is the want of this mutual Love, and the Hatred which flouriſhes in the room of it, to which we ſhall owe our common Ruine, whenever it comes upon us. What can one think, but that there muſt be a ſecret Infatuation from above, upon the Minds of Men; a fatal Blindneſs, to which God has given us over, when we ſee ſo much Danger from our own Animoſities and Heats, and have not the Heart to conſult our own Security; when we read and hear of ſo many Nations and Commonwealths, deſtroyed and laid waſte by mutual Hatreds and inteſtine Quarrels, and yet cheriſh the ſame Evils amongſt Ourſelves, which we are ſenſible have haſtened the Ruine of ſo many Nations before us? In theſe deplorable Circumſtances no good Man, who has the leaſt Concern for the common Welfare, can hinder his Thoughts from running out upon all the poſſible Methods of putting a ſtop to this growing Evil, and preventing the fatal and natural Conſequences of it.

In ſpeaking upon this Subject it is not my Deſign, at preſent, to obſerve what Advances might be made towards accommodating our Differences, by Perſons in the higheſt Stations: for I am ſenſible to how little purpoſe that might be, at this Time, and in this Place. But I ſhall endeavour to offer ſuch Obſervations and Conſiderations as concern every private *Chriſtian*, and come within the reach of every Member of the Commonwealth, and that in this following Method.

Firſt, I ſhall ſhew what is the Duty of every *Chriſtian* in thoſe Differences, which thus diſtract Us.

Secondly, What are the great Hindrances that Brotherly Love, and mutual Friendſhip and Agreement, which are ſo very neceſſary. And,

Thirdly, I ſhall urge the great and weighty Motives we have, at this Time, to purſue Peace, and Union, amongſt Ourſelves.

I. Let us examine what is the Duty of every *Chriſtian* in thoſe Differences which thus diſtract us. And this, I think, may be comprehended in two Particulars;

Firſt, It is the Part of every good Man to endeavour, by all the Methods of *Chriſtianity*, to reconcile the contending Parties in the World; and, in the Spirit of Meekneſs, to convince the Judgements of thoſe whom he imagines to be in any material Error. No Peace or Union can be ſo laſting, as that which is the Conſequence of Men's being of one Mind, and of one Heart; of the ſame Opinions, and of the ſame Sentiments, in Matters of any Concern. There is ſomething in Human Nature which is delighted with the Agreement of others in our own Notions; and there is ſomething in the weak Part of it, that cannot always bear with a Difference and Diverſity of Opinion. This Difference often brings on Diſputes and Diſcourſe; and Argument often produces Heat and Violence; and ſuch Flames are ſeen to break forth, as would not have been, had there been an Agreement. So that it muſt be owned, it would be an incredible Happineſs to Human Society, as it is ſeen to be in any Family, for Men to be of one Mind, and to have the ſame Notions and Opinions. Not that I think there is any ground to hope for ſuch an Happineſs. In the paſt Ages, it never has been experienced, or ſeen; nor can it be much hoped for, or expected, by wiſe Men, in the *later* Ages of the World. I am ſure, the Paſſions of Men are at too great an Heighth, to give us any Foundation for thinking of any ſuch Happineſs in our Days. But ſtill, it may be right for us to labour, and do our Part towards it, though we reap not all the Succeſs, and ſee not all the good Effects of it, we could wiſh. The little we can do, every one of us in our own Sphere, may ſerve to compoſe the troubled Waters about us; and may prove, in time, a Foundation for a more general and univerſal Agreement. And therefore, it is not the Improbability of effecting this that ought to affrighten us from attempting to bring all to the Acknowledgment of the ſame Truths which we acknowledge and embrace; provided always that in doing this, and in the Methods we purſue in order to do it, we break in upon no moral Duty, and no Command of our holy Religion. If we do, we ſhall be ſure to caſt more Scandal upon it, and do more Miſchief by our Practice, than any ſuch Agreement, even in true Opinions, can do good; nay, we ſhall rather be ſure never to effect this Agreement, to any good Purpoſe. But,

Secondly, It is the Part of every good Man, amidſt, and after, all his Endeavours to reconcile the Opinions of Men to one another, in what He thinks right; to love and bear with his Brethren, though they be not moved by his Arguments; though they cannot be perſuaded, by what He perhaps may judge to be the plaineſt and moſt convincing Reaſons, to alter their Minds; nay, though they return him Reproaches and Abuſes for his good Deſign towards them. For, until that happy Day comes that Men be all of one Mind, (which whether it will ever come, or no, God alone knows,) this is the only way to procure or preſerve Peace and Quietneſs in the World; and, indeed, ſeems to be a more glorious Inſtance of Good-nature and Religion, than any that can be practiſed without ſuch a Difference in Opinion. For to love Thoſe who agree with us in every thing; to embrace Thoſe whoſe Opinions fall in with ours in every thing, is no conſiderable Reach in Religion; nor any mighty Proof of a Perſon's Candour or Humility. But to love and bear with, and make Allowances for, Thoſe who differ from us, and whoſe Notions are at a wide diſtance from ours; to be ready to condeſcend to Theſe, and to do them all Good Offices, this is truly great and glorious. There is ſome Temptation to the contrary, ſomething in the Pride and Paſſion of Human Nature contradictory to this, which makes it much more honourable, and a much higher Inſtance of Goodneſs.

And it is worthy of our moſt ſerious Notice, that it is a Temper of Mind that reſembles Almighty God, and is an Imitation of that divine Copy; and therefore muſt be moſt acceptable to Him. How wide are moſt of our Notions from his, and at what a diſtance, too often, do our Opinions of Good and Evil, Right and Wrong, ſtand from his; and how oppoſite are our Practices to his Will! And yet, He hath loved us, and borne with us, and made Allowances for our Weakneſſes and Infirmities: and ſtill invites us to all the Happineſs we are capable of, notwithſtanding this. And is it not fit that we ſhould ſhew Ourſelves as placable, as willing to make Allowances, as loving, as condeſcend-deſcending and good to Thoſe who differ from us, as the great God of Heaven and Earth has ſhewn himſelf to us? *If you love thoſe who* agree with you in all things, and whoſe Opinions are the ſame with your own; *what praiſe have ye? Do not even the Publicans and Sinners do the ſame?* But if you love, and bear with, Thoſe who differ from you, and who contradict and oppoſe you in their Notions; then it is, that your Love and Good-nature exceeds the Good-nature and Love of Men of other Profeſſions; then it is, that you come up to the Perfection of *Chriſtian* Love; and then it is, that you may expect a great Reward; becauſe then it is that you are the Children of your Father which is in Heaven, who hath dealt with you exactly as he would have you deal with one another.

Nay, and beſides the Obligation to this mutual Love and Forbearance, amidſt our Differences, ariſing from the Glory of the Practice, and the Example of God, one may ſay that nothing in the World could ſo effectually, by degrees, put an end to theſe Differences themſelves, as the Practice of this Love. For it is apparent that nothing puts ſo great a ſtop to Agreement in Sentiments, as the Provocations given and received; the Paſſions, and the Pride of Men, with regard to their ſeveral Opinions. And therefore, though we differ mightily at preſent, yet, could Men but be perſuaded to the Exerciſe of this mutual Candour and Forbearance; were there Conſcience made of doing all good Offices to all Sorts; this Good-nature would have, without Doubt, a very viſible Effect; and the Tempers of Men would become diſpoſed to think and wiſh for ſuch an Agreement, as Paſſion, and a lofty Behaviour, make them now averſe to; and mutual Forbearance would very much diſpoſe things towards that univerſal Agreement in Matters of Concern, which is ſo agreeable to Human Nature, and ſo conducive to the Peace of Human Society: there being nothing that hinders ſuch an Agreement, ſo much as Perſonal Prejudices; and nothing that removes Perſonal Prejudices ſo much as the conſtant Practice of this Love and Good-nature.

Thus much, about the Duty of every *Chriſtian*, in the midſt of thoſe Differences that diſtract us. And the two Inſtances I have mentioned, are ſuch as lie within the Reach of every private Perſon, and what All Men may practiſe.

II. I come now to conſider, as I propoſed, in the *Second* place, what are the great Hindrances to that mutual Love and Good-nature, which cannot but be acknowledged to be ſo highly uſeful and neceſſary. And of theſe I ſhall ſpeak but very briefly, becauſe few can bear to hear of them: and I had rather ſuppoſe all Men heartily diſpoſed to Union, than that any Perſons concerned are guilty of what muſt hinder it. But I think it plain, that the greateſt Hindrances to it, are, the Spirit of Pride, and Inflexibility in our own Thoughts, and our own Ways; and of perſonal Hatred and Prejudice towards Others, in their Differences, from Us: and in ſome, the View to Ambition or private Intereſt. And theſe, indeed, with the artful Management of our common Adverſaries, and the Weakneſs of ſome honeſt Men, are the great Hindrances and Bars to that Happineſs which only can be effected by mutual *Love*, and *Benevolence*.

The Spirit of Pride leads Men to think that they are always in the right; and that it is more becoming and reaſonable that the whole World ſhould conform to their Notions and Opinions, than that they ſhould deſcend to the leaſt Compliance with the World about them. And ſo long as this Temper flouriſhes, it is an Abſurdity to think of Peace or Union. The Spirit of Perſonal Hatred, or Party Prejudice, diſpoſes Men to think, that Nothing can be right or well meant, that is propoſed by ſome Perſons; and that Nothing can be too hard a

Burthen to lay upon thoſe of whom they have conceived a hard Opinion; and that Nothing ought to ſoften them into the leaſt Condeſcenſion to them. The Spirit of Worldly-mindedneſs, and Self-intereſt, makes Men averſe to all Such Agreement and Union, unleſs it can be ſhewn, that it is for their own particular immediate Advantage; and, leſt it ſhould prove, at laſt, a Bar in their Way, and an Obſtacle to their worldly Projects and Deſigns; by leſſening, or ruining, their Intereſt, Power, and Influence, in the World. And if you join to theſe the artful Management of common Adverſaries, you will, perhaps, have as good an account as can be given, why any Nations or Societies have been ruined by Diſcord; and why that Unity, which is ſo neceſſary to the Preſervation of the Whole, has been often prevented and hindered by any particular Members of the Whole. As for Ourſelves; you know that our Adverſaries, the common Adverſaries of our Religion and Liberties, want not for Cunning and Worldly Wiſdom. They never drop, even for a Moment, the View of their Cauſe; and are conſtantly applying themſelves to the different Humours, and Paſſions, and Inclinations, of Men; and ſpend the Force of their Minds, to improve the Pride of Some, the evil Temper of Others, the Worldly-mindedneſs of Others, to their own Purpoſes. They encreaſe the Evil, and add Fuel to the Fire, which they hope will at laſt conſume us; and, while good and ſincere Men are not aware of it, the Enemy comes, and ſows the Tares of Diſcord and Diſſenſion, in ſuch Ground as is ſuppoſed to be proper for them.

I come now, in the *Third* Place, to urge the great and weighty Motives we have to purſue this univerſal Love and Concord. And,

Firſt, We are of the ſame Nation, and live under the ſame Government: and, conſequently, have the ſame Civil Rights and Privileges: a Conſideration, which has always been accounted a very ſtrict Bond of Union amongſt Men. And theſe Civil Rights, and Privileges, are ſuch as few Nations enjoy; a Happineſs, which proceeds from a Government ſo excellently tempered between Arbitrary Power, and Confuſion, and Diſorder. And then, We are of the ſame Religion, as to the main and fundamental Parts of it; and the Profeſſion of This, in Peace and Quietneſs, is deeply concerned in the Argument. And this *Religion*, ſuch as few, even of the *Chriſtian* Nations in the World, enjoy; Reformed from the groſſeſt Abuſes and Miſrepreſentations of ſuperſtitious Men; and rendered plain and uſeful, ſubſervient to the Purpoſes of a good Life, and ſpiritual Worſhip; for which it was at firſt deſigned by its great Founder. It is the Enjoyment of thoſe Civil Rights, and the free Exerciſe of this holy and pure Religion, that ſo happily diſtinguiſh us from many other Parts of the *Chriſtian* World. So that from hence it appears, that we have the ſame common Advantages and Intereſt to enjoy, if we be ſo happy as to preſerve ourſelves in our preſent State; and, on the contrary, the ſame irreparable Loſs to ſuſtain in theſe two invaluable Goods, if we go on to carry forward the Work of our Enemies, by our Diſcord and Diviſions at Home. And what can link us together in the Bands of Love, and in the amicable Proſecution of the ſame Deſigns, if a Senſe of our Happineſs, both as we are of this Nation, and of this Religion, will not? If ſuch Civil Rights and Privileges, ſuch a free Enjoyment of what is our own, ſuch a Liberty in the Worſhip of God, and the Exerciſe of our Religion, be not valuable and dear to us, what is it that we can value? To be governed by Laws, and not by a ſingle Will, and an arbitrary Power; to be ſecure in the Poſſeſſion of our Properties; to be happy in the Freedom of our Bodies and Eſtates; and, above all, to be happy in the Freedom of our Services, and to be ſecure in the Performance of our Duties to God, and to one another: Theſe are Advantages above any Price; ſuch as we ſhould envy in any other Nation; the greateſt Bleſſings this World can know; and ſuch as we ſhould never enough admire, were it not that they are grown old, and that we have been too much uſed to them: So ungrateful are we that what ſhould recommend them to us, really helps to ſink their Price in our Opinions, and to make us loath and undervalue them. But if the Enjoyment of theſe common Bleſſings cannot move us to that Love and Concord which are neceſſary to preſerve them, let us, in the

Second Place, be alarmed a little, by conſidering, that We have the ſame deplorable Calamities to expect, unleſs we jointly endeavour to prevent them, by an univerſal and ſincere Unity. For as, on the one hand, the common Happineſſes we now enjoy are very great: ſo, on the other hand, the Loſs, we ſhall in common ſuſtain, of our Civil Liberties, and the Exerciſe of our Religion, muſt be very great, and irreparable; if our Animoſities and Hatreds ſtill go on to make a way for thoſe Adverſaries, who watch for nothing ſo much as the Opportunity of entering through our Breaches. And not only this have we to fear; but, what is ſtill worſe, the poſitive Evils of That miſerable State of things, directly oppoſite to the Preſent, which muſt ſucceed.

The Enemy that threatens us, cannot be ſuppoſed to prevail over us, but that his Maxims of Government muſt prevail alſo. And as this is a moſt deplorable, and almoſt inſupportable, Civil Calamity; ſo what we are to expect, as we are *Proteſtants*, is more ſo: for the other might be ſupportable, were it qualified and leſſened by the free Liberty of our holy Religion. But what Miſeries are we not to expect when this Liberty is denied us, and we are called upon to profeſs a Religion which we cannot in Conſcience approve of? And yet there is no Hope of its being otherwiſe, if the common Enemy prevails. For it has appeared, beyond all Contradiction, that no Oaths or Obligations have ever kept thoſe of that Religion, whenever they have Power, from extirpating and putting an end to the *Proteſtant* Name. And indeed, I ſee not how any of Them could anſwer it to their Religion, and to their Church, if they did not. For, whatever ſome of that Religion would fain perſuade the Poor and Ignorant amongſt us to believe, in order to ſeduce them from it, or make them more favourable to it; it is notorious, from all their publick Declarations, their greateſt Writers, and their conſtant Practice, that they are obliged, (by their Principles,) to put an End to the *Proteſtant* Name, and deſtroy it from under Heaven, if they can. How great then are the common Calamities we are to expect, if we join our own Quarrels with our Adverſaries Deſigns againſt us, when it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that they are at all deviated from their former Practices or Principles; impoſſible to think that the Reformation is not ſtill as much hated as ever amongſt them; and that ſtill they account it lawful and commendable to exerciſe the utmoſt Barbarities towards All, who will not publickly profeſs and exerciſe their ſuperſtitious and unchriſtian Religion. Certainly ſuch Motives as theſe are of Weight enough to move even the hardeſt Heart, that has any Senſe in it of our preſent Happineſs; or any Belief of the Religion profeſſed amongſt us.

Laſt of all, as for our own Sakes, ſo for God's Sake, and for the Sake of that Name by which we are called, let us lay to Heart our Diviſions and mutual Animoſities; and let us all do our Endeavour to put ſome ſtop to them, and to introduce Love and Concord in their Place: that our holy Religion be not blaſphemed through us; and that our Lord may be glorified in the univerſal Practice of that Love, which He came down from Heaven to plant in the World.

Which God grant, &c.

SER-

SERMON XXII.

Preached at St. PETER's POOR, on the publick Faſt-day, 1711-12.

DEUTERON. xxxii. 29.

O that They were wiſe, that They underſtood this, that They would conſider their latter End!

THE Words, I have now read to you, are the pathetical and moving Wiſh of God himſelf, about the People of *Iſrael*. *O that They were wiſe, that They underſtood this, that They would conſider their latter End!* Some Interpreters, indeed, underſtand them to refer to the Enemies of *Iſrael*, who were ſpoken of in the Verſe before. But it ſeems to me much more probable, that theſe and the following Words alſo, belong to the Children of *Iſrael*; and expreſs, (agreeably to the main Deſign of this whole Song, of which they are a Part,) the great Deſire that Almighty God had, to make them an happy and glorious Nation; and likewiſe, what it was that He expected from Them themſelves, in order to this. That they refer to the Intereſt of a whole Nation, is certain: and therefore, though the Death of particular Perſons may be called their *latter End*, and often expreſſed, in the common way of Speaking, by that Phraſe; and, though this *Text* may be applied to That, conſidered by itſelf, and ſeparated from the reſt of this Chapter: yet, it is plain that it has no Relation, as it ſtands here, to the Death of particular Perſons, but refers wholly to the *latter End of Nations*, or the final Ruine of whole Societies. Almighty *God* therefore doth, in this Verſe (after the moſt pathetical Manner, amongſt Men, of expreſſing the Deſires of their Hearts) wiſh that the People of *Iſrael were wiſe*, *i. e.* That they had ſuch a Wiſdom, as would direct and move them to Every thing proper and neceſſary, in order to their own Preſervation and Happineſs. He wiſhes that they *underſtood this*; which ſeems to mean the Method in which he deals with *Nations*; and in other Words, that they would *conſider their latter End*, or, how certain their *End* will be, if They will not behave themſelves as the great Governour of the World expects; and that they would *So* conſider this, as to be moved, by this Conſideration, to the Performance of all thoſe Conditions which are neceſſary, on their own Part, to the preventing their Ruine, and eſtabliſhing their Proſperity. And then it follows, (*ver.* 30.) *How ſhould One chaſe a Thouſand, and Two put Ten thouſand to flight, except their Rock had ſold them, and the Lord had ſhut them up?*—*i. e.* What a glorious Current of Succeſs ſhould they have, in all their lawful Enterprizes againſt their Enemies, unleſs God ſhould put a ſtop to it himſelf; and ſell them into their Enemies Hands, and into a baſe Captivity, for the ſake of their fooliſh and wicked Behaviour, and their ungrateful Returns for all thoſe extraordinary Favours beſtowed upon them by *Him*, and by his peculiar Providence!

Theſe Words, thus explained, you ſee, direct every Man, who is a Member of any Nation, or Society, to conſider himſelf as ſuch: not always to regard only his own private and perſonal Concerns; but often to have in his Thoughts the Relation he bears to others around him, and what is required of him, as he is a Part of that *Whole*, in the Welfare of which, He himſelf, and all his own Poſterity, and that of all around Him, are nearly concerned. This, I ſay, it becomes us all frequently to conſider, and eſpecially upon ſuch Occaſions as That which has now called us together. And to this End, the Words before us are very proper, as they naturally lead us to the following Obſervations:

I. That God doth truly deſire the Proſperity and Happineſs of Nations and Societies of Men.

II. That his Deſire of their Proſperity doth not induce Him to make them happy, without their own joint Aſſiſtance; but that He expects their own Wiſdom, and their beſt Endeavours, to concur with Him. And,

III. That the Conſideration of that *latter End*, and Diſſolution, which *Nations* muſt expect, if they go on to diſpleaſe God; and of thoſe Rules by which he acts, in his Dealings with Societies, ought to be of great Force to engage Us to conſult our own Security and Proſperity, in thoſe Methods which he has laid before Us; particularly, by forſaking thoſe *Vices*, which otherwiſe muſt be our Ruine.

I. Let us obſerve, for our own great Satisfaction, that Almighty *God* is truly concerned for the Welfare of all publick Societies and Nations. Far be it from us to ſuppoſe, that He ever wholly confined his Love and tender Regards, or pathetick Wiſhes of Happineſs, to the *Jewiſh* Nation; though he ſelected them out of the whole Earth, as his own People, for the good Purpoſes of his Providence. His remarkable Puniſhment of the *Jewiſh* Nation, when their Behaviour called for it; and, at laſt, ruining their whole Polity, and the Fabrick of their Commonwealth; and his waiting upon *other Nations*, to ſee whether they would repent or not; and his deferring their Deſtruction till they were paſt all Hopes: Theſe *Particulars*, recorded of old, of His Methods of dealing with Nations, may aſſure us, that He has the ſame tender Deſire of the Welfare of *All* Nations, which He had for that of the *Jews*; and that He is as truly concerned for the Happineſs of *other* Nations, as ever he was for Thoſe whom He called *His own People*. He is the Creator of *all Men*, and the great Governour of *all* Nations. *All* have a Title to his Providence, and fatherly Care; and *All* muſt be dear in his Eyes, till they have made themſelves otherwiſe. It appears from the *Sacred Hiſtory*, That, if *Abraham* and his Family had been as impious, and as corrupted, as the other Families and Nations of the Earth, God would not have choſen *Him*, and his *Poſterity*, out of all the World, as his peculiar *People*. And that, by this Choice, He did not mean to ſignify his exempting that *People* from the *general* Rule of his Favour and Diſpleaſure, towards *all* Nations, is moſt evident from his totally forſaking Them, and deſtroying even their Appearance, as a *Nation*, for the very ſame Reaſons, for which He had heretofore caſt out and deſtroyed *other Nations*, for *their Sake*: viz. *becauſe their Iniquities were full*.

This, therefore, muſt be a mighty Satisfaction, that, whereas the Lords and Tyrants of this Earth often take a Delight in overturning, and confounding Families, and States, and Kingdoms, when their Projects require it, there ſits a God on high, able and wiſe, to over-rule their Power and Cunning; who delights not in Deſtruction and Deſolation; whoſe Almighty Power is chiefly diſplayed in ſhewing Mercy; and whoſe Delight it is to do Good to the Children of Men. And well might the *Pſalmiſt*, upon Conſideration of this, cry out, *Why boaſteſt* *thou thyſelf, thou Tyrant, that thou canſt do Miſchief? whereas the Goodneſs of God endureth yet daily? i. e.* How can you, the Tyrants of this World, pride yourſelves in that *Miſery* and *Ruine* which you can ſcatter around you; when you have the Example of *God* before your Eyes, who is infinitely exalted above you, and cloathed with infinite Degrees of Power more than you are acquainted with: And yet, *his Goodneſs endureth daily*; and yet *He* delights not in deſtroying, but in ſaving; not in ſtriking Terror upon the *Nations* of the *Earth*, but in ſhowering down his Bleſſings upon them! Did the proud, and ambitious, and inſatiable Lords of this Earth but conſider this; what a ſtop muſt it put to all the Madneſſes of their Power, here below? How few Scenes of Blood and Deſolation! how few Countries depopulated and laid waſte? how few Barbarities exerciſed! how few Families baniſhed and extirpated! how few Towns laid in Aſhes! and how few Inſtances of any Thing like Violence or Brutality, ſhould we ſee or hear of! But, becauſe this lovely Pattern of the moſt high *God*, and ſupreme Governour of the World is not regarded; but Ambition, and an unbounded Love of all the Tokens of Power, reign in the Hearts of many of the Rulers here below; therefore it is, that we have heard and ſeen ſo frequently the Characters of Inhumanity in the World, and Rivers of Blood ſhed, and Thouſands of Lives ſacrificed, to the Will and Humour of one Man; therefore it is, that we ſee Engines of Deſtruction invented and improved; all the Arts of Diſſimulation to inveigle and cheat, and of Ruine and Violence to deſtroy, more ſtudied, and in more Repute, than the Arts of Peace, and the whole Band of Social Virtues. But theſe Methods are not learnt from that great Governour of Heaven and Earth, who ought to be the great Pattern of the Mighty. For He is never repreſented to us to be more *delighted*, than when the Rules of his Government permit him to ſhower down his Bleſſings; and never more *grieved*, or acting with more Reluctance, than when He is conſtrained, as it were, by the ſame juſt Rules of Government, to pour his Wrath upon any People, or Nation. But,

II. We may and ought to obſerve, that Almighty *God* doth not ſo wiſh and deſire the *Proſperity* of *Nations*, but that there are Conditions to be performed on *their* Part, without which he will not ſave them from Deſtruction. For Inſtance, it is abſolutely neceſſary that they call up all their own Prudence, and enter into the beſt Counſels they can procure; that they take all Opportunities, and make uſe of all the moſt probable Methods, of preventing their own Deſtruction, by applying Wiſdom againſt Wiſdom, Force againſt Force, and uſing the honeſt Arts of this World, under the Conduct and Bleſſing of God. They muſt not forget to implore the favourable Eye and kind Providence of that *God*, who ſits over all; and can diſpoſe the Fate of *Kingdoms* and *Nations*; and they muſt, at the ſame time, make uſe of the *Aſſiſtances*, He has put into their Hands, by his good Providence; remembring that He will not work Miracles for them, whilſt They ſtand ſtill and will do nothing for themſelves. To this Purpoſe I cannot forbear to call to mind that, in that Storm, in which St. *Paul* was ſhipwrecked (*Acts* xxvii.) though an *Angel* of *God* had aſſured him that there ſhould be no Loſs of any Man's Life amongſt them; yet, when *the Ship-men were going to flee out of the Ship*, *Paul* ſaid to the Centurion, *except theſe abide in the Ship, ye cannot be ſaved.* So ſenſible was He, that when God promiſes to ſave any Perſons, either their Lives or Eſtates, He never means to exclude their own Endeavours; but always requires the ſame Efforts and Behaviour from Them, as if they were to be ſaved wholly by their own Power and Wiſdom.

And as *one* Part of that Wiſdom which *God* requires of a *Nation*, in order to their Happineſs, is to uſe all their own Endeavours againſt the Deſigns of their

Common Enemy; all that Strength of *Mind*, and Force of Arms, with which They are bleſſed; ſo, *another* Part of it is, to be *united* amongſt themſelves; to bury all inteſtine Quarrels and Animoſities in their one common Intereſt; and not to allow themſelves in the leaſt Thought of incenſing, or vexing, or oppreſſing one another, whilſt their *All* lies at ſtake, and they are engaged in the Defenſe of their one whole common Intereſt. For this mutual Ill-will doth naturally tend to their own Ruine and Deſtruction. Their Enemies ſo well know this, that they never fail to endeavour to bring it about, where it is not; and to make a ſad uſe of it where it is, by improving it to their own Purpoſes. Nor will *God* reſiſt, and hinder, the *natural* Tendency of what is founded upon the Folly and Imprudence of Thoſe who might know better. When a *Nation* is collected within itſelf; and has a Centre, in which the Parts of it all meet; and one common Purpoſe in view, on which its Happineſs entirely depends; and no little Intereſts and divided Plots moving in it; how formidable is that Nation, and how difficult to be overpowered and undone by any Enemies! They therefore, who firſt begin to ſcatter Jealouſies and Uneaſineſſes in it; to diſunite any Parts of it from others, let it be under what Pretence it will, are the firſt who leſſen, weaken, and diſſolve its Strength; the firſt who give Life and Encouragement to its Enemies: little conſidering into what Miſchiefs ſuch Beginnings have been improved, through the Cunning of *Adverſaries*, on one ſide, and the Weakneſſes and Paſſions of human Nature, on the other.

There are ſome *Nations* ſo bleſſed by Providence, and enjoying ſuch Advantages from *Nature*, always to be improved by *Art*, that a cloſe Union amongſt themſelves would be the greateſt and moſt probable of all earthly *Securities* to them; and ſuch a Fence of Safety, as would be ſtrong enough againſt the Force of All the Powers of this World united againſt them. And perhaps, this may be one Reaſon why we often ſee ſuch a *Nation* the fartheſt of all others, from deſiring or contriving, or effecting, that laſting and good Union within themſelves, which would make their *Natural Defenſe* ſo ſecure and unmoveable. They are certain, indeed, of being taught, by frequent Experience, that *God* will not keep off the Danger and Fear of their Ruine, without it; but it is often ſeen, that they will not let that Experience itſelf have that Effect upon them which it ought to have.

I cannot here paſs over in Silence the Senſe of *Abraham* in this Matter; a Perſon, who had a greater Title to Proſperity and Happineſs, *without* his own Wiſdom, than any *Nation* upon Earth can pretend to. *God* had promiſed him, to give him a moſt deſirable Land; and to make of him a glorious People: yet, he knew perfectly well, that inteſtine Quarrels and Diſſenſions amongſt Him, and his Relations and Friends, would be of fatal Conſequence to him, and ruine all his future Hopes. The ſacred *Hiſtorian* leaves it upon Record, as a Matter of ſome Moment, (Gen. xiii. 5, &c.) that *the Subſtance of Abraham and Lot was great, So that they could not dwell together*; and the Conſequence of this was, that *there was a Strife between the Herdſmen of Abraham's Cattle, and the Herdſmen of Lot's Cattle*; and, the ſame *Hiſtorian* remarks, that *the Canaanite and Perizzite dwelt in the Land*, *i. e. Abraham* and *Lot* dwelt amongſt Nations, which were Enemies to them both; and therefore, ready enough to make uſe of all Opportunities, and take all Advantages in order to ruine and extirpate them. And we find *Abraham*, ſo ſenſible of the ill Conſequence of this Quarrel, if he ſhould inſiſt upon what he in Juſtice might have demanded; that he yields up all his own Concerns to the Concerns of Peace, and to the common Intereſt: *Let there be no Strife*, ſays he, *betwixt Me and Thee, and betwixt my*

Herdſmen and thy Herdſmen; for we be Brethren. Is not the whole Land before thee? ſeparate thyſelf, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt take the Left Hand, I will go to the Right; or, if thou depart to the Right, I will go to the Left. What greater Inſtance of Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion, and Regard to the common Concern of both, could we poſſibly imagine?

But how different is this, from the Violence of Thoſe, who give themſelves up to the Study of a particular Intereſt; and make the preſent exalting of *that*, the main Bent of their Thoughts and Labours, to ſuch a Degree, that, even when the Whole is in Danger, they are ſeen rather to give the common Enemy an Advantage, than let go an Opportunity of revenging Themſelves upon Others, or raiſing their own Power and Intereſt above theirs! But in this Temper there can be little, or indeed nothing, of that Publick-ſpiritedneſs, which is ſo neceſſary to the Happineſs of a Nation; and which muſt be guided by theſe Principles, That whatever is for the Intereſt and Security of the *Whole*, ought moſt readily to be followed and practiſed, by *all* the Members of the *Whole*; and ſtill more, that whatever is contrary to that, ought, for that very Reaſon, to be, upon the *firſt* Thought, rejected and condemned, though it tend to what we otherwiſe moſt earneſtly wiſh, on ſome private and particular Account: And farther, that Nothing indeed, can be for the Intereſt of a *Part*, in the *End*, which is not for the Intereſt of the *Whole*, in the Fate of which that *Part* muſt be involved. This is what we may fairly gather to have been the Wiſdom of *Abraham* in ſuch a Conjuncture; and this (we may fairly conclude, from the natural Tendency of mutual Jealouſies and inteſtine Differences) is the moſt intereſting Point which a *Nation* ought to regard, when its All is at Stake; and ſuch an Inſtance of Wiſdom as Almighty *God* expects, from all *Societies*, upon the ſame Occaſions.

III. I come now to the *Third* Obſervation propoſed from the Text, *viz.* that the *Conſideration of their latter End* ought to be of great Force to move all *Nations* to prevent their own Miſery and *Diſſolution*, by ſuch Methods, as their great *Governour* has, either by Reaſon or Revelation, laid before Them: and particularly, by utterly forſaking thoſe Vices, which otherwiſe muſt be their Ruine.

I ſhall not here repeat, what I have often, upon like Occaſions, obſerved to you, concerning the *Dealings* of *God* with wicked, incorrigible Nations, recorded in the *Old Teſtament*. But I ſhall add that, even under the *Goſpel*, we have had a freſh Declaration of this, in the Lecture our bleſſed Lord read to the *Jews*, (*Luke* xiii.) upon the Subject of certain ſevere and extraordinary *Providences* that had happened to *ſome* particular Perſons of that Nation. *Suppoſe ye*, ſays he, (*ver.* 2.) *that thoſe Galileans, whoſe Blood Pilate mingled with their Sacrifices, were Sinners above all the Galileans, becauſe they ſuffered ſuch things? I tell you, Nay; but, Except ye repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh: Or, thoſe Eighteen upon whom the Tower in Siloam fell, and ſlew them, Think ye that they were Sinners above all Men that dwelt in Jeruſalem? I tell you, Nay; but, Except ye repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh.* For theſe Words are a Declaration of the temporal Deſtruction of a *whole People*, and not an Account of *God's* Dealing with private Perſons; and they were deſigned to ſignify, that, as theſe Perſons mentioned were ſlain by a ſad and uncommon Calamity, ſo, *that* the whole *Nation* of the *Jews* ſhould be brought to Deſolation, by a more terrible Calamity, unleſs they prevented it, by a timely and ſincere Repentance, and Acceptance of his Offers: As if He had ſaid to them,—" This is the *Leſſon* I would have you " learn from theſe Events, that You yourſelves, as a *Nation*, ſhall ſo *periſh*, in

“ an uncommon Manner, by the juſt Judgement of *God:* and not, that ſuch ca-
“ lamitous Events, which *God*, in the Courſe of his Providence, does not think
“ fit to prevent, are deſigned, as Subjects for your cenſorious Tempers; or as
“ *Arguments*, that Thoſe particular Perſons on whom He ſuffered them to fall,
“ were *greater Sinners* than Thoſe on whom they did *not* fall.”

And now, it cannot be at all improper to obſerve that, even without the extraordinary Declarations of *God* himſelf, againſt ſinful *Nations*, in the Holy Scriptures; *That*, I ſay, the Conſideration of the *Natural Conſequences* of *Things*, will itſelf convince us, that there is not a more certain Sign of any one thing in Nature, than the univerſal *Virtue*, or abandoned *Wickedneſs*, of a *Nation* is, of their flouriſhing Condition, or of their Tendency to Ruine. If Beneficence, and Charity, and all the Parts of true Religion, abound, and are univerſally practiſed and encouraged in a Land, *Happy will it be for the People that are in ſuch a Caſe*, even in the ordinary Courſe of this World, conſtituted and appointed by *God* himſelf. But if Iniquity run down amongſt them with a mighty Stream; and all Degrees of Vice abound and flouriſh in a Nation, what will *their latter End be?* It muſt fare with them, as it has fared, not only with the *Jews*, but with other Nations, whether *Greeks*, *Romans*, or *Barbarians*; who have been ſeen to loſe the Glory acquired by them in their former State of rigid *Virtue*; and to waſte away by Degrees; in exact Proportion to their Improvements in *Vice* and *Luxury:* and, at laſt to be totally loſt and ruined, by the genuine Operation of their own Corruptions. Thus muſt *They*, who imitate them in their *Degeneracy*, imitate them in their inglorious and deplorable *End* alſo; and inherit the *Deſtruction* which is the natural Conſequence of ſuch univerſal Diſſoluteneſs of Manners.

I have thus gone over the *three Obſervations*, I propoſed from the *Text*; and ſhould now proceed to apply what has been ſaid to Ourſelves and our own Circumſtances. But I have left myſelf not much Time to do it; and, I hope, not much Occaſion to ſpend many Words upon it. As Almighty God has a very great Concern for the Happineſs and Welfare of Nations and Societies of Men: ſo, He has, in a particular Manner, ſhewn himſelf concerned for us, if we may judge by thoſe frequent Inſtances of his Mercy which He has poured down upon us; and by the long Trial He has vouchſafed to give us; whether we will turn unto him or not; by thoſe Evils He has from time to time ſent amongſt us; by thoſe Fears and Dangers He has ſometimes brought upon us, to awaken us; and thoſe wonderful and ſurprizing *Deliverances* He has vouchſafed us, above all our Hopes and Expectations. He waits upon us, even yet; and ſtill tries us with repeated Inſtances of his Love and Kindneſs. How long He will do ſo, He only knows. Would to *God*, I could ſay that we had made him any Returns agreeable to ſo much Love and Long-ſuffering; or that we ſeem yet to be diſpoſed for Happineſs! We are now in ſome Danger again, as We are engaged in the Defenſe of Ourſelves, as well as our Neighbours, againſt a very powerful and cunning Enemy. This is our common Cauſe, and the common Intereſt of every Member of this Nation.

Whether there be any amongſt us who wiſh well to this formidable Enemy, is not our preſent Enquiry. But that which looks very ill, amongſt all our Preparations againſt him, is this, That we do not hate this publick *Enemy* more than we hate *one another*; that we are not more glad of an Opportunity of bringing him low, than we are of depreſſing one another; that we are not more filled with a juſt Reſentment and Indignation againſt Him, than we are with mutual Reſentment and Indignation againſt one another at Home; that we can find time, when all our Thoughts ought to be wholly taken up againſt the common Adverſary, to invent, and attempt, and proſecute, what may irritate one another; and diſturb Our own Quiet at Home: and by this contribute ourſelves to the Strength and Advantage, of our Enemies *Abroad*.

If any pleaſe themſelves with the Thought, that our *Enemies* are as wicked, and as bad as Ourſelves, it muſt ſtill be owned, that They are much more diligent in uſing all Means that have a natural Tendency to effect their Purpoſes; and have a cloſer and more conſtant Union within themſelves, than we can pretend to: and that it is certain alſo, that God often makes uſe of one very *wicked* Nation, to ruine and deſtroy another: *Eſpecially*, when this other has had more of his Favours; enjoyed more Light; and ſinned againſt greater Conviction, and greater Mercies. I do not preſage Evil to us. But we muſt not flatter ourſelves, and be too ſecure. Thankfulneſs for former Mercies; Repentance for that Ingratitude, that has been ſhewn in Return for them; Reformation of our Lives; a publick and uniform Encouragement and Regard to *Virtue*; and as publick and conſtant a Diſcouragement of Vice and Immorality; Love to one another, and univerſal Charity; and a prudent Uſe of all the Means put into our hands by Providence:—Theſe are the things which will not only prevent our *Ruine*, notwithſtanding all the Efforts of our moſt powerful Enemies; but fix our Happineſs ſecure, upon as ſtrong a Foundation, as the State of this World can admit of. *O that we were wiſe, that we underſtood this, that we would conſider our latter End!*

TWENTY

TWENTY SERMONS:

The firſt Nine of them preached before the KING in LENT.

Of Superſtition.
Of contending for the Faith.
Of Judging one Another.
Of the true Uſe of the World.
Of the Love of Pleaſure.
St. Paul's Diſcourſe to Felix.
Of Conſiſtency in Religion.
No continuing City here.
Chriſt's Yoke Eaſy.
Of Perſecution.
Of Zeal not according to Knowledge.
The Impoſſibility of ſerving God and Mammon.
The Ambition of Chriſt's Diſciples reproved.
The different Characters of John Baptiſt and Jeſus Chriſt.
The Extremes of Riches and Poverty.
The Good Samaritan.
Of our Duty under Afflictions.
The Chriſtian Race.
The Beſt Chriſtians unprofitable Servants.
The Nature of Chriſt's Bleſſing.

* * *

Of SUPERSTITION.

SERMON I.

Preached before the KING, *March* 23, 17$\frac{17}{18}$.

ACTS xvii. 22.

Then Paul *ſtood in the midſt of Mars-hill, and ſaid, Ye Men of Athens, I perceive that in all things Ye are too Superſtitious.*

SUPPOSING the Word *Superſtitious* to anſwer exactly to the *Word* in the *Original*; yet, it does not ſeem rightly tranſlated here by the Expreſſion *too ſuperſtitious:* becauſe this carries along with it an Implication that there is a Degree of *Superſtition*, not at all blameable; and that St. *Paul* in this Paſſage allows it; contrary to the conſtant Uſe of that Word amongſt Us, in a *bad* Senſe. The *Greek Word* for that Temper of Mind, relating to Religion, from which the *Athenians* are in *our Tranſlation* denominated *Superſtitious*, ſignifies a *Dread* of ſome *Superior Being*, or *Beings*; and commonly, an *Unreaſonable*, *Blind*, and *Gloomy*, Dread of ſuch Beings, leading to great and various Abſurdities, about the Methods of pleaſing Them. And as the Word, uſed by St. *Paul*, implies in it a *Compariſon* of the *Athenians* with *Others*; and therefore ought to have been tranſlated, *more Superſtitious than ordinary*; or the like: I think, the *Apoſtle* may be truly repreſented as ſpeaking thus to *Thoſe* around

Him,—"Ye Men of *Athens*, I perceive that you are more thoroughly poſſeſſed with the *Fear* of Inviſible Beings *Superior* to Us, than I have found any Others to be. And this I conclude, from what I have obſerved of the publick Marks of your *Worſhip* appearing in the *City*. For, beſides your Altars to numberleſs *Deities* with Names to them, in which you agree with *Others*, all around you; I found an Altar inſcribed *to the Unknown God:* which uncommon Appearance muſt be owing to a very extraordinary Degree of a dark, and uncomfortable *Dread* of ſome Superior Being, though you know not what: Whom you fear you may otherwiſe be thought to have neglected," *&c.*

But, as it is my preſent Deſign to take Occaſion from the Words of the *Text*, as they ſtand in *Our Tranſlation*, to ſpeak in ſuch a manner upon the Subject of *Superſtition*, as may be of general Uſe, and Service, to All *Chriſtians*, in the great Affair of True Religion; I ſhall not enter farther into any *Critical* Enquiries about the preciſe Meaning of the Words in the *Original*; or the *whole Intention* of St. *Paul*, in this Diſcourſe: but ſhall endeavour,

I. To ſay Something about the *Nature* of *Superſtition*, conſidered as a Vice, to be avoided by All.

II. To point out the True *Remedy* of it. And,

III. To apply what I ſhall have ſaid, to *Chriſtians*, and to the preſent State of *Chriſtianity* in the World.

I. I will endeavour to give you ſome Account of the *Nature* of *Superſtition*, conſidered as a Vice, to be avoided by All.

And, this having been much the ſame, both amongſt Thoſe who have not lived under any expreſs *Revelation* from God, and Thoſe who have; the *General Account* of it muſt, I ſuppoſe, be given, entirely with Relation to that *Faith*, that *Worſhip*, and that *Practice*, to which, both theſe Sorts of Perſons might ſee themſelves to be truly and ſtrictly obliged, as their *Religion* and *Duty*.

With reſpect therefore, to *Heathens*, the beſt Account I can, at preſent, think of, is this; That the *Superſtition* of *Heathens* conſiſted in every Particular, which either their *Fear*, or their *Folly*; either the Strength of their *Imagination*, or the Weakneſs of their *Judgement*; or the *Deſign* and Artifice of their *Leaders*; taught them to embrace, in order to pleaſe any Being, or Beings, ſuperior to themſelves, whom they made the Objects of their Religious regards: Every thing, I ſay, of this Sort, whether relating to their *Faith*, or to the *Nature* or *Manner* of their *Worſhip*, or to the *Practice* of their *Lives*; which was contradictory or diſagreeable to the juſt Notions in ſuch important Matters, which were then, and ſtill are, and ever will be, the certain and plain Reſult of the Common Reaſon of Mankind, exerciſed upon ſuch Subjects. *This* it was, that was to be their Conducter in *Religious* Affairs; and therefore, it is by comparing it with what their *Reaſon* ought to have led them to make their *Religion*, that you muſt judge what it was that the *Superſtition* of the *Heathens* conſiſted in.

And thus it was that St. *Paul* judged of the *Superſtition* of the *Athenians*, with regard to their *Worſhip:* as is plain from his Diſcourſe to Them. He ſaw, amongſt many others, an Altar dedicated to the *Unknown God*; and this he concluded to have been raiſed by their *ſuperſtitious* Fear, and blind *Dread*, of They knew not what: when, at the ſame time, They ought to have argued, from the Works of Nature, in every Year, and Seaſon, and Day, That the Supreme God and Governour of the World, had made Himſelf Sufficiently *known* to

Them, as the ſole Object of Religious Worſhip, by theſe *Works* of his, which were always before their Eyes.

2. Agreeably to this, the *Superſtition* of *Chriſtians*, conſidered as *Chriſtians*, the Followers of *Jeſus Chriſt*, as a Teacher ſent of GOD, muſt conſiſt in *every Particular*, which any Perſons, called *Chriſtians*, have added, or may add, to the plain and expreſs *Declarations* of their *Lord* and Maſter himſelf; under the Notion of ſomething neceſſary to our pleaſing and ſerving God: whether it reſpect the *Object* of our *Faith*; the *Object* or *Manner* of our *Worſhip*; or the *Conduct* and *Practice* of our *Lives*.

The Difference, in this caſe, with regard to *Heathens* and *Chriſtians*, you will ſee, to be very ſmall, in the End: becauſe it was the Great Deſign of our *Lord's* appearing in the World, utterly to deſtroy the whole Fabrick of *Superſtition*; to reſtore the Dictates of *Uncorrupted Reaſon* to their *Force* and *Authority*; and, by calling the World to believe in *Him*, as ſent by *God*, to replace the only Method of pleaſing Him, upon that *True Foundation*, upon which it ought to have been placed, whether He had appeared amongſt Men, or not.

So that the *Difference* between *True Religion*, and *Superſtition*, ſeems to be this; that the *Former* is the *Argument* of the Judgement and Underſtanding, collecting, from the juſt Notions of a GOD, enforced upon *Chriſtians* by the plaineſt *Declarations* of their *Maſter*, the only poſſible Method of pleaſing Him: and the *Latter* is the Reſult of ungoverned Paſſion; either the *Hope* of pleaſing God with ſomething entirely diſtinct from, and contrary to, thoſe Notions; or the uneaſy *Fear* that He will not be pleaſed, without the *Addition* of ſomething which has no Relation to them.

We may therefore, as we paſs, obſerve that *Superſtition*, in ſome reſpects, is *That* to *Religion*, which, in common Life, the *Flattery* of a falſe Tongue is, to the *Sincerity* of *Converſation* and *Friendſhip*. *Flattery* takes the Place, and often the very Aire and Mien, of ſincere Profeſſion. It puts itſelf inſtead of *Friendſhip*; and hopes to be taken for it. It is made up of pleaſing Sounds, and Expreſſions: and the *Appearance* is of ſomething good. But then, it is founded upon a Baſeneſs of Soul; hoping to pleaſe, or fearing to diſpleaſe, without any thing *within* anſwering to thoſe Profeſſions. And, in the End, the Evil is, That, when the *Maſque* is, by ſome Accident, taken off; the Reproaches which are due only to the *Falſeneſs* of ſuch *Pretenſes*, are caſt, by ſuch as are not able well to diſtinguiſh, upon the ſincere Profeſſions of *Friendſhip* itſelf, when it only imitated.

And in the ſame manner, *Superſtition* hath thruſt itſelf into the Place of *Religion*; and is become an *Idol*, to which the greater Part of the World hath long continued to bow down: And, having uſurped, not only the *Place*, but the Garb and Language, of *Religion*; no great wonder that, in all Ages, both in the *Heathen* and *Chriſtian* World, the *Scandals*, occaſioned by the *Former* only, have been put to the Account of the *Latter*; and the *Evils* which the Madneſs of *Superſtition* alone hath produced, have been *all*, in general, charged upon *Religion*, which in its true Nature tends to prevent them: nay, that the very Word *Religion* hath come to ſtand for that *Syſtem* of *Superſtitions*, whatſoever it be, which has prevailed in any *Country*, or Society. But to return,

The principal thing to be regarded, under this *firſt* Head, is, That every Particular, embraced as ſomething neceſſary to the pleaſing of GOD, which is not plainly declared to be ſo, either by the Voice of *Reaſon*, or the *Words* of the *Goſpel*, is the *Superſtition* of *Men*, and of *Chriſtians*; whether it relate to *Faith*, *Worſhip*, or *Practice*. But the *next* great Point is,

II. To point out the *true Remedy* of this immenſe and deplorable Evil: an Evil, ſo much the more difficult to be cured, as it is founded upon the Paſſions of Men; and flatters thoſe Inclinations, which Cuſtom and Education have made ſtrong. This, it is plain, muſt be a *Remedy*, ſuitable to the Nature, and firſt Principle, of the *Evil.* And, the *Evil* conſiſting in departing from one certain ſteady Rule; the proper *Remedy* muſt conſiſt in the reducing Men to that Rule, from which they ought not to have departed. I ſhall now, therefore, propoſe what the *Goſpel,* as it is repreſented by *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles,* profeſſes and deſigns to do, in order to this. And then we ſhall judge whether any thing can be more reaſonable in itſelf, more beneficial to Mankind, or, conſequently, more honourable to the *Goſpel* itſelf.

You may eaſily ſee what this is, even by St. *Paul's* Conduct in this *Chapter.* At the 22d verſe, he takes Notice of the Great *Superſtition* of the *Athenians*; and, at the 23d and following verſes, he propoſeth to them, as the only Cure for it, *firſt,* the Knowledge of that One God, whom alone they ought to worſhip: *Then,* the Nature of that *Worſhip* which is due to ſuch a Being, not confined to, or dependent upon, particular Places, or Circumſtances; but ſuitable to the Nature of a *Being,* always and every-where preſent with us: *Then,* the Neceſſity of *Repentance,* that is, of altering whatſoever was bad in the Conduct of their Lives; for which he urgeth this Argument, that the God, whom he preaches to Them, as *known* by his Works, is the ſame God, who will *judge the World, by Jeſus Chriſt, whom he raiſed from the Dead,* as a ſenſible Aſſurance of this Truth. Here then St. *Paul* repreſents to them *Religion,* inſtead of their former *Superſtition,* under the Notion of *knowing,* and *worſhiping, One God,* the *Maker,* the *Governour,* the *Judge,* of the World; and of practiſing all that is good and praiſe-worthy.

You ſee, therefore, that *True Religion,* which is, in the Nature of Things, (and I wiſh I could ſay, in *Time,* a great deal) more antient than the *Corruption* of it, is, Virtue in all its Extent, regularly practiſed and purſued, under the Senſe of the ſupreme Being, the *Creator, Governour,* and *Judge,* of the World. And this is That to which St. *Paul,* and his Fellow-labourers, were conſtantly calling back the World of *Unbelievers*; and preſſing upon *Believers* alſo.

And all this is perfectly agreeable to what our *Saviour* himſelf, in plain Words, propoſed upon many Occaſions, through his Life, with reſpect to *Faith,* to *Worſhip,* and to *Practice.* With regard to *Faith*; He declares, in *one* of his *Prayers* to God, his *Father,* that it was the Knowledge of Him, the *only true God,* which He was endeavouring to bring the World to, by calling them to believe in Himſelf, ſent by that *True God.* With reſpect to *Worſhip,* He had an Occaſion offered, in his Converſation with the Woman of *Samaria,* to declare, that this *Worſhip* was not to be confined to any ſuch Circumſtances, as particular *Places,* or the like; but muſt be agreeable to the Nature of the Being worſhiped; that the *Father,* (for he ſpeaks all along of *Him)* was then ſeeking ſuch *Worſhipers,* as would not worſhip what they knew nothing of; or, would not worſhip *Him* any otherwiſe, than *in Spirit and Truth.* And then, as to the Conduct of Life, and *Practice*; his *Declarations,* in general, are all referred to the *Nature,* and *Attributes,* of the *Supreme Father* of all Things; to the doing *his* Will; to the imitating *his* Perfections; and to the practiſing every thing recommended by that *Law* of *Reaſon,* which He ſent our Lord to revive and enforce.

For, in this laſt Particular of *Practice,* it is evident, that neither our *Lord,* nor his *immediate Diſciples,* have framed any *exact Syſtem* of *Morality,* explicitly mentioning every particular *Duty*, or *Sin*; but have thought it better to appeal, in moſt Inſtances, to the *Great* and *Univerſal Law* of *Reaſon*, which they ſend every *Chriſtian* to conſult, with Sincerity and Uprightneſs of Heart, as he will anſwer it at the Great Day of Accounts.

But in the Caſe of *Worſhip*, in which the Inventions and Follies of Men had ſhewn themſelves wantonly and infinitely various, to all the Degrees of *Superſtition*; He took occaſion to be a little more particular. In that *Prayer* which he taught his *Diſciples*, He leads his Followers to the *Object* of their *Worſhip*, God, under the moſt eaſy, and the moſt intelligible, Notion of a *Father*: including every thing relating both to *Authority* and *Goodneſs*; and repreſenting Him to us as our Great *Maker*, *Governour*, and *Benefactor*. He then goes on to the *Matter* of our *Prayers*, in a Manner ſo plain, and in Expreſſions ſo far removed from every Word, that either ſuppoſes any *Paſſion* within, or can be deſigned to raiſe one, that it is well worth while for Us all to conſider, and imitate it, by ſpeaking to God, agreeably to *his* Nature, and *our* Relation to Him; and expreſſing our Sentiments before Him, more with our *Underſtanding*, than with our *Paſſions*. And certainly, whatever is the Reſult of the *Underſtanding* is likely to laſt, and to have an Effect upon our Minds and Lives: But *Paſſion*, raiſed for a preſent Occaſion, and then naturally ceaſing, can hardly be thought to leave the Mind more guarded, and better armed, for the Conduct of our *Practice*, than it was before. And this I mention, and preſs, in a very particular Manner, becauſe I think it of the utmoſt Importance, that the Duty of *Prayer*, which is the Worſhip of the Great God, ſhould not, by the Operation of *Superſtition*, become, in the Opinion and Practice of any *Chriſtians*, the *Art* of raiſing a preſent Paſſion, upon a preſent Occaſion; inſtead of the moſt likely Method of forming the laſting Habit of a Diſpoſition to all that is Good; and the Expreſſion of Thoſe Sentiments, which alone ought to be expreſſed before God. But, to return,

As *Worſhip*, and *Practice*, muſt depend upon *Faith*, and *Knowledge*; and, as the *Superſtition* of *Worſhip* and *Practice* muſt depend upon the *Superſtition* of *Faith*; ſo the Cure of this muſt begin at the *Foundation*. And accordingly, the Deſign of the *Goſpel* is to reclaim Men from the *Superſtition* of *Worſhip* and *Practice*, by recalling them to the *Belief* of the *One Supreme God*, whoſe Nature ſhews both how He is to be *worſhiped*, and how He is to be *ſerved*. But, as I have obſerved, with regard to *Practice* in general, that the *Goſpel* doth not draw up a *Formal Syſtem* of the Bounds and Nature of every *Virtue* and *Vice*; but ſends all Men to the original Univerſal Law; and refers them to the Imitation of God: ſo, it may be remarked, that in thoſe Caſes of *Practice* itſelf, in which *Imagination* and *Paſſion* might be ſuppoſed to have moſt Scope, the greateſt Care hath been taken to guard againſt the ill Effect of them. For Inſtance, the Love of God, and the Love of our Neighbour, which are ſpoken of, in the New Teſtament, as *Duties* to which all Men, of all Tempers and Diſpoſitions, are *equally* obliged; are ſo plainly deſcribed, that every *Chriſtian* may ſee, that Whoſoever *keeps the Commandments* of God, (which always ſuppoſes the Belief and Knowledge of his amiable Perfections,) will be eſteemed by his Judge to *love* God truly; and that He who *worketh no Evil* to his Neighbour, but all the Good in his Power, is truly poſſeſſed of that *Love* of his *Neighbour* which is the *fulfilling* the *Law*, as far as Social Life is concerned: and may from hence make himſelf eaſy, if he cannot boaſt of thoſe extraordinary Emotions, or Practices, which ſome *Others* ſpeak of; but which, at leaſt, cannot be ſaid to be made the *Duty* of *All*, by their great Law-giver. This ſeems to have been deſigned againſt the *Superſtition* of *Practice*; as it was taking the Workings of the heated Imaginations of Men, as much as poſſible, out of the Religion of their Lives. It was removing, out of the Account, every Thing, which might create in *Some*, the *ſuperſtitious Hope* of pleaſing God with ſomething, which He has never inſiſted upon; and in *Others*, the *ſuperſtitious Fear* of diſpleaſing him, for want of it: And founding *Religion* upon ſomething which *All* Men can find their Part in; and not upon Any Point, which the differing *Tempers* and *Diſpoſitions* of Men make impoſſible to *All*, in a Matter made equally the Duty of *All*. Nothing, indeed, in the *Diſpenſation* of *Chriſt*, relating to *Practice*, appears to be deſigned, or framed, to excite in the Soul, *within*, any Thought leading to Practical *Superſtition*; but every Part of it conſpires to form a regular Conduct of Life, *without*.

You ſee, then, how rational a *Remedy* the *Goſpel*, in its Purity, propoſeth, to cure the World of *Superſtition*; by calling All Men to a *Worſhip*, and to a *Practice*, worthy of God, and worthy of Man: and to rid the Minds of Men of unconceivable Uneaſineſſes, by placing the Service of God upon Principles agreeable to the *Judgement* and *Conſcience*, upon which alone inward *Peace* depends.

I know of nothing ſet up, in Oppoſition to this, but *Atheiſm*, or a *total Infidelity*. And this, if it be thoroughly imbibed, which is hardly poſſible to ſuppoſe, will indeed, rid the Mind of any *Superſtitions* relating to the pleaſing that Great Being, which it baniſhes out of the World. But then, there are two or three Conſiderations, which I have not time to enlarge upon, but which will be of great Force, at the bare Mention of them: *viz.* that *Atheiſm* is itſelf founded upon a *Contradiction* to all the Principles of *Science*, in the World: That, though it may rid the Mind of *ſome Superſtitions*, yet, it gives no *Support* in the room of them: That it is, itſelf, where it is pretended to be, often ſeen to be accompanied with very odd and unaccountable *Superſtitions*, of another ſort; and ſome of them very uneaſy ones: and, laſtly, what is very material, That in *moſt* Nations of the World, They, who ſeem to have Recourſe to it for *themſelves*, have ſo little Love to the Happineſs of their *Fellow-creatures*, that they think Them fit for nothing but to be governed by the Tyranny of *Superſtition*; and that, wherever it lies within their Reach, They are ſo far from any Willingneſs to enter into any Meaſures of abating the *Terrors* and *Dreads* of it, that they rather are induced the more to continue, and improve, the Force of thoſe ſuperſtitious Terrors upon Others, by their own *Atheiſm* and *Infidelity*.

The *Goſpel*, with a more generous and noble Spirit, labours with the *Loweſt* as well as the *Higheſt*, the *Meaneſt* as well as the *Brighteſt*, Underſtandings, to bring Mankind, by a few plain, eaſy, general Principles, common to all, from the Oppreſſion and Unhappineſs of *Superſtition*; both to know truly, and to practiſe conſtantly, what is neceſſary to their pleaſing God. This is a Point, which it is evident, from the Experience of all Ages, and from the vaſt Variety of Inventions of Men upon this Head, of infinite Importance to the Eaſe and Quiet of their Lives here, as well as to their Happineſs hereafter. And therefore, it was a Matter, worthy of the *Son* of *God's* Appearing in the World: and it is what He hath performed in a Manner agreeable to the Nature of God, and to the Frame of the Mind of Man. And now, as I propoſed in the laſt Place,

III. I come to the Application of what has been ſaid, to *Chriſtians*, and the preſent State of *Chriſtianity*. And this is too plain, and obvious, to need many Words.

It is an eaſy Matter for Men to ſee, and complain of, *Superſtition* in Others. It is eaſy for the *Church* of *Rome*, loaded with the *Foppery* of *Ceremonies* without Number; diſtracted with the Variety of *Objects* of *Worſhip*; full of *new-invented*

Methods of pleaſing God, by I know not what Bodily Auſterities, inſtead of the one Auſterity of Virtue; and guarded round about with all the *Allurements* of this World's Pomp and Dignity, on one Side, and all its *Terrors*, on the other: It is an eaſy Matter, I ſay, for a *Church*, ſo at eaſe within its own Fences, to ſit and make great Outcries againſt the *Superſtition* of the *Pagans*; and to ſend out their *Miſſionaries*, to diſturb and moleſt Them, only to engage them to exchange *One* ſet of *Superſtitions*, for *Another*, I greatly fear, as wicked and as deſtructive.

It is eaſy, again, for Thoſe who have reformed from that *Church*, to ſpend their Time and Breath, in Invectives againſt *Romiſh Superſtitions*; or, amongſt Themſelves, in complaining of one another. But the true *Point* of Thought, in which every *Chriſtian*, and every diſtinct *Body* of *Chriſtians*, ſhould fix, is, what is their own Caſe? and what is their own Conduct, with reſpect to the *Three* great Points of *Faith*, *Worſhip*, and *Practice*?

If they ſet up any *Beings*, as *Objects* of the *ſame Faith*, but That propoſed by *Chriſt* himſelf, The *One* only ſupreme God; They do by this lay the Groundwork of *Superſtition*, in themſelves, and others. If they pay the *ſame Worſhip* to any Being, diſtinct from that ſame *One Supreme Being*; or, if they multiply the *inviſible Objects* of any Degree of *Religious Reſpect*, beyond the Authority of what is written; leading Men to ſpend the Vigour of their Souls, due to the Worſhip of the One Supreme God, upon a Number of *Objects*, inferior to Him: This is the *Superſtition* of *Worſhip*, from which their Maſter called the World. Or, if they confine the *Acceptableneſs* of the *Worſhip* of God, to any particular *Places*, or *Ceremonies*, or *Words*, or *Forms*; This is alſo a *Superſtition*, contrary to the Nature of that *Worſhip*, the *Acceptableneſs* of which our Lord Himſelf placed upon *Spirit and Truth*.

And again, if They take upon them to make the *Favour of God* to depend upon any thing, beſides what our Lord declared it to depend upon; repreſenting God to be delighted with Trifles, or reconciled by Follies; encouraging Men to hope for his Favour, upon their Performance of ſomething diſtinct from the keeping his Commandments; or leading Men to fear his Diſpleaſure, for not having added an exact Obſervation of what Men have inſtituted in Religion, to what He himſelf hath declared to be ſufficient to Salvation: This is the *Guilt* of *Superſtition*, with regard to *Practice*; to be charged upon All, who have any hand it in.

It is apparent from the Nature of this Evil, That no Cure for it can be hoped for, till the *Kingdom* of *Chriſt* ſhall be eſtabliſhed amongſt *Chriſtians*; and his own Subjects acknowledge *Him*, by their Practice, to be their *King*. And, When *Chriſt's* Authority is once ſuffered to ſetle the *Faith* and *Worſhip* of *Chriſtians*; when Obedience to *His* Commands, under the Conduct of that Faith, is ſuffered to paſs for *Religion*; when the Rule of every *Chriſtian* Man's Conduct is univerſally allowed to be his ſincere Attention to the Directions of *Chriſt*; and *Chriſtians* are ſo upright as to take That for their Religion, which they find recommended by their Lord, and his immediate Followers: *Then*, and *Then* only, the *Faith*, and *Worſhip*, and *Practice*, of *Chriſtians*, will juſtly be ſaid to be all reſtored, and redeemed from the Follies of *Superſtition*. But till this happy Time comes, How great and deplorable an Unhappineſs muſt it be thought, that the very *Believing* in *Jeſus Chriſt*, which was propoſed to put a ſtop to all the *Superſtition* in the World, ſhould, by the crafty Deſigns of ſome, and the Weakneſs of others, be itſelf made the Inlet and Occaſion to that *ſame Evil*, amongſt *Any* that are called by that Holy Name; and to ſo ſhameful a Degree, as We ſee it to be, in many Nations round about us.

Nothing, I am perſuaded, is wanting, but to uncover the Face of our moſt *Holy Religion:* and then, there can be little Doubt, but that It's moſt dangerous *Rival,* and powerful *Enemy,* muſt fly before it; and that *Chriſtianity* will at length get the better of the *Superſtition* of *Chriſtians,* as it did at firſt of the *Superſtition* of *Heathens.*

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Of contending for the FAITH.

SERMON II.

Preached before the KING, *March* 13, 17$\frac{19}{20}$.

Epiſtle of JUDE, Verſe 3, latter Part.

It was needful for Me to write unto You, and exhort You, that Ye ſhould earneſtly contend for the Faith, which was once delivered unto the Saints.

IN order to find out the Nature of what is very ſtrongly recommended to *Chriſtians* in theſe Words, I propoſe,

I. To explain the *Words* themſelves.

II. To obſerve from thence by what Methods we can moſt effectually anſwer the real firſt Deſign of them. And,

III. From the Whole, to draw ſuch Obſervations, as may convince Us of the Iniquity, and Folly, of pretending to anſwer their Deſign by other and contrary Methods.

I. The *Words* ought to be explained. And this Explanation ought to be taken from the plain Purport of the whole ſhort *Epiſtle,* in which they are; from the *Time* when it was written; and from the *Circumſtances* of *Chriſtianity,* and of *Chriſtians,* at that Time. The Duty, here recommended to *Chriſtians,* is to *contend earneſtly for the Faith once delivered to the Saints*; that is, in the Language of the *Apoſtles,* to all who profeſſed themſelves *Chriſtians:* the *Title* of *Saints* not being, at that Time, appropriated to particular Perſons; but, in common, given to All *Chriſtians,* to put them in mind of their *Profeſſion,* and what *Obligations* to *Holineſs* it carried along with it. This *Faith,* here *to be contended for,* was the *Faith* taught and delivered, *before* this *Epiſtle* was written; being ſpoken of here, as already known and ſetled. The Expreſſion of *contending earneſtly,* ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι, is taken from the *Conteſts, Games,* and *Races,* then in Uſe in the *Heathen* World; in which the *Contenders* for imaginary Glory ſtrove, with all their Might, againſt their Adverſaries. But, as amongſt theſe *Contenders,* there were certain *Rules* and *Orders,* by which They were all to be governed in their *Conteſts*; upon pain of forfeiting all Pretenſe to Victory or Reward, if they tranſgreſſed one of thoſe *Rules,* which were the *fixed Laws* of thoſe *Conteſts:* So, the *earneſt Contention* of *Chriſtians,* for the *Faith once delivered,* muſt be governed by thoſe *Rules,* and kept within thoſe

Bounds, and directed by thoſe *Laws*, which their Great Maſter, the *Judge* of the *Conteſt*, has declared and eſtabliſhed.

If any one, who entered into the *Conteſts*, or *Games*, then common in the Heathen World, pretended to get the better, *i. e.* to overcome, hurt, or deſtroy, his Adverſary, by any Method, contrary to the *Laws* fixed by the *Governours* or *Judges* of thoſe *Conteſts*; He was not adjudged to have the *Glory* of *Conqueſt*, but the *Shame* of *Injuſtice*. And ſo, in the *Chriſtian Conteſt*, if *Chriſtian Methods* are not uniformly and conſtantly made uſe of; the *Earneſtneſs* of the *Contention* is only a ſo much greater Deviation from the Duty of a *Chriſtian*. One *Chriſtian* may cruſh or oppreſs the Perſon of Another, againſt whom He contends, on Account of ſome Differences in Religion: But he cannot contend for *the Faith once delivered*, ſo as to reap any Fruit of ſuch Conteſt, without contending in the *Methods* preſcribed by *Chriſt* himſelf. This is in *general*.

But, in *particular*, If we conſider this *earneſt Conteſt for the Faith*, here recommended by St. *Jude*, in conjunction with the *Circumſtances* with which *Chriſtians* were then ſurrounded; the *Methods* of *Conteſt* could be none but ſuch as were ſuitable to thoſe Circumſtances. They had not then in their hands the Weapons of this World, to lance at one another: And therefore, the Weapons of their Warfare could be *then* no other than *ſpiritual*. They were all ſurrounded with perſecuting *Unbelievers*: and probably, one Part of this *earneſt Contention* for their Faith, here recommended to them, (if not the main Part,) was the entering into that *Conteſt*, and Strife, of *Suffering* for this *Faith*, which Others, in this *Epiſtle*, are deſcribed as willing to decline. This, I ſay, was *One* Inſtance of the earneſt *Conteſt* here propoſed; the enduring Difficulties, the running that *Race* of Sufferings, mentioned in the *Epiſtle* to the *Hebrews* (and ſtiled there ἀγων) the *Suffering* on Account of this Faith, and by the powerful Aſſiſtance of it: Not the *Fury* of *Zeal*, in bringing Others to Corporal Sufferings, for the Sake of what They believed; but the Conſtancy of Patience in ſuffering themſelves for what They knew to have been *delivered to them* by their Maſter and Saviour. And this Senſe will not be at all diſagreeable to the Word in the *Original*; or the *Circumſtances* of *Chriſtians* at that Time; or to the reſt of the *Epiſtle*: in which ſome Men amongſt *Chriſtians* are deſcribed as Wicked Perverters of the Goſpel; and ready to deny the *Faith* They profeſſed.

But, if we take the Word as implying merely a Conteſt for the Faith againſt theſe *Primitive Adverſaries*, here mentioned, as crept in amongſt *Chriſtians*; We cannot help obſerving how they are deſcribed all through this ſhort *Epiſtle*: Not, as honeſt *Enquirers* after Truth, but as wicked *Perverters* of the whole Deſign of *Chriſtianity*: Not, as Perſons willing to receive that *Faith*, which had been *delivered to the Saints*; but, as wilful Oppoſers of what they might have known to have been ſo *delivered*: Not, as Perſons ready to lay down their Lives, or ſuffer all worldly Inconveniences, for what, after their beſt Inquiries, appeared to them to have been the *true Faith* of *Chriſtians*; but, as Perſons ready to renounce what they would otherwiſe pretend to profeſs, for fear of Worldly Sufferings.

This Circumſtance will likewiſe teach *Chriſtians* the *Meaſure*, the *Temper*, and the *Bounds*, of their *Conteſts* about their mutual Differences in ſome Points of *Belief*, at this great Diſtance from the original Delivery of the *Chriſtian Faith*: For, in what Men ſoever the *Marks* of unfeigned *Sincerity* are found, though but equal to Thoſe which we may ſuppoſe in Others; and eſpecially, if there be good ground to believe a Readineſs and Reſolution to ſuffer for what They apprehend to be Truth; and but as great a Probability of *their* ſuffering under the *Perſecution* of *Unbelievers*, if any *Perſecution* ſhould be, as there can be that any *Others* will have Conſtancy enough to do it: And, much more ſtill, if they give Proof, by the whole Tenor of their Lives, of their real *Faith* in *Jeſus Chriſt*; and actually renounce, upon any juſt Occaſion, many of the Comforts and Supports of this World, for the Sake of what they think to be His Will: I ſay, upon theſe Suppoſitions, the Characters and Deſcriptions in this *Epiſtle* are not adapted nor deſigned for ſuch Men; nor are theſe the Perſons againſt whom *Chriſtians* are allarmed and forewarned in the *Text*.

But, granting that all ſuch profeſſed *Chriſtians* are here comprehended, as do truly, or are ſuppoſed to, err in Points of *Faith*; what is the *Remedy*, or the Method propoſed to *Chriſtians*, in this Caſe? It is a plain one, and was very eaſy in thoſe early Days: No other than, in all their Conteſts about ſuch Matters, to keep themſelves ſtrictly to the *Faith*, which *had been*, before this, *delivered to the Saints*. This leads us to the

II. *Second Enquiry* I propoſed, *viz.* by what Methods we can moſt effectually anſwer the real original Deſign of theſe Words.

The *firſt* Obſervation which here naturally offers itſelf, is, That, in order to *contend earneſtly* for the *Faith delivered to Chriſtians*, before this Epiſtle was written, we muſt find out what that *Faith* was, which was then actually and compleatly delivered. And this will neceſſarily engage us to aſk, where *We* ſhall ſeek for it, who live ſo many Ages from that Time? And what can we anſwer to this, but that we muſt ſeek for it in thoſe Books, in which alone it is to be found; which were either writ *before* this Epiſtle; or by Perſons of that Age, empowered to deliver this *Faith*; not to be ſuſpected of Error in their Delivery of it, and enabled to prove their Commiſſion to the World: who, therefore, muſt be allowed to *deliver the ſame Faith*, without any Variation or Contradiction. To this plain, and only ſatisfactory Method, I am ſenſible there are many *Adverſaries*, and many *Objections* raiſed.

There are ſome *Chriſtians*, (and a very numerous Body of Men they are,) who know no other Guides, but the living Guides of the preſent Church; and acknowledge no other *Faith*, for the Faith *once delivered to the Saints*, about *Seventeen Hundred* Years ago, but that which is *now* delivered to them by their *preſent Rulers*, as ſuch. One Part of Theſe, and much the greater, take a very ſhort Method of eſtabliſhing this Point; and That is, by firſt laying down the *Infallibility* of the *Preſent* Church, and of every Man of the paſt Ages, through whoſe Mouth, or by whoſe Hands, the preſent *Traditions* of *Faith* have all deſcended to them. And this, indeed, would be a very good Method, if that ſingle Point of *Infallibility* could be proved.

But this is a *Point* ſo groſs, and ſo utterly void of all Proof, that a great Body of the *Chriſtian World* have broke looſe from the Power of this Monſter. And, in order to This, they had no other way but to declare for the *New Teſtament* itſelf, as the only *Guide*, or *Rule* of *Faith*; the only *Deliverer* of this *Faith* to *Us* of later Ages. And This is the very *Rule*, I have now laid down. But, when This comes to be put in Practice; too many of the ſame Perſons, who have ſet it up as the Only Guide, turn round on a ſudden, and let us know that They mean by it, not thoſe Sacred Original Writings themſelves, but the *Interpretations*, or *Senſe*, put upon them by Our Spiritual *Superiours*, to which We are ſometimes ſaid to be obliged, and bound in Duty to ſubmit;

and

and ſometimes are allowed a *Liberty* of *Examination*: but in effect, put under an Obligation to find *That* to be *Truth* which is taught by theſe Leaders.

Upon *this* Head, there is again as great a Variety of Judgement, as there is amongſt Others about the *Seat* of *Infallibility*. Sometimes, we are aſked, whether we ought not to pay a Regard to Thoſe whoſe Buſineſs, and probably ſincere Study, it is, to find out the Truth; and to diſpenſe it to Us? Yes, undoubtedly; the Regard of ſerious Attention, and the Reſpect of a due Examination of what They affirm: but not the *Submiſſion* due only to *Infallibility*. Shall we not ſubmit *our* low Underſtandings to the higher Underſtandings of Others? or ſhall we pretend to oppoſe Our Judgements to Thoſe of our *Superiors*, in Matters of this Kind? Let theſe, and the like, Queſtions be aſked concerning the *Chriſtian Laity*, in *all* the *Popiſh*, and *many* of the *Proteſtant*, Countries: and Thoſe of *our* Church will unanimouſly anſwer, No: The Rule is quite otherwiſe. Nay, with regard to the *Reformation*, it has been long ago, with one conſent, ſaid, that it was a glorious thing not to ſubmit to the *Voice* of *Any* Men: but to reſerve *that* Regard, for *God*, and for *Chriſt*, in Matters of *Faith* once *delivered to the Saints*.

And, again, It is aſked by others, Is there not a ſurer way of knowing what was *delivered* about *Seventeen hundred Years* ago, than by going Ourſelves to thoſe Books which are acknowledged by All to have been *then* written? Shall we not take that *Original* Faith more ſecurely from the *Councils* of *Grave* and *Good* Men, met together, perhaps *Hundreds* of Years afterwards, for the ſetling that *Faith*; or from the Writings of particular ancient *Doctors?* To which it muſt be anſwered, That the Judgement of Theſe ought to have its *due Weight* with All who can come to find out what that Judgement was: but that its *due Weight* is only ſuch as it ought to have, after it ſhall be compared with the Declarations of the *firſt Writings*, to which it almoſt always profeſſes to conform; and into which, at laſt, all the Weight muſt be reſolved: That the Wiſeſt and Greateſt of theſe Men, ſuppoſing them uncapable of deceiving Others, yet were very capable of being deceived Themſelves: That they very often differ from one another, and ſometimes from themſelves; and that They cannot give ſo good an Account of the *Faith* contained in the *Original Books*, as the *Books Themſelves* which contain it.

The *Queſtion* now before Us may be ſoon and effectually reſolved, by aſking, Which is the beſt and ſecureſt Way of knowing exactly the Doctrine of *any particular* Church, ſuppoſe the *Church* of *England*, delivered at the Time of the *Reformation?* Whether by conſulting the Writings of particular Divines, many Years *after* that Period; or Any Aſſembly of them at this Diſtance; or from the *Authentick Acts*, and Declarations, and *Sermons*, made and recorded at the very Time We are enquiring after; and explained *by* all the Helps from *Hiſtory* and *contemporary Writings*, which we can procure? For this *Inſtance* is very proper to clear up what I have been ſaying, as it will prove to Us, beyond all Contradiction, That the Doctrine, even of a particular Church; and a Doctrine recorded and ſet down in as accurate a Manner, as was thought neceſſary for the avoiding Diverſity of Opinions; *That* even ſuch a Doctrine may, in *Fifty Years* time, come to undergo ſome *Alterations*; and, in a few Years more, to be entirely changed, in the Writings and Diſcourſes of moſt of the Members of the ſame Church. I mean particularly the Points of Doctrine, called the *Five Points*, relating to *Juſtification*, and God's *Decrees*, and the like: which were at firſt eſteemed as *Fundamental*, and even *Eſſential*, to the Church of *Chriſt*, as any others can be; And yet have been at length much changed by gradual Alterations. For, as the

Writers and Explainers were *Many*, This Number naturally, in a very few Years, produced a very remarkable Variation from what was once ſetled; Every one who writes unavoidably uſing his own Style, and Manner of Expreſſion, which often alone begins the Change; and perhaps, in ſome Caſes, his own *Scheme* of *Philoſophy*, which, introduced into *Religion*, very much affects the Scheme of *Doctrine* to be explained; and his own Judgement in interpreting and commenting upon the *Words already* fixed; which carries forward the ſame Change.— And if This be applied to the Firſt Chriſtian Writers, after the *Apoſtles* were departed; it will prove that, as their *Language*, and *Philoſophy*, were various; and, as they were naturally led by theſe to differ from one another, in what they profeſſed to explain and ſetle; great *Variations* from the *Original* Doctrine might eaſily, by degrees, creep into the *Doctrines delivered by* Them; and therefore, that nothing remains to Us, firm and ſtable in Points of *Faith*, but what is recorded in the *Firſt Original* Books themſelves, as the *Faith* once delivered by *Chriſt*, and his *Apoſtles*.

The *Proteſtant* Rule, therefore, remains true and righteous, notwithſtanding the Attempts of many to weaken and confound it. To find out what that *Faith* was, which was *once delivered to the Saints*, as neceſſary for all *Chriſtians*, there is no other Method for a *Chriſtian*, at this Diſtance, to take, but to ſearch thoſe Books in which it was at firſt *delivered*. And the Rule for his Direction in that Enquiry is, That every thing neceſſary to be believed by Him, conſidered as a *Chriſtian*, is in thoſe Books not left to be gathered by *Conſequences*, or *Implications*; but declared expreſly to be neceſſary to his obtaining the Favour of God promiſed to *Chriſtians*. Theſe are the Points he is to attend to, whilſt he is ſearching after what is the *Faith* abſolutely neceſſary to *Him*, as a *Chriſtian*. For no one can poſſibly think, that every thing *abſolutely neceſſary* is not, in the *Goſpel Revelation*, expreſly proclaimed *to be ſo*: The Suppoſition of which will make it a very uſeleſs, or, at leaſt, a very imperfect *Rule*; or, rather, *no Rule* at all.

The Goodneſs and Wiſdom of God will be manifeſt from this *Rule*; becauſe the *Points*, *expreſly* declared, in expreſs Words, to be *neceſſary*, will be found to be few, and not ſurrounded with that *Confuſion* and *Darkneſs* which Human Explications and Additions have brought in by way of *Light*. For, as the *Wiſdom of Men is Fooliſhneſs with God*; ſo is the *Light* of *Men*, who would be wiſe, in Matters of *Revelation* alone, above what is written, *Darkneſs* with God. To proceed:

As the *Senſe*, or Meaning of the Declarations of this kind, in the *New Teſtament*, is to be the Matter of *Chriſtian Faith*; the only *Rule* is, That in order to find out the *Faith once delivered*, we muſt all endeavour, to the utmoſt of our Power, to find out the true *Senſe* of thoſe Paſſages, in which any thing is declared neceſſary to be believed, in order to our Salvation; and to this Purpoſe, muſt make uſe of our own Underſtandings, and form the beſt Judgement we ourſelves can. I know of no other *Rule*, but this, given by Almighty God, for the Direction both of the *Learned*, and of the *Unlearned*. And if *He* has left no other Guide, no other ought to be impoſed upon the World, by way of *Emendation* to the *Rule* of *Heaven*. As to the *Learned*; it is generally allowed, that This may be a good Rule for Them. But with relation to the *Unlearned*, great Outcries are made upon their *Frailty*, their *Ignorance*, their frequent *Errors*; and the like. Whereas, if *Frailties* and *Errors* be real *Objections*; they lie as much againſt its being a *Rule* for the *Learned* themſelves; who have, in all Ages of the *Church*, been the chief Fountains, both of real and reputed *Schiſms* and *Hereſies*. It muſt, therefore, ſtill be the *Rule*, not only for the *Learned*, but even for the *Unlearned*.

Unlearned. And, if it be found true, that the *Points*, declared neceſſary to Salvation, are, at leaſt, as well and plainly expreſſed in the *Words* of the *New Teſtament*, as any Man, or Collection of Men, can now expreſs them; and that, in theſe Points, *expreſly* declared to be *Neceſſary*, all *Tranſlations* agree; and that, in the Scripture *Words*, expreſſing them, all *Learned* Men, of all Parties, agree; Theſe muſt amount to a moral Certainty to act upon, in ſuch a *Caſe:* eſpecially when it is added, That it has not pleaſed God to ſetle any other Rule for their Guidance. When St. *Peter* complained that the *Unlearned*, and *Unſtable*, in thoſe early Days, wreſted the other *Scriptures*, as well as ſome Words of St. *Paul*, to *their own Deſtruction*; this could not be meant of the *Unlearned*, in our modern Senſe of that Word; but probably pointed out Thoſe *Bad Chriſtians*, who, *not having learnt* the true Nature of their Religion, neglected the *plain* neceſſary Points delivered, and diſtorted ſome *obſcure* Paſſages to wicked Purpoſes, in their Practice. But whatever He meant; He himſelf propoſed no Method of *Cure* for this *Evil*, but the *Warning* He gives of it, and the *Care* which He teaches all to take, againſt being ſeduced by ſuch Errors of the *Wicked*; and the *Advice* he adds to *increaſe* in the *Knowledge* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, 2 Pet. iii. 16, 17, 18.

We may, therefore, go on to obſerve, that, as it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that any Man can be *ſaved* by the *Faith* of *Another*; or by any *Belief*, but what is truly *his own*; ſo, there is no poſſible Method of having a *Faith* of his own, properly ſo called, without building it entirely upon what appears right to his own Judgement, ſuch as it is, after his beſt *Endeavours* for Information; and his ſincereſt Care to find out what God requires in the Goſpel. If he reſts his Hopes of Heaven upon his profeſſing to *believe*, as *another* Man, or Body of Men, profeſs to believe; in the *firſt* place, He does not know whether They themſelves *believe*, or only pretend to believe, what they lay upon Others to *profeſs*; and in the *next* place, it is certain, He really, in this Method, believes nothing by any *Faith* of his own; but only thinks He believes, becauſe he is pleaſed to take certain Points upon Truſt; and to be ſure that ſomething is right, of which He himſelf knows nothing, becauſe Another, whom he deputes to think for him, tells him that it is ſo; or rather, that it ought to be ſo profeſſed. How great a *Deluſion* is this, for any Man to imagine that he can be made acceptable to God by a *Faith* which is *not his own*, but the *ſuppoſed Faith* of Others!

Let the Shame of ſuch an *Abſurdity* be left to *That* Church alone, which is forced to add *Abſurdity* to *Abſurdity*, in order to make the Heap *conſiſtent*; and which alone may, with any Decency, teach that *Chriſtians* are ſaved only by Believing (that is, thinking they believe) as the *Church* believes. For, after having taught, that Men may be ſaved by the *Good Works* of *Others*, though they have none of their own; It may conſiſtently add to this, another comfortable Point, that Men may be ſaved by the *Faith* of *Others*, though they have none of their own: Eſpecially having, in its *Syſtem* of *Faith*, ſo many *Articles* of *Supererogation*; as well as, in its *Saints*, ſo many *Works* of *Supererogation.* But let not *Proteſtants* follow them, though at never ſo great a Diſtance, in this *Deſtruction* of *Chriſtianity.* No one can have a *Faith* of his own, who makes not uſe of his own *Judgement*, in fixing in his Mind what God calls upon him to believe, as neceſſary to a *Chriſtian.* And *This* is the Reaſon why he is to make uſe of *his own* Judgement; not becauſe it is better than the Judgement of Others; nor becauſe he himſelf imagines, or thinks, it to be better: but becauſe it is *his own.* It is the *beſt* God has been pleaſed to give him; and, being his own, it is therefore, his Guide in this Matter, without which he can have *no Faith* of *his* own; and conſequently, without the Exerciſe of which, He cannot pleaſe God.

So far is this from being the *Arrogance*, or *Pride*, of ſetting up His own Judgement againſt his *Superiors*, in a bad Senſe; or vaunting it as better than *Theirs*; that it is his Duty, his abſolute Duty, to make uſe of it, in the Caſe of the *Faith* once *delivered to the Saints*. Let what will be the Conſequence of this, it is the only Rule God has left him to walk by. Without this, he will be ſo far from contending for the *Faith once delivered to the Saints*, that he cannot know ſo much as what it is; nor have *any Faith* at all, to *contend for*.

Add to this, what muſt always be remarked, that Almighty God can guard againſt all the ſuppoſed bad Conſequences of *his own* Rule, better than all the Wiſdom of this World put together: Which, we ſee in the preſent Caſe, never fails, in attempting to cure the *Evils* of ſuch a reaſonable *Rule*, to *kill* and deſtroy that *real Faith*, which this Method alone can procure. And not only this; but He, who is alſo the great Judge of the World, can and will make all thoſe Allowances for the Errors of his imperfect Creatures, in their ſincere following of *his own Rule*; which He will not be at all obliged to make, for the miſerable and wicked Conſequences of ſetting up a *Rule* of *their own*, in Contradiction to *His*. But I come now,

III. To conclude with a few *Obſervations*, naturally ariſing from what has been ſaid. And

1. I ſhall only juſt obſerve, as I paſs, if this *Text* ſhould be found, at laſt, to refer to the *Conteſts* of *Chriſtians*, ſuffering Themſelves for what They themſelves believe! how greatly, and how fatally, are They miſtaken, who apply it to the making *Others* ſuffer, in any Inſtance, ſmall or great, for what thoſe *Others* do *not* believe? Thus transferring, according to the vicious Self-love of Human Nature, the irkſome Duty of undergoing the fiery *Trial*, or *Conteſt*, themſelves, for what they themſelves believe; to *Others*, whom They often bring to Diſtreſs and Suffering, for the ſake of *not believing* exactly the ſame! But ſuppoſing the Words to relate to the *Conteſts* of profeſſed *Chriſtians*, in Matters of *Faith* one againſt another,

2. It is evident, that the *Laws* of the *Chriſtian Conteſt* muſt be the *Laws* of the *Chriſtian Religion*; and that whoever tranſgreſſes one of theſe Laws, in this Combat, forfeits all Right to the Reward of a *Conqueror*. And this at once cuts off all Pretence from *Chriſtians*, under Colour of ſecuring or ſetling the *Faith*, of contending for it, or any ſuppoſed Part of it, by the *Wrath of Man*; or, even the Anger and Paſſion of Words; much more, by the *Terror* of *Corporal Puniſhments*: In a word, by any Method, but what is preſcribed in the *Goſpel* itſelf.

3. Since we have, by God's Providence, thoſe *Antient Books*, in which our Lord himſelf, his *Apoſtles*, and their *Companions*, have compleatly laid down what is of neceſſity to be believed; how injurious is it to repreſent Thoſe as *Innovators*, whoſe whole Deſign is to bring *Chriſtians* to ſearch out their *Faith* in thoſe Books! The *Faith*, which is there recorded, muſt be the moſt *antient* Faith: And, therefore, cannot poſſibly lie under the Imputation of *Novelty*. The *Additions* to it of *After-ages*, let them be as near as poſſible to thoſe *Firſt Writings*, yet ſtill are truly *Innovations* and *Novelties*, with reſpect to what was ſetled *before* them. Neither can any Length of Time, or any Number of Ages, give them the true *Antiquity* of *Chriſt's Religion*, or ever make them any other than *Novelties*, and *Innovations*. And whoever refer *Chriſtians* to any Writings, or Tranſactions, of Ages later than the *Apoſtolical*; unleſs it be as they may refer them to any Writings of the preſent Age, by way of Helps and Aſſiſtances, to find out the Meaning of what was *before delivered*; Theſe are properly the Introducers and Encouragers of *Innovations* in the *Chriſtian Religion*. But,

4. I cannot but obſerve, that, in order to preſerve this *Faith, delivered* in thoſe Antient Books, entire; the moſt ſecure, as well as the moſt Chriſtian way, is to preſerve the *Old Words*, and the *Old Language*, of thoſe Books, as unvaried and unchanged, as poſſible. The Reaſon is plain, becauſe They are the *Words* in which it pleaſed God it ſhould at firſt be *delivered.* And therefore, though many Perſons may miſtake in their different Apprehenſions concerning the Senſe of theſe Words; yet, we may be ſure, whilſt we retain theſe Words, that we retain what God himſelf has ſeen fit ſhould be *delivered* and tranſmitted to us, as the beſt Conveyance, all things conſidered, of the *Faith* required of Us. This I mean particularly with regard to thoſe *Articles* of *Belief*, which are properly *Chriſtian*; becauſe *Theſe* could not be ſo much as known to *Chriſtians* at all, but by the Declarations of the very *Author* and *Finiſher* of their *Faith.* It may be otherwiſe in the Point of *Worſhip*; and in the *Moral Rules* of *Practiſe*; in which Reaſon, or Natural Religion, may be neceſſarily applied, to ſetle the true Meaning and Extent of what is ſaid. But as to *Points* of *Faith*, peculiar to *Chriſtians*, I do not ſee how any Rule can be better than what I am now laying down: Nor any thing more reaſonable, than that All ſhould be accounted *Chriſtians*, who profeſs the *Points*, properly called the *Points* of *Chriſtian Faith*, in the *Words* in which They were delivered, and now are expreſſed, in the *New Teſtament* itſelf.

I am ſenſible, it is ſaid, that Hereſies aroſe, *i. e.* that *ſome* Men differed from *Others*, in their Notions founded upon theſe *Words:* And therefore, it was thought neceſſary to change the *Language*, in which this *Faith* was delivered to us. But did not Almighty God foreſee this great Evil, of Difference of Opinion, in the Points in which Men have ſince differed? He did: And yet He left our *Faith* delivered in thoſe *Words*, which are ſaid to have been the Foundation of thoſe Differences. Or, are We wiſer than God, in chuſing more effectual Words to this Purpoſe, than thoſe in which the Perſons commiſſioned by Him delivered His Will? Who will ſay this? Or did He appoint that, in After-ages, the *Antient Language* ſhould be totally changed, for a *New Syſtem* of Words; and that the *Faith* of *Chriſtians* ſhould be delivered over again in *Novel Expreſſions?* If he did, let a plain Text be produced; and not ſuch a conſequential Argument, of the Uſefulneſs or Fitneſs of it, as may be urged, even for the *Popiſh Infallibility* itſelf.

But when *New Language* has, by the Help of ſuch an Argument, been introduced; what has been the Effect? Good and Honeſt Men alone have been the Sufferers. *Theſe* have been cramped and diſturbed, and, perhaps, deprived of all worldly Privileges, by it. The Diſhoneſt, and Unthinking, and Slaviſh, Minds have always rejoiced in ſuch an earthly *Peculium*, as this Method ſecures to them. And, if we conſult Experience, the *New Words* invented for the Security of the *Faith*, with regard both to *Learned* and *Unlearned*, have been generally, ſuch as have increaſed, and not diminiſhed, *Hereſies* and *Schiſms:* Hard Terms, metaphyſical and abſtruſe Expreſſions, ambiguous themſelves, though introduced under Pretence of avoiding Ambiguity; utterly *unintelligible* by the *Unlearned*, who yet are to be ſaved by *Faith* as well as others; and eternally *debated* amongſt the *Learned.* And thus it will always be, when Men become wiſer, *in their own Conceit*, to prevent Evils, than God himſelf. They firſt go out of the Road which He has chalked out: and then they find, at the End, that they cauſe a great deal of Evil, without preventing any: And only invent Inſtruments to *diſtreſs*, but not to *convince*, any Man of his real, or ſuppoſed, *Errors.*

Laſtly, By contending for the *Faith*, as it was once delivered to the *Saints* in the *New Teſtament*, we ſhall only preſs upon Men the receiving what it has pleaſed God to deliver; but ſhall avoid that *Great Evil* of enforcing upon *Them* the *Conſequences*, which *We* ourſelves ſee, or think we ſee, to follow from the Doctrines firſt delivered. It derogates from the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God to think that He has not provided, that all Points truly *fundamental*, ſhould be delivered in *expreſs* Terms, and, in ſo many Words, declared to be *fundamental*. And this muſt ever be a great Prejudice againſt any Point enforced by *Men*, as *fundamental*; to find them obliged to deduce it by a *Conſequential* Arguing from their own Senſe of the Words of Scripture.

The juſt Conſequences from any *Truth*, are, certainly, equally true with that *Truth*, from which they follow. And it is as certain, that to *Him* who ſees them to follow, or thinks he ſees them, they are as *Truths*; and may juſtly be maintained as ſuch. But they are not ſo to Others, who ſee them not in the ſame Light. Nor can they be made neceſſary to be believed by Others, till theſe Others themſelves diſcover their *Relation* to the *Primitive Truths* of Religion: And then they will, of Courſe, and Neceſſity, believe them. But to make the Conſequences, ſuppoſed or real, of *fundamental Doctrines*, to be *fundamental* to *All Chriſtians*, and neceſſary to be *explicitly* believed, is firſt to create a *new Rule of Faith*; and then it is to ſuppoſe, as a Truth, what is the greateſt Falſehood in Fact, that all Men's Capacities and Underſtandings are equally fitted to ſee the ſame *Deductions*, and the ſame *Conſequences*, which Some may ſee.

And this is a great Objection againſt all *Innovations* of *Language* in fundamental Points; That almoſt all thoſe *New* Words and Phraſes, upon which the greateſt Streſs has been laid, are ſeen to be framed from *Conſequential Arguings*: not to be merely *other* Words for the *Old* Words, but to be framed upon a particular *Interpretation* of thoſe *Old Words*, and by a Train of Conſequences drawn from the antient Expreſſions, explained in a particular Manner.

In fine, the *Faith* to be *contended* for, was compleatly delivered, *before* it was to be contended for. The *Direction* of *Other* Men's *Faith* is not, *our* Capacity of ſeeing Conſequences, or *our* Skill in Interpreting; but the plain Declarations of *Chriſt*, and his *Apoſtles*. To *contend* for it, in the very Form in which it was at firſt *once delivered*, is a Glory to a *Chriſtian*. It is to follow God, by contending for it in a Method ſurrounded with thoſe Inconveniencies only, with which it has pleaſed Him to leave it ſurrounded, for the Trial of the Sincerity of his Servants. To contend for the *Faith*, as it has been *over* and *over again* delivered by *Men*, has, at leaſt, this Evil in it, that it is a forſaking the Method *choſen* by Almighty God, as inſufficient; and chuſing *Another*, which, by being effectually purſued, has been already ſeen to be the Inlet of All *Superſtition*, all *Abſurdity*, and all *Perſecution*, into the *Church* of *Chriſt*: from the *Reproach*, and *Guilt*, and *Burthen*, of which, may it pleaſe God at length to deliver it, through his Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, our Lord!

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Of Judging One Another.

SERMON III.

Preached before the KING, *February* 18, $17\frac{21}{22}$.

ROMANS xiv. 4.

Who art Thou that judgeſt another Man's Servant? To his own Maſter he ſtandeth, or falleth.

WE find, in this Chapter, the *Apoſtle*, with his uſual Zeal, oppoſing that Spirit of Cenſuring and Judging One Another, which very early ſhewed itſelf in the *Chriſtian Church*; and, at the ſame time, diſplaying before the Eyes of all *Chriſtians*, in his own Example, the greateſt Inſtance of Temper and good Conduct in this reſpect. He knew the Genius of the *Chriſtian Religion* perfectly well. He was acquainted where the *Truth* lay, in thoſe Differences which raiſed this Spirit of Cenſure in his Time. He is free to declare his own Judgement, on *one* ſide of the Queſtion. But though He had all the Light and Authority of an *Apoſtle*, to enforce an *Agreement* with Himſelf; yet, He choſe rather to plead, even with Warmth, for Condeſcenſion, and Love, and Regard, to Thoſe who were not of his Mind; and whom He knew to be in an Error.

The things which gave ground for this ill Behaviour of *Chriſtians* to one another, were of the ſmalleſt Moment; *Some* thinking to pleaſe their common Maſter, amongſt other greater Matters, with obſerving ſeveral *Jewiſh* and trivial Rules with reſpect to Eating, and Holydays, and the like; *Others*, thinking this a Weakneſs, and that *Chriſtians* were freed from ſuch like Burthens: But *neither* contented with enjoying their own Judgements; but *One* Sort cenſuring and judging the *Other*, for the Obſervation, or Neglect, of ſuch Matters, juſt according as They themſelves thought fit either to obſerve, or neglect, them. Here it was fit, therefore, for the *Apoſtle* to interpoſe; and ſhew the Nature and Temper of *Chriſtianity*, with reſpect to the Caſe before Him. But, alas! this evil Spirit of *Cenſure*, and *Judging*, was not then layed, even by the *Authority* of an *Apoſtle*: nor by the *Argument* taken from that *Day of the Lord*, which He placed in their view, and from that *Judgement-ſeat* of *Chriſt*, their common Maſter, to which He directed their Minds; that they might not dare to raiſe *Judgement-ſeats* of their own, in order to try and condemn One Another.

Too much of this Spirit was ſtill ſeen in the earlieſt Ages of the *Church*, and too much remains to this Day: to which there is no other Remedy to be applied, but the ſame Remedy preſcribed in the *Goſpel*; the ſame Rules laid down by St. *Paul*; and the ſame Argument, which he thought fit to make uſe of. For, *Chriſtianity* was reveled from Heaven, not only to lead Men into all neceſſary *Truth*; but into the Paths of *Humanity* towards Thoſe who are really in *Error*, or ſuppoſed to be ſo: to conquer the Tempers and Paſſions of Men; to teach them not to make their own Notions the Meaſure of other Men's

Conduct; to habituate them to ſuch a forbearing, complying, yielding, and tender Diſpoſition, as may be a moving Argument to their great and ſupreme Judge, at laſt, to forgive and acknowledge Them.

There being, therefore, ſo much of the contrary Spirit to this, ſtill reigning amongſt *Chriſtians*, though not one Grain of it in *Chriſtianity* itſelf, it muſt be very proper to conſider the Argument, here made uſe of by St. *Paul*; and ſee, if it will not help to cure that Diſtemper of Mind, by which many *Chriſtians* ſtill rave againſt Others, with all the Marks and Expreſſions of Enmity and Reproach; and often ſhut the Gates of the *Church*, and of *Heaven* itſelf, againſt them; declare them unacceptable to God; and condemn them, with as much Authority and Solemnity, as if They were appointed by God to be their final Judges. *Who art Thou*, ſays the Apoſtle, *that judgeſt the Servant of Another? To his own Maſter he ſtandeth, or falleth.* From which Words, the *following Particulars* may properly be recommended to *Chriſtians*, as Arguments againſt this Spirit of *Cenſure* and *Judging*.

I. That we are not qualified thus to ſit in *Judgement* upon One Another.

II. That it is not the Province of *Us*, who are but *Fellow-ſervants* to the ſame *Maſter*.

III. That it is a Province peculiarly reſerved to *Himſelf*, by that common Maſter whom We all ſerve. To which let us add, what is implied to the ſame Purpoſe, ver. 10, of this *Chapter*,

IV. That it is our Buſineſs to prepare for the final Judgement of Ourſelves, and not to be found judging Others. *For we ſhall all ſtand before the Judgement-ſeat of Chriſt*: And, ver. 12, *Every One of Us ſhall give an Account of* Himſelf *to* GOD.

I. We are not at all qualified thus to ſit in *Judgement* upon One Another. For, *Who art Thou that judgeſt Another*, but a weak, prejudiced, fallible Man thyſelf; and, conſequently, not at all qualified for ſuch an Office? This is, indeed, a ſtrong Conſideration, againſt our aſſuming to Ourſelves the Office of Judging Others, That *We* are void of all thoſe Qualifications, which are requiſite to our *judging aright* about Them; and particularly, with regard to their Religious Conduct; in which we are moſt apt to exerciſe this Dominion over them. For, being Ourſelves *weak* and *fallible*, and often paſſionate Men, We are ſo eaſily impoſed upon and miſled; ſo inſenſibly and even undeſignedly prejudiced; ſo little acquainted with the firſt Springs of Action in Others; ſo wholly Strangers to the inward Thoughts and Deſigns of their Hearts; ſo unable to know all the ſeveral Circumſtances that ought to be thrown into the Balance; (their Education; the unavoidable Bias put upon their Minds, before They were able to think for Themſelves; their natural Tempers; their Inducements and Motives;) and ſo unwilling to make all thoſe neceſſary and due Allowances, which We always expect in our own Caſe: That, on all theſe, and many more Accounts, who would venture ſo far out of his Depth, as to declare, or inſinuate, any thing concerning not only the evil Deſigns of *Others*, but their Unacceptableneſs to God; who have no other apparent and viſible Mark of wilful *Evil* upon Them, but their differing, in ſome Opinions, or circumſtantial Practices, from Ourſelves?

And there is one great Proof of our being unqualified, either by the Defects of our Wills, or our Underſtandings, to ſet up Ourſelves for *Judges* over *Others*; that it is our conſtant Way, in this unreaſonable Procedure, to *judge* Others by our own Notions, and our own Opinions, *i. e.* by our own Powers and Capacities: Whereas God Almighty, the great Searcher of all Hearts, will not judge one Man by the Notions of Another, but by the Man's own Notions, and his own Capacity. And He is infallible in his *Deciſions*, and unerring in his Knowledge, of what is Truth. *We* condemn *Others*, not becauſe they are not conſiſtent with Themſelves; not becauſe they ſpeak, or act, in Religion, againſt *their own* Conſciences; but becauſe they agree not with Us, or contradict our Opinions. A Procedure, which all Men ſo conſtantly judge to be unjuſtifiable, when it comes to their own Turn to be ſo uſed, that They think Nothing more unreaſonable; or more unjuſt. Did we truly value and regard that Simplicity, and Integrity of Mind, without which *Truth* itſelf is but an accidental Thing, and of no Value to the Poſſeſſor; or had We a true Chriſtian Love of our Neighbour; We ſhould take a Delight in every Mark of apparent *Honeſty*, which We meet with, even where We meet with the greateſt Difference of Opinion at the ſame Time: and our great Concern would be *then* expreſſed, when We find ſo much of what Others perhaps think, or call, *Truth*, taken up without Examination; repoſited in ill-tempered Minds; void of all other Recommendation, but an accidental Agreement with Ourſelves. But whilſt our Paſſions are ſtrong, as our Underſtandings are weak; and whilſt We are as unwilling to treat any thing well, but what is agreeable to our own Notions, as We are unable to ſee and know what is requiſite to our making a due Judgement of *Others*; We ought to acknowledge Ourſelves unfit for the Office; and to keep at as great a Diſtance from it, as poſſible. But,

II. As We are not at all qualified for the Work of judging Others; ſo it is wholly out of our Province, who are Ourſelves but *Fellow-ſervants* with Thoſe whom We thus treat as if We were their *Lords* and *Maſters*. *Who art Thou that judgeſt the Servant of Another?* One in the ſame Rank and Order with Thyſelf? His being of another Mind, or differing in Judgement, about ſome Things relating to his Maſter's Service, in which honeſt Men may differ; is no real Injury to Us; it imports no Calamity; threatens Us with no Ruine: and therefore We have not the Pretenſe of *Self-defence*, or *Self-preſervation*, to take upon Us the Province. If *theſe* have any thing to do in this Matter, it muſt be to induce Us to act a quite contrary Part. For Nothing will ſo reconcile Others to Us; Nothing will ſo meliorate and ſoften their Diſpoſitions towards Ourſelves; Nothing will ſo defend Us from thoſe Cenſures and Judgements, which are ſo uneaſy to Us, when they come to be our own Lot; as our not cenſuring and judging *Them*. For *They* have as much Right to do it to *Us*, as We have to *Them*. *We* differ as much from *Them*, as *They* do from *Us*. *They* are as tenacious of what they believe, as *We* are of our own Faith: and think it as ſacred, and as important, as We can think our own: and, as far as We can know, are as fully perſuaded, that it has all the Marks of *Truth* upon it. We ſee, therefore, Our great Buſineſs is, with Honeſty and Integrity, to ſerve our own Maſter. If we ſhould think it too much for our Fellow-ſervants, to interrupt and moleſt *Us*, in what We are perſuaded is for his Service, or the Propagation of what He approves; and eſteem *them* much out of their Province, in ſuch a Behaviour, let Us learn that We are equally out of *our* Province, when We, in the ſame Manner, diſturb and vex our *Fellow-ſervants*, with our ſevere *Cenſures*, and Judgements.

III. It is to be particularly conſidered, that this is the Province reſerved to *Himſelf*, by that common Maſter whom We all ſerve. *Who art Thou that judgeth another's Servant? To his own Maſter he ſtandeth, or falleth*; that *Maſter* whom he ſerveth, whoſe Diſciple he is, who is to be his *Judge*; and whoſe peculiar Office it is to determine concerning the Behaviour of his Servants, from Multitudes of Circumſtances, which He alone can and does know. To *Him* the laſt Appeal is juſtly made. He is qualified for the Office, being perfectly knowing, wiſe, and good; perfectly free from all Bias and Prejudice; fully acquainted with every Particular neceſſary to the forming a right Judgement; and fully diſpoſed to make all fitting and reaſonable Allowances, for his *Creatures* and *Servants*; and none, but ſuch as are ſo. And this Office peculiarly belongs to Him, as he Himſelf has declared; He being the Maſter, who will call every individual Servant to give up his own Account; to be judged according to his own Capacity; his own Talents; his own Opportunities; and not according to thoſe of other Men, or according to the Humours and Paſſions of Others of his Fellow-ſervants. And this being declared to be the Province of God himſelf, in order to deter Us from meddling with it; how ſhould it affect Us to conſider, that whatever raſh, haſty, ungrounded, prejudiced, uncandid, *Judgement*, We paſs upon our Neighbour, for what perhaps, he, in the Simplicity of his Heart, believes to be Service to God, and to *Chriſt:* We invade the Province of God; uſurp his Dominion; erect Ourſelves into Gods over our Brethren; and, like the Man of Sin, exalt Ourſelves to a Dignity and Office which is the ſacred Prerogative of God himſelf, who alone knoweth the Hearts of Men!

IV. I obſerved that the *Apoſtle* (in the 10th Verſe of this Chapter) puts *Chriſtians* in Mind, in order to remove their Thoughts from judging One Another, that *We ſhall all ſtand before the Judgement-ſeat of Chriſt*, and, in the 12th Verſe, that *We ſhall every One give an Account of himſelf to God:* plainly recommending it to our Thoughts, that We have enough to do to prepare for *our own Judgement*, at that great and ſolemn Day; without troubling Ourſelves with the cenſuring and judging Others. And, indeed, what greater Argument can there be? For, Who, that conſiders that there is a *Day* coming, when he ſhall himſelf appear before an All-knowing Judge, to be condemned or acquitted, as his own Actions have been agreeable or diſagreeable to the Law of his Maſter; Who, that conſiders that he has ſuch a Concern upon his Hands, ſuch a Trial to expect, ſuch a Judgement to meet, will eaſily find Time to employ upon the Behaviour of a *Fellow-ſervant*, whoſe Maſter he is not, and for whom he is not to anſwer?

Nay, Who that thinks of that ſolemn Day, does not hope for, and ſtand in need of, the Mercy of God to himſelf, or, in other Words, the Favour and Candour of his Judge? And who that conſiders the Matter in this Light, can ſuffer in himſelf a Severity towards Others; whilſt he himſelf expects all reaſonable Allowances at the Hands of his great Judge? *If Thou, Lord, ſhouldſt be extreme, to mark what is done amiſs; O Lord, who may abide it?* And, ſince it is this Extremity of *Rigour* in our great Judge, that We have ſo much Reaſon to dread for Ourſelves; how can We expect any other, if We be, not only *extreme to mark what is* really *amiſs*, but to judge and cenſure in our Brethren, what, for aught We know, may be founded upon the ſtricteſt Honeſty and Integrity; the moſt lovely Qualities in the Eyes of God? *Who art Thou*, therefore, O Man, *who judgeſt the Servant of Another? To his own Maſter he ſtandeth or falleth.* Nay, *We ſhall all ſtand before the Judgement-ſeat of Chriſt*; and *every One of Us ſhall give Account of* himſelf, and *not* of *Others, to God.* Theſe are Words which, as We have ſeen, contain the moſt powerful Argument againſt all unreaſonable *Cenſure*, and *Judging*, of our Brethren; ſuch Arguments as human Minds, rightly informed, and rightly diſpoſed, cannot withſtand.

But what is it, then, it may be ſaid, that *Chriſtianity* allows in this Caſe? Doth it not permit Us to take any Notice of the *Errors* and *Miſtakes*, in the important Matters of Religion, in which We imagine Others to be? Have We no Part to act with reſpect to *Them?* And are they wholly to be overlooked by Us? I anſwer, by no Means. The *Goſpel* rather obliges Us to take Notice of them, than the contrary. But this, in a Way very different from that in which generally *Chriſtians* have done it. Two Particulars I ſhall mention in anſwer to this Inquiry.

1ſt, We are not at all forbidden, but encouraged, to endeavour to remove all Prejudices, and Errors, out of the Minds of our *Fellow Chriſtians*; and to recommend to them, with all Demonſtration both of good Argument and Chriſtian Temper, the Way of *Truth*, which We are perſuaded is right. Thus, in this very *Chapter*, St. *Paul* doth not ſcruple to declare his own Judgement, in Favour of that Notion, that there was no Sort of Meat but what it was lawful to partake of; and this, to be ſure, with Deſign to lead inſenſibly thoſe *Chriſtians*, who were troubled with the contrary Scruple, into a true Notion of this Matter; that they might be rid of a falſe Notion in their Judgements, and a great Burthen in their Practice. And, without doubt, He would not have ſcrupled to have argued the Point more largely with any who were of another Mind, upon any juſt Occaſion. Nor is there the leaſt Reaſon to be given from *Chriſtianity*, or the Practice of the *Apoſtle*, why it ſhould not be allowable, and commendable, for any *Chriſtians* to endeavour to perſuade Others of their Errors, even though they be not of the firſt Order, or of the moſt malignant Conſequence. But then,

2dly, After this is done in the moſt inoffenſive Way, all the reſt muſt be left to *Chriſtian Charity*; which never ſhines brighter, never diſplays its Glory more, than when it ſhews its Power amongſt thoſe of different Minds, and different Perſuaſions. St. *Paul*, in this Chapter, layeth down his own Judgement. And, though he was an *Apoſtle*, and had as juſt a Claim as poſſible, to be followed in that *Judgement*; yet He doth not immediately expect, that all thoſe *Chriſtians*, prejudiced and biaſſed the other Way, ſhould at once leave off their Practices, or correct their wrong *Judgements*, in a Matter which concerned not the Vitals of Religion; but thinks it moſt for the Honour of God, that *Charity* ſhould ſhew its Part in theſe Differences: and rather chuſes, that Humility and brotherly Kindneſs ſhould conquer Paſſion and perſonal Prejudice, than that they all ſhould preſently be obliged to have, or profeſs, the ſame Notions; or to conform themſelves to the Judgement of One Another. To love, and bear with, Thoſe who agree with Us in all Things, is but a low Pitch of Good-nature and Virtue: I had almoſt ſaid, it is but ſacrificing to our own Pride; and little better than loving *Ourſelves* over again in *Others*. But to bear with, and to be kind in our Opinions of, Thoſe who differ from Us, is to ſacrifice our Pride and Self-complacence at the Altar of *Charity:* It is truly to love *Others*, who are ſo much the farther from being *Ourſelves*, as They are removed from Us in Judgement and Opinion about ſome Points. This is a Pitch of Virtue worthy of a *Chriſtian*, That he judges not the inviſible Ground of the Behaviour of *Others*; that, as God, for *Chriſt's* Sake, has forgiven *him*, and is ready to make all reaſonable Allowances for *him*, ſo is *he* ready to be candid in interpreting the Actions of *Others*; and to bear with all that Variety of Judgement which can poſſibly be accounted for, from that Variety of Tempers, Education, and Converſation, which is unavoidable in this State.

If any one now enquires after the ill Effects of the *contrary Temper*; it is enough to ſay, that it is the Beginning of all *Perſecution:* which is as directly oppoſite to the *Spirit* of the *Goſpel*, as any *Error* can be to *Truth*; and is, indeed, a much worſe Evil than all the Errors put together, which, in all Ages of the *Church*, have been ever pretended, or deſigned, to be cured by it. We may ſee, in the earlieſt Days of the *Church*, what *Evils* ſprang from ſuch ſmall Beginnings, as ſome may account this mutual *Cenſure* and *Judging* to be; and how one Degree of Iniquity brought on another. In the *Apoſtles* Days, and even under their Eyes, the Scene began with mutual Cenſure and Condemnation in *Words* only. The Interpoſition of St. *Paul* with the *Chriſtians* at *Rome*, We may hope, kept this Evil a while from breaking out into greater Violence. But ſome Years after the *Apoſtle's* Death, it ſhewed itſelf again, and particularly at *Rome*, the very Place to which He had writ his Advice; and in a Manner, enough to give all *Chriſtians* Warning at what a Diſtance they ſhould ever keep themſelves from this Temper. I mean that very remarkable Inſtance of Violence, ſhewn by the Biſhop of this very *City* of *Rome*, againſt *Another* Biſhop, on no more important Occaſion than That of his celebrating a *Feſtival*, on a *Day* different from That on which it was obſerved at *Rome*: and this *Violence* carried as far as Renouncing *All Communion* with his *Brother Biſhop*; and with a great Number of Other Churches which joined with Him.

This was before the *Powers* of this World were become *Chriſtian*. As ſoon as That was the Caſe, This fiery Spirit brought the Secular Arm in to its Aid: and by degrees, the Puniſhments properly belonging to *Temporal* Affairs, were made the Inſtruments of the Rage of *Chriſtians* againſt one another. For human Paſſion ſeldom knows where to ſtop, when once the Mind is taken off from that mild, and gentle, and forbearing, Temper, which is ſo great a Part of the *Law of God*.

Happy had it been for the After-ages, if all *Chriſtians* had learnt, from ſuch Examples, not to depart from this moſt reaſonable Branch of his Law. But, however it has been hitherto; ſo many hundred Years Experience may, by this time, one would hope, teach the *Chriſtian* World, and the *Proteſtant* World eſpecially, to recollect itſelf. Invain has the Goſpel reached our Ears: Invain doth *That* attempt to root out Barbarity, Inhumanity, Violence, Perſecution, unleſs the Beginning be laid in our Tempers; unleſs we learn to be inwardly well-diſpoſed, and candid to one another. For indeed the *Contrary*, even in *Thought*, is no better than a *mental Perſecution* of our Neighbour, which, firſt expreſſed in hard and angry Words only, ſeldom fails to end in open and avowed Acts of *external* Perſecution; whenever *Opportunity* adds *Power* to the *Wills* of Thoſe who indulge Themſelves in ſo unchriſtian a Diſpoſition.

Upon the whole; If the tender Compaſſion of God to Us be any thing more than *Sound*; if We be ſenſible what *We* are Ourſelves, and what our *Neighbours* are to Us; if We have any Regard to that great common *Maſter* whom we all ſerve; if we ever think of that great *Tribunal* at which We muſt all appear: Let Us be induced by all theſe, to caſt out of our Thoughts, and Words, all that Cenſure and Judging of Others, which will only help to condemn Ourſelves: and let Us cultivate in our Breaſts that happy and god-like Temper of *Forbearance* and *Candour*, which will contribute ſo much to our inward Peace now, and to our final *Forgiveneſs*, and *Happineſs*, hereafter.

Of the true Uſe of this World.

SERMON IV.

Preached before the KING, *February* 21, 17$\frac{24}{25}$.

1 CORINTHIANS vii. 31.

And They that uſe this World, as not abuſing it: For the Faſhion of this World paſſeth away.

AFTER St. *Paul* had, in the former Part of this *Chapter*, given the *Corinthians* ſuch prudential Rules, relating to their Behaviour in the World, as the Circumſtances of *Chriſtians* at that Time required, He comes to ſum up what He chiefly intended by all that He had been ſaying. This he doth in the 29th, 30th, and 31ſt Verſes. Verſe 29, *But this I ſay, Brethren, the Time is ſhort. It remaineth that both they that have Wives, be as though they had none*: So our *Tranſlation* expreſſeth it. But it ſeems more agreeable to the *Original*, to connect the Parts of that Sentence, after this Manner. But, Brethren, this is what I am ſaying, and inculcating upon you, (becauſe, as to what remaineth, the Time, or Opportunity, that will be afforded Us in this World, is very ſhort) This is, I ſay, what I am preſſing upon you, that they *that have Wives*: They that have Families to concern themſelves for, ſhould thus far be as though they had none, that They ſhould not ſuffer themſelves to be overwhelmed with worldly Cares, ſo as to forget the State they are in, as They are *Chriſtians*: Ver. 30, that They *that weep*, or are under any Affliction, ſhould be *as though they wept not*; ſhould behave themſelves under it, as Perſons who in a ſhort Time ſhall be releaſed from it: that They that *rejoice*, *ſhould be as though they rejoiced not*; They that enjoy the moſt proſperous Condition of Life, ſhould behave themſelves with Moderation, as Perſons under a Senſe of the Shortneſs of that Time which I am ſpeaking of: and *They that buy*, ſhould be *as* though They poſſeſſed not; ſhould behave themſelves only as Tenants for a very ſhort Space, not as laſting Poſſeſſors of what They purchaſe.

At the 31ſt Verſe, He ſums up, in a very comprehenſive Expreſſion, the Whole of what He means to preſs upon *Chriſtians* at that Time, with regard to all the *Goods* of this *World*: *viz.* that *all who uſe this World*, ſhould behave themſelves, as *not abuſing it*; either, as not uſing it with too great an Intenſeneſs of Affection towards it; or, much more, as not uſing it, or any Portion of it, in any Manner, or for any Purpoſe, contrary to the Original Deſign of the Creator of all Things. Then the *Apoſtle* adds this Reaſon for what He ſaith, *for the Faſhion*, or *Figure*, *of this World paſſeth away*: That is, either the *World itſelf*; or the preſent *State* and *Condition* of Things in the World. This is all, according to the *Apoſtle*, to *paſs away*; or to be ſo entirely altered, as that the ſame Things, and Circumſtances of Things, can have no Place after that Alteration.

In this *Paſſage*, indeed, the *Apoſtle* may be ſuppoſed to have had a principal View to that Scene of Perſecutions which was then coming upon true *Chriſtians*; and which ſhould alter, to them, the State of the World entirely: and likewiſe, to that total *Diſſolution* of the preſent Fabrick and Face of Things, which in thoſe *firſt* Days was certainly underſtood, and often ſpoken of, as a Matter juſt then coming, and very near at hand.

But, without any critical Examination of the preciſe Meaning of the Words, as They ſtand in this particular Place: and conſidering them in that more general Senſe which the firſt Sound of them may be ſuppoſed to raiſe in Us, as allowing an *Uſe* of the *World*, lawful and neceſſary; as condemning the *Abuſe* of it; and as urging a Reaſon againſt abuſing it, from the uncertain Condition of this World; it will be proper for Us to conſider,

I. What is meant by the *World*; and what is comprehended under this World.

II. When it is that We *uſe* it, as it is our Praiſe and Duty to do. And,

III. What it is to *abuſe* it. And then to make a ſhort Reflexion upon the Argument here made uſe of, by the *Apoſtle*. And all, with Reference to Ourſelves, and the State of the World at preſent.

I. The *firſt* thing is to conſider what is meant by the *World*; and what is comprehended under this Word. And here it is moſt evident that by the *World*, we are to underſtand, whatever this World contains in it; whatever it can boaſt of as on any Account deſirable; and particularly, whatever there is in it, that Men are ſeen to think it moſt worth their while to purſue after, and to obtain. All this may be reduced to theſe *three*, *Riches*, *Honour*, and *Pleaſure*; the *three* great Maſters of the Affections, and Actions, of Thoſe who think moſt of this World.

Riches may well be mentioned in the firſt Place, becauſe they lead the way to worldly *Honour*, and worldly *Pleaſure*. They have it in their Power moſt commonly to procure whatever a Man may propoſe, or fancy to himſelf, as neceſſary to his Happineſs in this World: and, too often, to procure what ought to be the Reward of *Merit*, and Virtue alone. But then, as they ſeem frequently to be deſired, and ſought after, even for *their own* Sakes; I mean by the *Covetous*, who deſpiſe what is called *Honour*, and know no other *Pleaſure*, but that of having much of them in their Poſſeſſion: They may well claim a diſtinct Place by themſelves, as they are ſeen to ſtand for *themſelves*, and *all other* good Things too; to be not only *Riches*; but *Honour*, and *Pleaſure*, in the Opinion of Thoſe who ſet their Hearts upon them. But, as there are *Others* who are as fond of worldly *Honour* and *Grandeur*, as the moſt *Covetous* Man can be of his *Money*; and *Others*, as tranſported with the Love of *Pleaſure*, as either of theſe can be with *their* Idols; and, as *Both* theſe latter can make *Riches* ſubſervient to the *Objects* of *their particular Deſires*: They may juſtly claim, every One of them, to be diſtinctly ſpoken of, on this Occaſion.

Nor is the Nature of this World, or of Man, ſo framed, as that We muſt ſuppoſe that *Riches*, *Honour*, or *Pleaſure*, are not *good Things*; or, that all Deſire of them, or Enjoyment of them, is ſinful. Far from it. *This World* is our *Habitation* at preſent. It is our *Houſe* of *Entertainment*, in our *Paſſage* to another. The three great *Entertainments* that it ſets before Us, are *Riches*, *Honour*, and *Pleaſure*. They cannot but be accounted *Goods* (till they are wilfully made *Evils*) by all who carry human Nature about them, and live in ſuch a State as this is.

This being then the Nature of the *World*; and theſe being the *principal Goods* it pretends to; and of ſo great Conſequence, as to be ever chiefly comprehended in the Name *World*; it is plain, that the *Uſe* of theſe, is the *Uſe* of the World: and the *Abuſe* of theſe, the *Abuſe* of the World: that, when We uſe *Riches*, *Honour*, and *Pleaſure*, as we ought, then We *uſe the World without abuſing it*; and that *then* We *abuſe* the World, when We abuſe the *Riches*, *Honours*, or *Pleaſures*, of it. Let Us then,

II. In the *Second* Place, enquire, as I propoſed, when it is that We *uſe* the *World*, that is the *Riches*, *Honours*, or *Pleaſures* of it, as We ought; as it is our Praiſe, and Duty to do. The *firſt* Step of all is to uſe them *innocently*, ſo as not to be induced, by the Love of them, to the Violation of *any* One Law of *God*; or of *Reaſon*, which is *His* Gift. The *ſecond* is to *uſe* them ſo as to make them the Inſtruments of much Good, and of laſting Happineſs, to Ourſelves and Others. The *former* is ſomething: but it is the loweſt Degree of Virtue and Praiſe. It leads naturally to the *latter:* and without it, it can hardly be ſuppoſed; and, I believe, never is found. For He that doth not *uſe* the good Things of this World, ſo as to make them the Inſtruments of *Good* to himſelf, and of *Happineſs* to Others, is, I fear, always ſeen to make them the Means of *Evil* to Himſelf, and of *Unhappineſs* to Others: as, He that is ſeen to receive no Harm from them himſelf, and to be untouched by the Evil that comes from them too naturally, will likewiſe be ſeen to make them the Occaſions, and Inſtruments, of Good, and Happineſs to Others. Their Nature is ſuch, that, if they produce not Good to Ourſelves and Others, they can hardly avoid producing a great deal of Evil and Miſchief.

The true uſe of *Riches* is firſt to be conſidered. And in what is it that They differ from the other common Dirt of this Earth, if they be not uſed ſo as to adminiſter the Conveniences and Neceſſaries of this Life to Ourſelves; and, after that, to all about Us, to whom Our Help can reach? When a Man is ſeen, out of a Sort of Madneſs of *Covetouſneſs*, to deny Himſelf the common Conveniences of Life, rather than break in upon his ſacred Store; He cannot be ſaid to *uſe* Riches, becauſe they lie untouched and unuſed, unleſs they are ſometimes handled and told over, with an unaccountable Satisfaction. But this is ſo very rare a Sort of *Covetouſneſs*, that it raiſeth the Aſtoniſhment of all, whenever it appears. There are Few, who will not make uſe of the *Riches* of this World, for their own Eaſe, and Convenience; but *Many*, who ſtop here, when they ſhould go much farther.

The next Thing is, to conſider the Abundance that We enjoy; and how much of it can ſafely and ſecurely be ſpared, without breaking in upon our own Conveniences and Accommodations, or our own nearer Relations: and of this Abundance to impart to Thoſe who have it not in their Power to procure for themſelves the common Neceſſaries of Life without our Aſſiſtance. This is a noble Uſe of *Riches* in Truth; but not more noble, than it is reaſonable, and fitting. For what can We better, or more becomingly, do with thoſe Superfluities which ſurround Us? what Method can We take, to make them more effectually ſubſervient to our own Happineſs, than to *uſe* them thus? What more manly Pleaſure, than to look upon every Thing human to be of Concern to Ourſelves? and every Thing that can happen to any *other* Men, to touch *Us* nearly, as *Men* alſo? What more rational Satisfaction, than to think of Multitudes made happy by Us? It is a Sort of approaching to Divinity; and a being, in the beſt Senſe poſſible to Us, *Partakers* of the *Divine Nature*; to make Ourſelves, under the ſupreme God, Aſſiſtants, Supporters, Benefactors, Preſervers, to all within our Reach. They that feel it, know that there cannot be a greater Pleaſure to a well-diſpoſed Mind, than this of adding to the Happineſs, or diminiſhing the Miſeries, of our Fellow-creatures around Us. Nor can the Praiſe due to ſuch a beneficent *Uſe* of *Riches*, be detained from it. Every One applauds it, though every One will not imitate it. It conſtrains and commands the Voice of Mankind in its Favour. And if it ſhould at any Time, by ſome ſtrange Accident, go without *that*; yet, it always recommends to the great Judge of the World. It makes *Us rich towards Him*; and makes *Him* condeſcend to be Our *Debtor*, on Account of Others, to whom our *Riches* are diſpenſed.

It is *God*, the Great Diſpoſer of all Things, who makes *One* Man differ from *Another*. It is his *Providence* that gives or allows Succeſs to attend upon his Deſigns; that fills his Coffers, and makes his Abundance to overflow. What can this be for? Not merely for *his own* Happineſs, conſidered by himſelf, as ſeparated from the reſt of the World: for God ſees, what We do not always ſee, that the Happineſs of a Man, the preſent Happineſs, is ſo far from being certainly promoted by the *Abundance of what He poſſeſſeth*, that it is too commonly utterly deſtroyed, and confounded, by it. The plain Intent of this Favour is, that this *Abundance* ſhould be diſpenſed abroad, by the *Rich*; whom he makes his Stewards, when He makes them *Rich*, for the Support of the Poor and Diſtreſſed under them.

This is the *Uſe*, the only *Uſe*, that Almighty God can deſign ſhall be made of the Abundance and Superfluities of *rich* Men: and when they uſe their Riches after this Manner, then do they truly *uſe* the *World*, as far as the *Riches* of it are concerned, not only *as not abuſing it*; but as God, and Reaſon, and the End of Human Society, require.

The next Thing is the true Uſe of the *Honours* of this World. Now, the whole End propoſed in them, by the very Nature of the Thing, being only to preſerve and keep up ſuch Diſtinctions of Order amongſt the Members of the ſame Body, as ſeem neceſſary for the better carrying forward the Ends of Human Society; it is certain that, when they are *uſed*, by the Poſſeſſors of them, with regard only to that Diſtinction, they are then uſed, as the Nature and End of them require. When Humility and Affability accompany them; when the *Power* that is generally joined with them, ſhews itſelf in *Beneficence* and *Charity*; when the Mind of the Poſſeſſor views them with that *Lowlineſs*, and *Moderation*, which are the conſtant Companions of a great Spirit; and actuates the whole Behaviour ſo, that all that is decent and regular ſeems the Effect of that Greatneſs, and to be dictated by that Diſtinction, which they give a Man; engaging him to excel in *Virtue*, as well as the outward Appearances of *Honour*; *then*, We may truly ſay, that He *uſeth* this World, as far as the *Honours* of this World are concerned, as He ought to do; as the Nature of them, or, as Reaſon, and God, require.

The *third* of thoſe *Good Things* which this World principally boaſts of, is *Pleaſure*: a fatal *Evil*, in the End, to Many! but what may be uſed ſo as to bring no Guilt along with it. For *Pleaſure*, in the Deſign of Almighty God, being that Satisfaction, which neceſſarily ariſes from Our Senſes, and the Objects about Us; and from the indiſſolvible Relation of theſe *two*, to one another; and our Senſes and theſe Objects in this mutual Relation being the Work of God himſelf: the *Pleaſure* which reſults thence, muſt be in itſelf good, and fitting. The *Pleaſures* of this World conſequently are *uſed*, as they ought to be, when they are looked upon as the grateful Circumſtances of our well-being in this

World; when they are purſued with *Temperance* and *Moderation*, ſo as to preſerve, and not deſtroy Life and Health; ſo, as the Laws and Dictates of ſound Reaſon direct; ſo, as not to break in either upon our own Duty and Innocence; or upon the *Property* and *Peace* of *Others* about Us. *Thus uſing* them, we take care, that what is not *Evil* in itſelf, doth not become evil, and pernicious, but beneficial, and good to Us, as long as we are in this State.

I have thus endeavoured to give you the beſt Account I can, *when* it is that we *uſe this World, as not abuſing it*; by ſhewing You, when we may be ſaid to *uſe* the principal good Things it boaſts of, *Riches*, *Honour*, and *Pleaſure*, as we ought: *viz.* as the Nature of Things, the Nature of Ourſelves, the Nature of Human Society, and the eternal Laws of God, direct, and require. And from this Account will eaſily appear, what I propoſed,

III. In the *third* Place, *When* it is that We *uſe* the World, in the *Apoſtle's* Phraſe, *as abuſing it*. And this *Abuſe* of the World, to be ſure, is the very contrary to the *right Uſe* of it. When the *Love* of *Money* becomes in Us the *Root* of *all*, or of any, *Evil:* When we are ſo under the Power of it, as to be barbarous even to *Ourſelves*; When the *Riches* of this World are made the Occaſions, or the Inſtruments, either of Unmercifulneſs and Hard-heartedneſs: or of Fraud, Rapine, and Injuſtice to *Others*; or, of Intemperance and Madneſs of Pleaſure, to *Ourſelves:* Whenever any thing of this Sort appears, *Riches* are *then* groſly *abuſed* with the higheſt Ingratitude to God who beſtowed them; and the greateſt Inhumanity to *Society*, which ought to feel the Benefit, and good Influence, of them.

Again, When the *Honours* of this World dazle a Man's Eyes, and turn his Head giddy; ſo that *Right* no longer ſeems *Right*; nor *Wrong*, *Wrong*; but *Good* is put for *Evil*, and *Evil* for *Good*; *Bitter for Sweet, and Sweet for Bitter:* when Pride, and Haughtineſs, and diſcourteous Behaviour, are the Effect of that Diſtinction which they give to one Man from another: when the *Paſſions* of the *Heart* are raiſed and boiled up into the *Head*, by them; and the Man can come to think himſelf above the Rules of *Ordinary Virtue*, and that He is privileged to be a *Sinner*, as well as a *Man*, of Diſtinction; then, the true Uſe of *Honour* is forgotten; and the *Abuſe* of it is groſs, and palpable, through the whole Behaviour of ſuch a Perſon. Or, if all his Aim be to be high in the View of Men, and exalted in *Place* and *Power* above the common Level; *Ambition* then is his God; and the *Laws* of *Ambition* are the Maxims of his Conduct: and then, though the Laws of the true God, and the Rights of all Mankind, ſtand in the Way, they are but of little Force to hinder the Effect of ſuch a *Maſter*.

Again, When the *Pleaſures* of Senſe, adminiſtered by *this World*, are made the Meaſures of all Good, and a Man comes to place ſupreme Happineſs in them; when they are purſued beyond the Bounds of lawful and right; ſo as to break in upon his own Health, and Life; or upon the Rules of *Decency* and Modeſty; or upon the Quiet and *Property* of *Others*; ſo, as to hinder him from doing God or Man that Service He might otherwiſe do: When Intemperance, and Luxury, and Neglect of all that is great and good, is the Effect of a Man's Attachment to *Pleaſure*, and his Love of worldly Delights; I *need not* ſay, the *Pleaſures* annexed by God Almighty to Senſe and ſenſible Objects, are then groſly and perfectly *abuſed*. The Man himſelf will come to find it, if He lives long enough to feel the pernicious Effects of ſuch a Behaviour, which it will certainly, at length, have, upon his Mind, his Health, his Eſtate, his Reputation; upon every Thing which he values, even in this World, ſuppoſing him to have caſt off all Regard to another to come. In a word, when the World, the *Riches*, or *Honours*, or *Pleaſures*, of the World, are ſo regarded, or ſo *uſed*, as to be the Occaſions, or Inſtruments, of ſinning againſt God, our Neighbour, or our own true Intereſt; *then*, the *World* is uſed, ſo as to be *abuſed*.

From this Account, therefore, of the *Uſe*, and *Abuſe*, of the *Riches*, *Honours*, and *Pleaſures* of this State, it appears that there are two Ways of Behaviour, with reſpect to theſe Things. The *One* is ſuch a Behaviour, as renders Us, and denominates Us truly the *Maſters* of what we poſſeſs here; the *Other*, ſuch a Behaviour as makes and denominates Us their *Slaves*: the *One* makes theſe good Things our Servants; the *Other* renders them our Lords. For when we are perfectly under the Dominion of *Riches*, *Honour*, or *Pleaſure*; ſo bewitched and captivated with the Love of any of them, as to be influenced in our Actions by them; ſo, as *when they ſay* Come, *to come*; *when they ſay* Go, *to go*; *and when they ſay* Do this, *to do it*: when the Caſe is thus, I ſay, it is plain, That *they* poſſeſs *Us*, and not *We*, *them*; that *They* are our *Maſters*, not we *theirs*; that they *uſe* Us, as their *Slaves*, not *We*, them, as our *Servants*: For they command, and we obey. But *then* only are We their *Maſters*, when our *Love* to them is in perfect Subjection to the *Love* of *God*, which is the *Law* of *Eternal Reaſon*; when we make them ſubſervient to the End of our enjoying them, and the true Happineſs of Ourſelves; not guided or impelled by the unreſiſted Violence of Paſſion; but governed and tempered by the wiſe Influences of Reaſon. And now, that we may thus *uſe the World, as not abuſing it*, We muſt, in the laſt Place, as I propoſed,

IV. Conſider the *Argument* here made uſe of by St. *Paul*; only, accommodating it to the ordinary and more general Condition of this World. *For the Faſhion*, or *Figure*, *of this World paſſeth away*. The preſent Scene of Things is perpetually changing: and Another, of a very different Nature, haſtening to open upon Us: Both which make up the *Apoſtle's* Reaſoning. There is Force enough in theſe *two* Conſiderations, to deſtroy that Devotion to this World, which is the Cauſe of all the *Abuſe* of it; and to temper our Concern about it, ſo as to engage Us to *uſe* it as we ought.

For conſider, I pray you, when you have amaſſed together an Heap of *Riches*, what is it you have got? An Heap of *good Things*, if you pleaſe; but good Things, liable to a thouſand Accidents: uncertain in their Poſſeſſion; often following the great Revolutions of this lower World; and changing their *Maſters*, with all the Viciſſitudes of Human Affairs. It is enough to ſay of them, that they belong to a Scene of Things, which is always in Motion, and ever ready to change. A great Loſs, common to all worldly Buſineſs; a great Miſtake, to which the beſt Heads are liable; a *Fire*, an *Inundation*, a *Perfidiouſneſs* in Thoſe who are truſted; a *popular Rage*; Many more Things, to which this State is liable, have often changed the *Scene* of *Plenty*, and *Riches*, and ſurprized thoſe with Diſtreſs and Calamity, who have perhaps thought themſelves too ſecure, and far out of the Reach of any ſuch Evils. And *then*, the Poſſeſſors themſelves are ſure of being removed, either ſooner, or later, from theſe Poſſeſſions; and this is another Change made in our Scene. *We* are taken away from the World: and ſo, with reſpect to Us, the *Faſhion of this World* truly *paſſeth away*, when we Ourſelves paſs away. For it is all one, in effect, whether *That* paſſeth from *Us*, or *We* paſs from *that*; whether *We* are removed from our *Riches*, or our

Riches from Us. This latter *may be*, by Multitudes of unforeſeen Accidents: but the Former *muſt* certainly *be*, one Time or other, by the unmoveable Decree of our Maker.

The ſame may be ſaid with reſpect to worldly *Honours*, and *Pleaſures*. They muſt be as uncertain, as this State itſelf is, to which they belong: and *We* muſt as certainly be torn from them by Death, as we now enjoy them in Life. And the little Time we live in this World, how often do we ſee the *Scene* of *worldly Honour* changed; and the *Wheel*, that is ever turning, carrying up *one*, and bringing down *another!* The Faſhion of this World paſſeth away, when the Scene of *Honour* is changed: and that Scene is as often turned upſide down, as *Favour*, and *Opinion*, and a thouſand unforeſeen *Accidents*, work. And, as to *Pleaſure*; Men die to *that*; even before they die to Nature. It becomes inſipid to them, even whilſt they are alive. The *Scene* of *that* changes, whilſt they look on: and they grow inſenſible, whether they will or no, and unmoved by what uſed to give them the greateſt Satisfaction.

But then, as *this Scene* changeth continually, and at laſt is quite removed, there is *Another* to ſucceed, ſo unlike it, ſo oppoſite to it, that the ſame *Riches* are no *Riches*; the ſame *Honours* no *Honours*; the ſame *Pleaſures* no *Pleaſures*, when that appears. Your Money, if you could carry it with You, is not current in that other State: Your *Honours* are *there*, as *faded* Garlands, dead and gone. Your *Pleaſures* will there have no Attraction or Influence; becauſe They will have no being.

What little Reaſon, therefore, have We to *abuſe* them in this State, by overvaluing them, or by employing them to ill Purpoſes; when the *Scene* that is to ſucceed is of ſuch a Nature, that they will be all uſeleſs in it; and the very Memory of them inſipid: and eſpecially, when the only Mention to be made of them at the opening of that New State of Things, will be, upon Occaſion of a ſtrict and tremendous Enquiry, how We have uſed them in this! The *Charity*, the *Humanity*, the *Generoſity*, that have accompanied *Riches*, will then be the only Advantage and Gain of the *Rich* Man: the *Modeſty*, the *Humility*, the *Meekneſs*, that have attended the *Honours* of this World, will be the only Glory of the *Honourable:* and the *Temperance*, and *Moderation*, that have been uſed in the Purſuit and Enjoyment of *Pleaſure*, will then be the only *Happineſs* of ſuch as have had the *Pleaſures* of this World at their Command.

The Sum of what hath been ſaid, is this. *The Faſhion of this World paſſeth away. But the Faſhion of Another World*, which *paſſeth not away*, ſucceeds to it. And therefore, let Us *uſe this World*, *as not abuſing it*; and let our Hearts, and our Treaſure, be in that other future, never-ending, State; in which we are all infinitely concerned.

Of

Of the Love of PLEASURE.

SERMON V.

Preached before the KING, *March* 10, 17$\frac{27}{28}$.

2 TIMOTHY iii. 4.

Lovers of Pleaſures more than Lovers of God.

IN an *Age* of Gaiety and Luxury, which, if we had a mind to diſtinguiſh it from other Ages, we might juſtly call the *Age* of *Pleaſure*; and in a *Country*, where the Taſte and Purſuit of *Pleaſure* have been carried to as high a Pitch of Elegance and Extravagance, as Invention and Wealth can well ſtretch them; and in an *Aſſembly*, in which many of Thoſe preſent have all the Advantages which Power and Riches can put into their Hands for the full Enjoyment of *Pleaſure*: it cannot be improper; Nay, it muſt be agreeable to the peculiar *End* of *Preaching*; to ſpend ſome Time in leading Men to juſt and reaſonable Thoughts upon a Subject in which their Happineſs, even in their own Opinion, is ſo deeply concerned.

Let not what I have now propoſed give you any Fears that I am ſo abſurd, as to attempt to rob you of ſo great and darling a *Good*, as *Pleaſure*; or to perſuade you into ſuch a *State* of *Inſenſibility*, or *Pain*, as neither *Human Nature* can admit of, nor Reaſon, or God, require. My Deſign is quite the Contrary. I am going to be an *Advocate* for *Pleaſure*; and to ſhew you, as well as I can, how you may enjoy it more effectually, by enjoying it more ſincere, and leſs mixed with *Unhappineſs*, as well as for a longer Duration, even in *this* Life, than you can poſſibly hope to do in any other Method. This is all the *Mortification* you ſhall hear of, from Me, in *this Seaſon* (ſo called) of *Mortification*: *A Mortification!* which will, I am confident, *mortify* and kill only the *Pains*, and *Uneaſineſſes* of Life; but enliven and prolong the *Pleaſures* of it; and ſuch an *One*, as is perfectly agreeable to the *Chriſtian Religion* itſelf, which came from Heaven not to diſſolve any of the Laws of Nature, or to deſtroy the natural Connexion of any one thing to another; but to add the Motives of the World to come, to thoſe Dictates of *Reaſon*, which are ſtill left as the unalterable Rule of our Conduct, in ſuch Caſes as this now before us. And, in anſwering the End I have propoſed, I ſhall

I. Shew what I mean by the *Pleaſures* I am going to ſpeak of: And,

II. Make ſome *Obſervations*, chiefly upon the *Two* different, or contrary, Methods of purſuing theſe *Pleaſures*. And from theſe you will eaſily judge,

III. On which Side the *Advantage* manifeſtly lyes, in the Point of *Pleaſure* itſelf.

I. Under the *firſt* of theſe, I will not be ſo unfair as to mean One Thing, whilſt, I know, Thoſe, who are moſt concerned, mean Another. The Word *Pleaſure*, is now, by long Cuſtom in common Diſcourſe, come to be appropriated to the *Gratifications of our Senſes*, properly ſo called. And when we ſpeak of a *Man* of *Pleaſure*, we are always underſtood to mean, One who is, in a peculiar Manner, a Follower of the *Pleaſures of Senſe*. The *Covetous* Man has, without doubt, his *Pleaſures*, adapted to his own Narrowneſs of Soul, and inordinate Appetite after *Money*; even that Abundance of it which is quite uſeleſs to Himſelf. The *Ambitious* has likewiſe *Pleaſures*, in the Elevation of Himſelf above Others, and in the flattering Hope of a ſtill greater Heighth, abſtracted from other Gratifications. The Man of *Virtue*, that is, of true *Honour*, has *Pleaſures*, infinitely ſuperior to both, immediately and directly reſulting from the inward *Rectitude* of his Mind. But Theſe are not the *Pleaſures* we mean when we uſe the Word by itſelf, in Diſcourſe: but the *Idea* which always goes along with it, is That of the *Pleaſures* or *Gratifications*, of *Senſe*, properly ſo called. And it is with regard to *Theſe* peculiarly that I now ſpeak. After I have ſaid this, the

II. Next Step is to offer, as I propoſed, ſuch *Obſervations* upon this Subject as will lead us to that true Judgement upon the Whole, without which all Boaſts of *Pleaſure* are but vain Words; and by which alone we can juſtly pretend to ſetle any Title to that *Good*, which, with ſo much Paſſion, we are ſeeking after. And this, I think, cannot be done better than by conſidering the *Circumſtances*, and *Conſequences*, of the *different* Conduct of Men, in their Purſuit, and Enjoyment, of this Good: neither aggravating the *Unhappineſſes* of *One* Sort; nor exalting, more than is undeniably juſt, the *Happineſſes* of the *Other*.

1. In the *firſt* Place, with regard to *Thoſe* who have entered, without Reaſon or Moderation, in to this Field of *Pleaſure*; No one of themſelves can deny what too many know by conſcious and ſenſible Experience, that there is a *Purſuit* of *Pleaſure*, (of That I mean which muſt be allowed to be *Pleaſure*,) which, by natural Conſequence, introduces a Scene of *Pain* and *Bodily Uneaſineſs*; as really *Pain*, (and much more laſting,) as the *Pleaſure*, which was the ſole Cauſe of it.

Nor can it be denied that, in ſome Caſes, the Purſuit of *Pleaſure*, made eager by the preſent ungoverned Paſſions of the *Purſuer*, is ſeen, in a little Time, to lay waſte the very Support of *Pleaſure* itſelf; and, by the Exceſs of Extravagance, to bring on ſuch temporal Inconveniences, as change the *Scene* entirely from a *ſhort* Scene of *Rioting* in *Joy*, to a *long* one of ſenſible *Grief* and *Sorrow*, when He finds Himſelf deprived of the very Poſſibility of going on in the ſame Courſe. For this muſt be the Caſe of *Pleaſure*, where-ever *Paſſion* will know no Bounds; conſidering that the *Riches* of the Purſuer, though great as you pleaſe, upon this Suppoſition, muſt be ſoon waſted to Nothing.

But if ſuch immediate Evils are, by a cautious Prudence, avoided by Some, it may ſtill be ſaid, that there is often ſeen, in their Examples, a Purſuit of *Pleaſure*, founded upon a *Scheme* of Diſhonour; and this is always accompanied by uninterrupted *Cares*; carried on with numberleſs Anxieties; ſucceſsful perhaps for a Length of Time; but, when an End is put to it by any unlucky *Event*, naturally followed by *Uneaſineſſes*, which outweigh all the Remembrance, and efface every Image, of what was once thought *Pleaſure*. For, before Men have quite put off Humanity, the Reflexion of a *wounded Spirit*, and the Regret of a ſenſible Heart, are, in ſome Events, ſuch Effects of this *Purſuit*, as change the ſweeteſt *Honey* into the bittereſt *Gall*; even in the Minds of Thoſe who think of *this* Life only.

This is indeed, a *Purſuit* of *Pleaſure*, ſo unworthy of human Nature, and ſo diſhonourable, in the Eſtimation of the Generality of Mankind; that, as *Shame* for ever follows it, ſo muſt the *Fear* of Diſcovery always attend it. And this is a Companion, alone ſufficient to deſtroy the very *Eſſence* of *Pleaſure* itſelf, in any Mind not totally loſt to all Generous Sentiments within.

You may obſerve that I have not, in theſe Inſtances, ſo much as mentioned any *Remorſe* of Mind, but that cauſed by the *preſent* Evils of a too eager *Purſuit* of *Pleaſure*; nor any Miſeries but thoſe of the *preſent* State, introduced by it. But, as *Conſcience* is *Reaſon* itſelf, firſt guiding Us, and then cenſuring Us; as *Reaſon* is the Gift of God to all Men, for their Government; and *Pleaſure* is his gracious *Law*, for the Good, and not for the Ruine, of his Creatures; it is impoſſible that there ſhould not be a Remorſe of Another Sort, and an inward Diſtreſs, in all well-formed Souls, following upon ſuch *Purſuits* of *Pleaſure* mentioned before, as evidently are Contradictions to the Will of that God who made Us what we are, and placed Us in this State, ſurrounded with ſenſible Objects; Inſtances of the higheſt *Ingratitude* to Him, who formed us capable of *Pleaſure*; *Injuries* to our Neighbours, who have a Title to our good Offices; and, in ſome Caſes, groſs *Violations* of the Laws of *Society*, for which our great Creator made Us.

2. *Secondly*, I will now go on to obſerve the oppoſite Maxims of purſuing and enjoying, the ſame Good: and theſe are ſuch as make the *Purſuit* of *Pleaſure*, entirely different, in every *Circumſtance*, and *Conſequence*, from the former. For this Purſuit and Enjoyment of *Pleaſure*, under the Conduct of *Reaſon* and *Moderation*, is undeniably ſuch a *Purſuit* of it, as does *not* bring on a State of Bodily *Pain* and Indiſpoſition, as its natural or probable Conſequence. It is ſuch a *Purſuit* of *Pleaſure*, as is free from that long Train of Fears and Anxieties, which never fail to attend upon the contrary Purſuit; unacquainted with any Diſappointments but what the common Condition of human Life makes unavoidable; and untroubled with any Remorſe of Evils procured to Others, by the Man's paſſionate Regard to his own Pleaſure only. It is ſuch a *Purſuit* of *Pleaſure*, as does not waſte or deſtroy that Fortune which is neceſſary for the Purpoſes of the moſt innocent Enjoyments of Life themſelves; and ſuch a Purſuit, as carries no Shame along with it, in the Judgement of the World about Us. In a word, it is ſuch a Purſuit, as is a Mark of Gratitude to the Giver of all our Faculties of Pleaſure Themſelves, and of all the Pleaſures about which they can at any Time be converſant. And, being no Violation of any one of his Laws; no Breach into the univerſal Syſtem of Good and Right; carrying with it no Evil to the Members of human Society, or to the Publick; It cannot be the Parent of any inward Diſtreſs or Anguiſh of Mind; nor conſequently end either in Repentance here, or Puniſhment hereafter.

Thus ſtands, in general, the Difference of the *two Purſuits*. And now,

III. On which Side, the *Advantage* lies, even in the Point of *Pleaſure* itſelf, is next to be conſidered.

Now, in the ſtating of This, we muſt imitate the Men of worldly Buſineſs, in the *Method* of ſtating their *Profit* or *Loſs*, which They follow ſo as not to impoſe either upon Others or Themſelves. If never ſo many of the particular *Articles* in their Account are real *Profit*, but yet have themſelves been the Occaſions of *Loſs* or *Diſadvantage*, more than proportionable to it; the Sum of ſuch an Account cannot be *Profit*: and if the *Balance* at the *End* be *Loſs*; it is ſmall Comfort to them, and little Matter of Boaſting, that there are in it particular *Articles* of *Gain*, and thoſe, perhaps, very conſiderable. It is from the *Total*

Amount, that they judge: as That alone, by which their Condition in Buſineſs muſt be determined.

And thus it muſt be in the Caſe of *Pleaſure*. Put down, if you pleaſe, all the *Gratifications* of Senſe, you can think of. Let them be magnified and ſwelled to as high a Pitch as an Imagination devoted to them can do it. But be juſt, in not deceiving yourſelves. Put down, before you pretend to judge of the *Whole*, all the *Pain* of *Body* and *Mind*; the Diſeaſes, the Calamities, which were the Reſult of them: the Fears, and Anxieties, and Diſappointments, which attended them: the Ruine, in ſome Caſes, of Fortune and Eſtate; in ſome, of *Reputation* and *Honour*; in others, the laſting *Wound* of *Remorſe*, in the Reflexion upon what, it may be, has produced Miſeries ſomewhere or other, never to be retrieved, and never to be alleviated; and in All, the inward Uneaſineſs natural to a reaſonable Being, in every Step of Life, which Reaſon does not approve of. Put into the Account every known *evil* Conſequence under the Notion of *Pain*, the oppoſite of *Pleaſure*; and then it muſt come out thus. If the total Amount of ſuch a *Purſuit* of *Pleaſure*, be really found, as it muſt be, to be *Pain*, of the ſeveral ſorts before mentioned, naturally produced by it; and this more than ſufficient to counterbalance every *Article* of *Pleaſure* in it: the Man of *Pleaſure* himſelf, to whom the Name is now appropriated, the Man who pretends to ſtudy and follow after *Pleaſnre* as his great Good, muſt be found, at laſt, not to underſtand what it is truly to enjoy *Pleaſure* itſelf; nay, frequently to deſtroy his own Purpoſes, by ſhortening and ruining his own *Pleaſures*.

On the contrary, the Man of *Virtue*, who is alſo the Man of true *Honour*; who enjoys the *Pleaſures* of *Senſe* under thoſe Rules which make them fit perfectly eaſy upon his *Mind*, his *Body*, his *Eſtate*, his *Reputation*; muſt be acknowledged, in the *Whole*, by the natural Operation of Virtue, and by the *Wiſdom* of *God*, in eſtabliſhing the Nature and Relation of Man, and all things around him, far to exceed the *Other* at the *Cloſe* of the *Account*; and to triumph juſt as much over Him, in *Pleaſure* itſelf, as he does in *Virtue*, *Innocence*, and *Honour*. I ſay, in the *Whole*; becauſe, as I am free to acknowledge, on the one hand, that there are *Pleaſures*, in the Senſe in which We now uſe the Word, to the *Man* of *Pleaſure*, which to the *Man* of *Virtue* are wholly unknown; yet, it is certainly true, that Judgement muſt be made from the *Whole*, and not from a *Part*; and that, upon the foot of the *Whole*, it is undeniable that the Man of *Virtue* enjoys *Pleaſure*, more *ſincere*, i. e. more free from the Mixture of any of thoſe *Pains* and *Evils* which are its natural Conſequences to others; and with much more Security of continuing ſo to do; than the Man of *Pleaſure* can pretend to do. To which We may add this diſagreeable Circumſtance, that the Courſe of *Pleaſure* which the *Voluptuary* runs ſo precipitately, is *firſt* in Time; and that the Courſe of *Evils* which are its Produce, ſucceeds; and laſts often long after the whole Scene of *Pleaſure* is vaniſhed. And certainly, it is leſs tolerable to *human Nature*, to paſs from *Pleaſure* to a State of *Pain*, than to paſs through a Courſe of *Pain* to a ſetled State of *Pleaſure*. To which We may add, That, as theſe two enhance one another, the *Pleaſure paſt* muſt give the Man a *double* Senſe of that *Pain*, which not only ſucceeds it, but is really owing to it.

The great *Doctor* of *Pleaſure* in the *Heathen* World, who had, with equal Stupidity and Impiety, baniſhed *Providence* out of the World, and took into his Account *this Life* only, ſaw plainly the Importance of *Virtue*, in order to the Enjoyment of *Pleaſure* itſelf. And though his Doctrine, by unhappily placing the *Chief Good* of Man in *Pleaſure*, not ſtrictly explained, led his raſh Followers into the moſt intemperate *Purſuits* of their own *Unhappineſs* under that Notion: yet his *Example*; and the Temperance and Command of Paſſion, by which He enjoyed and prolonged his own *Pleaſures*, were, indeed, a Reproach to *Them*, who would not interpret his *Maxim* by his own *Practice*. I only juſt mention this, to ſhew that even *He*, who ſtudied *Pleaſure* only, put the *Virtue* of *Temperance*, or the Command of preſent Appetite, into the very Compoſition of *Pleaſure* itſelf. To return,

The great Miſtake in this Matter, amongſt the Men of *Pleaſure*, ſeems to lie in this, that they do not make *Pleaſure*, and *Happineſs*, two diſtinct Conſiderations: or rather, that they never inquire after *Happineſs*, but are only for ever ſeeking after particular Inſtances of *ſenſible Pleaſure*, and ready to fall in with every Invitation to them. Whereas *Pleaſure* and *Happineſs* ſtand, even in common Diſcourſe, for two ſo different Things, that no One, by a *Man of Pleaſure*, underſtands you to mean a *Happy Man*; but rather, a *Man* who diſregards *Happineſs* for the Sake of particular Inſtances of *Pleaſure*. For *Happineſs* being a State of Mind, of a better and more fixt Nature than the ſudden Starts and *Paſſions* of Mankind; it muſt follow, that, if the paſſionate *Purſuits* of any real or imagined Pleaſure, break in upon *that Happineſs*, which is the true Happineſs of an Animal endowed with Reaſon to direct the Conduct of his Life; then, the Man, meanly and ignobly, enjoys *Pleaſure*, without being in a State of *Happineſs*.

And from hence a moſt important *Truth* flows: *viz.* That, if the *total Amount* of the Purſuit of ſenſible *Pleaſures* be *not* a ſetled State of *Inward Happineſs*, but the contrary; the *Purſuit* has been irregular and unworthy of a *Creature* to whom God has given the *Capacity*, and *Occaſions* of ſuch *Pleaſure*; and that theſe unreaſonable *Purſuers* of this attracting Appearance, have, by their paſſionate ungoverned *Love of Pleaſure*, ſhewn that they have no Knowledge of what *Happineſs* is; and are quite Strangers to their own greateſt Good: And that *Others*, who have obſerved the contrary Rules in all their Gratifications, have really, and truly, enjoyed *Pleaſure* itſelf in ſuch a Manner, that it has not interrupted their *Happineſs*; nay, that it has contributed to as good a State of *Happineſs*, as Man can hope to attain in this preſent ſhort, uncertain, Life.

Thus have I been an *Advocate for Pleaſure*, as I at firſt promiſed; and not againſt it. I allow *Man*, as framed in the Manner he is, by his Creator, and placed in *this State*, ſurrounded with Objects of all his Senſes, to be unavoidably, by his Nature, and by the *Law* of *Creation*, which conſtituted the Relations of Things, a *Lover of Pleaſure*. My great Point has been, to ſhew you the true, and moſt laſting, Way of enjoying this *Good*. And, if I have been ſpeaking to any Purpoſe all this Time, the *only good Rule* muſt be, to be *Virtuous*, in order to enjoy *Pleaſure*; at the firſt Sound, perhaps, to many Ears, a ſurprizing, dull, and unacceptable *Rule*: but to Thoſe who will give it but a few Minutes Conſideration, a certain *Truth*; a *Rule* demonſtable, from Nature and Experience, to be a Friend to *Pleaſure*, by ennobling it; by extending it beyond the Limits which ungoverned *Paſſion* will ever confine it to; and by freeing it from thoſe Mixtures of *Evil* and *Pain*, which the contrary Rule will certainly throw into it.

You ſee, then, that, in the Account of Reaſon, which always conſiders all the Circumſtances and mutual *Relations* of Things, the *Love of Pleaſure* is not, in itſelf, a Crime; but, indeed, the *Law* of *God*, who created Man what He is, and placed Him in ſuch a World as This; and is himſelf the *Author* of that

Pleaſure, which neceſſarily reſults from his own Works, and his own Will. You will ſee, if you go a Step farther, that Reaſon itſelf will ſupport the *ſevere* *Cenſure* of the *Apoſtle*, in the *Text*, fixt upon Thoſe, *not* who are *Lovers* of *Pleaſure* (for the *Apoſtle* does not reſt his *Cenſure* there) but who are *Lovers* of *Pleaſure*, more than *Lovers* of God: *i. e.* who prefer the paſſionate *Purſuit* of particular Inſtances of *Pleaſure*, before the Regard due to the *Laws* of that *God*, who is the great Author of *Pleaſure* itſelf, to whom they owe the very Poſſibility of enjoying it.

Let us, therefore, from *This*, and from what has been ſaid, argue, that They, who purſue *Pleaſure* in Contradiction to the *Laws* of God, or to his Diſhonour, are ungrateful to *Him*, who alone gave them this Good, by being *Lovers* of *Pleaſure* more than *Lovers* of *God*: that They who purſue it in any Inſtances, in *Violation* of the Peace and Rights of Neigbourhood, are very bad Members of *Society*, by being *Lovers* of *Pleaſure* more than *Lovers* of their *Neighbours*: and that They, who purſue it to the Hurt or Ruine of their own *Honour*, *Reputation*, *Eſtate*, *Health* and *Families*, are unjuſt to their own Intereſts, by being, truly, *Lovers* of *Pleaſure* more than *Lovers* of *Themſelves*, in that Senſe in which they ought to be ſo; expoſing Themſelves, for the Sake of a preſent violent *Paſſion*, to the Loſs of every thing dear in this World; even of all *their own Happineſs*, which can never ſubſiſt, but under the Direction of *Virtue*.

To ſumm up the Whole of what is juſtly to be ſaid; If We chuſe to conſider Ourſelves as Beings concerned chiefly in the finding out, and enjoying, the *Pleaſures* of *this World* only; it is moſt certainly true, That, in this View only, however the Unexperienced may flatter themſelves, the Courſe of *Pleaſure* muſt, and will, be *limited* by ſomething or other; and the *wild Purſuer* muſt, and will, be *ſtopt*, by ſome *Obſtacle* or other, in his *Career*. And whether any Man will not be more eaſy, and ſatisfied, in the Reflexion that good Reaſons, though of *preſent* Concernment only, have prevented the utter Ruine of his *Happineſs*, by confining his *Pleaſures* within the Bounds of *Juſt* and *Right*, than in the Thought of having left them to be totally *ſtopped*, and deſtroyed, by the natural Conſequences only of his own unreſtrained *Paſſion*; let Himſelf judge.

But, if We will be ſo juſt to Ourſelves, as not to ſtop here; but to go, as We ought, into a Courſe of Thoughts much more worthy of ſuch Creatures as We are; If We would look farther into Ourſelves, and conſider our own Frames; and alſo the main Deſign of our great Maſter, *Chriſt* himſelf, in coming into the World; We could not but find ſtill plainer Demonſtrations, that *Reaſon* was given Us to govern the *Love* of *Pleaſure*. For We ſhould very clearly ſee, That, as We have Faculties adapted to ſenſible Objects in this ſhort Life; ſo We have Others, of an higher Nature, to govern them, which look forward, towards a better State to come: That We are made with ſuch Capacities, and ſuch Powers, of Reaſoning, Reflexion, and Judgement upon our own Conduct, as will force Us to acknowledge ourſelves capable of being called to a ſtrict Account, and framed exactly as We ſhould have been, upon the Suppoſition that ſo it will be: That, as it is perfectly agreeable to the Reaſon of Mankind to expect it, ſo our Bleſſed Lord, by a plain Declaration, ſufficiently atteſted by his Reſurrection from the Dead, has aſſured the World that ſuch a ſolemn Day of *Account* will come, in which the Triumph will belong to Thoſe, who have here below kept the *Love* of *Pleaſure* in Subjection to the *Love* of Virtue, and true *Happineſs*; and Shame and Diſtreſs to Thoſe, who have been *Lovers* of *Pleaſure*, more than Lovers of *God*, their *Neighbours*, or *Themſelves*. And Theſe will be ſuch *Arguments*, as will ſet us above every Allurement; and engage us to live the preſent Life by that *Religious Wiſdom*, whoſe *Ways are Ways of Pleaſantneſs*, and *all whoſe Paths are Peace:* and will certainly conduct us ſafe, through a ſhort deluſive *Scene* of the fleeting *Images* of *Pleaſure* only, to the real and laſting *Pleaſures* of a State of *Happineſs*, never more to be interrupted, either by our own *Paſſions*, or any other Enemy.

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St. PAUL's *Diſcourſe to* FELIX.

SERMON VI.

Preached before the KING, *February* 15, $17\frac{20}{30}$.

ACTS xxiv. part of 24th and 25th Verſes.

He ſent for Paul, *and heard Him concerning the Faith in* Chriſt: *And as He reaſoned of Righteouſneſs, Temperance, and Judgement to come,* Felix *trembled.*

THE Perſons here ſpoken of are, St. *Paul*, a faithful Preacher of the *Goſpel* of *Jeſus Chriſt*; and *Felix*, the Governour of *Judea*: St. *Paul*, now a *Priſoner*, under the Apprehenſion of all the Evils which the Malice and Importunity of the Whole Body of the *Jews* might extort from their *Governour*, now his *Judge*: and a *Governour*, whoſe perſonal *Character*, it appears from a *Roman Hiſtorian*, as well as from what is ſaid of Him in this *Chapter*, might well have increaſed the *Apoſtle's* Apprehenſions of the moſt unjuſt and ſevere Sentence which *Power*, in the Hands of ſuch a Man, could threaten; and, what is ſtill more, a *Governour* accompanied, at this very Time, by *One* who had a Share in his Guilt, and an Influence over his Paſſions. And yet, in the Midſt of all theſe Circumſtances, we find a very uncommon Appearance; the *Priſoner*, undaunted and unconcerned at his own Danger; the *Governour*, terrified and *trembling*, as if his *Priſoner* had been his *Judge*; and were now pronouncing a Sentence of Condemnation upon him. What was the Reaſon of this ſurpriſing Event? Innocence, and the Teſtimony of an upright Heart, on the One Side; Guilt, and the Reproaches of an awakened Conſcience, on the Other. The *Former* created in St. *Paul* a Boldneſs to adapt his Diſcourſe to the Caſe of the great Man he ſpoke to, whoſe Character, it is evident, he well knew: the *Latter* enfeebled the Heart of *Felix*, and forced Him to betray that Fear of future Puniſhment, from a ſuperior Power, which all the Amuſements and Pleaſures of this World can hardly ever totally remove from Guilt and Sin.

As my preſent Deſign is to make this Account of St. *Paul's* Diſcourſe to *Felix* the Occaſion of ſuch Obſervations as are of univerſal Importance to all *Chriſtians*; the *Three* Points which immediately offer themſelves to my Thoughts are Theſe:

I. The Notion St. *Paul* had of preaching *Jeſus Chriſt*, and *his Faith*.

II. The Agreeableneſs of This to the whole *Tenor* of the *New Teſtament*. And,

III. The great Uſe, towards the main *End* of the *Goſpel*, of the *Argument* drawn from a *Judgement* to come, to ſuch Creatures as We are.

And if I apply this particularly to Thoſe in the *Higher* Stations of human Life, it is becauſe I think it the greateſt Inſtance of Duty, and the beſt Good-office, which any one, who ſpeaks from This Place, can poſſibly perform.

I. We cannot but obſerve from this Paſſage, what St. *Paul's* Notion muſt have been of Preaching the *Faith* of *Chriſt*, ſo as to anſwer the main End of it.

It is expreſly told us, that *Felix* ſent for *Paul*, in order to hear Him concerning the *Faith* in *Chriſt*; concerning that Religion, for the Sake of which he was now in Bonds. There can be no Doubt but that St. *Paul* placed in the beſt Light, all the Evidences for believing in *Jeſus Chriſt*, and particularly his *Reſurrection* from the Dead; which was to him inſtead of All, and to which it was his Cuſtom always to appeal. But, it is as plain that, in deſcribing to *Felix* the Complexion and Genius of the *Chriſtian Faith*, and the great End of *Chriſt's* coming into the World, He repreſented it as enforcing all thoſe Points of *Virtue* and *Morality*, to which Men are obliged as the reaſonable Creatures of an Holy and Juſt God: fitted and deſigned by Him for the mutual Offices of Society. For the only Part of the *Apoſtle's* Diſcourſe about *Faith* in *Chriſt*, or the *Religion* of *Chriſt*, which the ſacred *Hiſtorian* has thought fit to leave us, relates ſolely to *Theſe*, and to the Great Motive to practiſe Them. The Words are very remarkable. In this *private Sermon* about *Chriſt*, and *Faith* in Him, upon which alone St. *Paul* was deſired by *Felix*, to ſpeak, He *reaſons* (as the Word is well rendered) or *argues*, in his Diſcourſe. He ſhews him the *Nature* of the *Faith in Chriſt*, by ſhewing him the unalterable Obligations to *Righteouſneſs*, which includes all Juſtice and Equity; to *Temperance*, or, a Command over our Appetites; and then, by diſplaying before Him the *Judgement* to come, as the great and awful Motive urged by the *Goſpel* of *Chriſt*, to ſecure and reſtore the Practice of theſe, and all other Branches of Morality. It is by *this* Method that He did honour to his Maſter, and to that *Faith* he had embraced; and by *this*, that he endeavoured to repreſent the coming of *Chriſt* into the World, as worthy of God who ſent him.

If St. *Paul*, therefore, *reaſoned* upon theſe Duties; and, in ſeting forth the Excellencies of the *Chriſtian Faith*, deſcribed and inculcated *Morality*, as the great End of it; and thought he could do nothing more for its Honour, than to repreſent it as joined in the ſame Cauſe with Reaſon and uncorrupted Nature; as enforcing the ſame Practice of all the moral and ſocial *Duties*; and reveling the *Wrath* of God againſt all *Immorality*: this is Evidence enough of the Apoſtle's Notion of the Nature and End of the *Chriſtian* Religion; and will be the Juſtification of All Thoſe who follow him in this way of Preaching *Chriſt*, and his *Faith*. But I will go a Step farther, and obſerve,

II. That the Repreſentations made throughout the *New Teſtament*, of the great *End* both of Preaching and Receiving the *Faith* of *Chriſt*; and particularly, the Accounts given of that *Judgement to come*, which is mentioned in the *Text*, do all exactly and uniformly anſwer to this Notion.

The Fore-runner of our *Lord* opened the Scene by giving Notice to all Sinners around Him, of the Nature of that *Kingdom of God* which was then beginning to ſhew itſelf: That it did not conſiſt in imaginary, or Real, Privileges of *One Sort* of Men, or of *One Nation*, above Another; but that All who would flee from Miſery, or enjoy the Bleſſings of ſuch a *Diſpenſation*, muſt *repent*, ſo as to *bring forth Fruits meet for Repentance*.

When our Bleſſed *Lord* himſelf began to teach the Nature and End of his own coming; it was by preaching *Repentance*, that is, *Amendment:* and, as ſoon as ever He diſcovered any falſe Imagination in his firſt Followers, as if he was come to flatter their Pride, or to indulge their bad Inclinations; He took the firſt *Opportunity* immediately to make them ſenſible of their Miſtake. To this Purpoſe are theſe ſolemn Declarations; That it is not their taking *Him* for their *Maſter*, or the *calling Him their Lord*, that would entitle them to the Happineſs He promiſed; but *the doing the Will of His Father*, the Maker and Governour of all Things; That, in order to be the Children of *God*, and to have the Privileges of ſuch, They muſt conſtantly obey, and imitate, (as far as Humanity will permit) all the Moral Perfections of their Heavenly Father. And to the ſame purpoſe is every other Expreſſion of his, in which he profeſſedly delineated to them the main Strokes of his *Religion*, or taught them the *End* of his *Appearance*.

His *Apoſtles* and immediate *Diſciples* followed Him cloſe in this main Point, after They themſelves were inſtructed in it. St. *Peter*, in his firſt Preaching, declared to the *Jews*, that God ſent his Son *to bleſs us, by turning us* from *our Iniquities*; or, as the Words rather import, to bleſs us, as far as we turn, or in our *turning*, or being *turned*, from our Iniquities, to the Practice of all Virtue. And, in his firſt Epiſtle, He repreſents One great End of *Chriſt's* Suffering to be, that We may *follow the Example of his Patience*; and declares that He *bare our Sins upon the Croſs*, to this Intent, *that We, being dead unto Sin, ſhould live unto Righteouſneſs*. And in This they all unanimouſly agree, even whilſt they ſpeak of his *Death*, under the Notion of a *Sacrifice*, or a *Propitiation*, *for our Sins*; expreſly taking Care to make this itſelf a Leſſon of *Morality*, by declaring no Sins to have any Title to any Benefit from it, but ſuch as are forſaken; and all Immorality to receive a freſh *Aggravation*, inſtead of any *Indulgence*, from it.

The *Life*, therefore, of our *Saviour* was deſigned for our *Pattern* in all *Morality*. His *Doctrine* was to lead us to the *Imitation* of *God*, and to the Practice of the Law of uncorrupted Reaſon, which He always ſuppoſed; and to which he always appealed: and this is *Morality*. His *Death* was to engage Us to himſelf, *i. e.* to the ſtricter Obſervation of his Laws, which are the *Laws* of *Morality*. The Doctrine of *Forgiveneſs* of *Sins*, openly promulged by Him, is ever confined to *Sins* that are forſaken. *Prayer* to the Supreme God, (that great Duty) is an Inſtance of *Morality*, and is the Dictate of Reaſon and Nature, as well as the Command of Revelation; and leads us, in its End, and natural Operation upon ourſelves, to a greater Senſe of all our whole *moral* Duty. And, if We go from hence to the two *Poſitive Inſtitutions* mentioned in the *New Teſtament*; We ſhall find *their* Deſign to be the ſame Intereſt of *Morality*.

The *firſt* of them, *Baptiſm*, or the *Ceremony* of Immerſion in Water, uſed in receiving Perſons converted to the *Faith* of *Chriſt*, is conſtantly declared to be thus intended. It is never deſcribed as a *Charm*, or a mere *Privilege*. On the contrary, the Thing ſignified by it is magnified by St. *Peter*, in Oppoſition to the Ceremony itſelf; *the Anſwer of a good Conſcience*, to the *Waſhing* of *the Outſide*. And St. *Paul*, in a moſt remarkable Manner (*Rom.* vi.) declares the whole Ceremony to repreſent to *Chriſtians* their *Death unto Sin*; and their *Life unto Righteouſneſs:* the *former*, by their being covered with the *Water*; and the *latter*, by their riſing out of the Water again. And, in the Nature of the Thing, it is plainly the Ceremony of admitting Men into a *Religion* which revives all the Obligations of *Morality* upon them, and enforces them more ſtrongly than any other in the World. The *other* Inſtitution is, the Remembrance of *Jeſus Chriſt*, in the *Lord's Supper*; that is, in plain Words, a *Remembrance* of that *Maſter* who taught us the abſolute Neceſſity of *Morality*, or *Virtue*, to our *Happineſs*: and particularly, the Remembrance of his *Death*, which was the greateſt Example of many *Virtues* to be practiſed by us in this imperfect and afflicted State; and which is ſufficiently declared to be no Advantage to his Followers, but as it moves *All, who name the Name of Chriſt, to depart from Iniquity*. And if we ſpeak of *Them*, in the more modern Phraſe, as *The Means of Grace*; the very Expreſſion denotes their *End* to be ſomething higher than the *Ceremonies* themſelves; and ſignifies either that *Chriſtian Virtue*, by ſome called *Grace*, is the *End* to which they are ſubſervient; or that they are *Means* to procure the *Divine Aſſiſtance*, another Signification of the Word *Grace*: which *Aſſiſtance* is allowed to have that higher *End* in view, of our Improvement in all *Morality*.

Thus the *Believing* in *Chriſt*; and the coming into His Religion, and the Remembrance of Him when we are in it; are all adapted, and in their Natures ſubſervient, to One and the ſame great End; the engaging us to abhor all Immorality, and to proceed to the higheſt Perfection we can, in every Inſtance of Morality.

Take away this one great Point; and, I fear, it will be impoſſible to convince any reaſonable Man that *Jeſus Chriſt* was ſent into the World by God. One of the nobleſt Arguments, I am ſure, drawn from this *Deſign* of the *Goſpel*, worthy of God and Man, will be for ever removed from *Chriſtianity*: and where, without This, the Advocates for it can find any Others, truly ſufficient, I know not. Nay, if either *Reaſon*, or the *Goſpel*, tell us Truth about the Diſpoſitions either of God, the *Father* of all Things; or of the *Son* of God, towards Mankind; it is not ſuppoſeable that *Jeſus Chriſt* would have been ſent into this World, and have lived here, to preach to Men, but in Order to their Perfection in Virtue; and much leſs, that He would have died for Men, but expreſly in order to their Living, as becomes *Men*.

Thus, We ſee, the *Religion* founded on *Faith*, or *Belief*, in *Jeſus Chriſt*, is *preached*; and *Chriſt* himſelf is *preached*; when the ſtrict Obligations to *all Righteouſneſs* are *preached* and inculcated, agreeably to the End of his coming into the World. To this Purpoſe alone is the Declaration which St. *Paul* made to *Titus*, in order to give him a comprehenſive View of the *Nature* of *Chriſtianity*; and this ſo full an one, that it may well deſerve a Place here, *viz.* That the *Grace*, or *Mercy*, of God, *bringing Salvation unto all Men, hath appeared*, in the Goſpel, *teaching us* (as the only way in which it brings Salvation) *that, denying Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts, We ſhould live Soberly, Righteouſly, and Godly in this World*; waiting for the *Appearance of Jeſus Chriſt, who gave Himſelf for Us*, (for this very *End*, here pointed out,) *viz. That he might redeem us from all Iniquity, and purify unto Himſelf a peculiar People zealous of Good Works.*

To all this agrees, alſo, every Account we have in the *New Teſtament*, both of the *Proceedings* at the Solemn Day of *Judgement*, mentioned in the *Text*; and of the *Rewards* and *Puniſhments* to be diſpenſed to Men, in Conſequence of that *Judgement*. In all of them Nothing but *Immorality* is declared to be puniſhed; nothing but *Morality* and *Virtue*, to be rewarded. The *Pretenders* to the *Favour* of their Maſter, at that Day, who are declared to be rejected by our Lord, in his own Account, are introduced by Him as pleading a certain Title to his *Favour* from their *Zeal*, and *Faith*, by which they have *propheſied* in his Name, and in his Name even worked *Miracles*. But they are to depart from Him into Puniſhment, with all their Pretenſes about them, merely becauſe they were *Workers of Iniquity*. But the *Good*, and *Beneficent*, are entertained with Praiſe, and invited into the *Kingdom prepared for them*.

No mention is made of Any condemned, who can plead that they have ſincerely endeavoured to find out the Will of God, and have preferred it before all other Conſiderations. No Sentence pronounced againſt ſuch for Errors in Judgement, through the unavoidable Weakneſs of human Nature: but the Integrity and Morality of All accepted and applauded. One cannot help, as we paſs, being led, by our Saviour's own Account, to think how many Pretenſes will the more *modern Ages of Chriſtianity* furniſh out at that Day? Have we not tranſgreſſed all the moral Laws of God and Nature, to ſhew our Zeal for what we call Religion? will many ſay: And how greatly ſurprized will they be, to find That all their *Inquiſitions*, and *Racks*, and *Tortures*, and *Hardſhips*, and *Oppreſſions*, and even the Merit of overturning all the Boundaries of Good and Evil, for the *Faith of Chriſt*, blaſphemouſly ſo called; for the *Honour* of *His Mother*; or the extending the Bounds of *his* Church; will be eſteemed by their *Lord* himſelf as Inſtances of their Guilt; and the higheſt Injuries to Himſelf! And how much more ſurprized, to find the *Excommunicated*, and the *Perſecuted*, and *Thoſe* to whom they would not allow the Name of *Chriſtian*, or the Uſage due to a *Man*, now called forth into Glory, and honoured in the *Sight* of *Men* and *Angels*, as the true *Children of* God; as having ſincerely loved him, and practiſed all his moral Laws?

Infidelity itſelf (I hope it may be ſaid without Offence) will then be puniſhed no otherwiſe than as it is *Immorality*, proceeding from a wilful and reſolute Neglect of *Evidence*, or an *immoral* Contradiction to it. And *Faith* itſelf will then be rewarded, no otherwiſe than as *Morality* in an *intelligent* Agent; the Reſult of the honeſt Enquiry of a well-diſpoſed Mind. Or rather, the *Immorality* of the *Will*, leading at any Time to *Infidelity*; and the *Immorality* of *Practice* proceeding from it; are the Things only to be puniſhed: and the *Moral* good *Diſpoſition* leading to *Faith*, and the *Moral Practice* following from it, to be the only proper Objects of *Reward*; agreeably to all that is ſaid in the *New Teſtament*. For in *That*, We may obſerve, there is not any *Faith* celebrated, but either as the Word is taken for the *Goſpel-diſpenſation*, in Oppoſition to *Moſes's Law*; or, as it is expreſſly declared to produce actual Obedience to God, and all *Morality*, as the End of it. And this, again, is perfectly agreeable to all that we know of the Nature of God, either from Reaſon or Revelation; Both which repreſent Him as juſt, and a Puniſher of diſhoneſt Men, let their *Faith* be never ſo right; but never as a *Puniſher* of the *honeſt* and *upright*. St. *Paul*, in a very particular Manner (*Rom.* ii.) declares that future *Rewards* and *Puniſhments* will be adjudged to the *Morality* and *Immorality* only, of *Thoſe*, who are without a *Revelation*, as well as of *Thoſe* who enjoy One.

This does not at all depreciate the high Value of *Faith* in *Chriſt*; or of Any of *his own Inſtitutions*. On the contrary, Nothing can be more for their Honour, than to find that the moſt noble End, and the moſt worthy of God, is the very End of that *Faith*, and of thoſe *Inſtitutions*. And, I fear, whoever depreciates *Morality*, and would repreſent to the World any other *End* of *Chriſtianity*, as higher than *This*, and not ſubſervient to it; or, whoever would magnify Any *inward* Accompliſhment, or *Outward* Chriſtian *Inſtitution*, before this, and as an *End* ſuperior to it, will be, upon Examination, found to rob that *Divine Religion* of One of its brighteſt Ornaments; and of One of the nobleſt Arguments it can boaſt: and an Argument, without which, not *Miracles* themſelves can, perhaps, be found ſufficient to recommend it, with Succeſs, to any Perſons of *Virtue*, and good Senſe. Nay, theſe Acts of the Mind, and Outward Performances, receive their Value from the good Diſpoſition, or *Morality*, of the *Mind*; and are, properly ſpeaking, ſubſervient to *Morality* in *Practice*, through the Man's Life: but *Morality* can in no Senſe be ſaid to be ſubſervient to *Them*, as a ſuperior *End*; becauſe it would have been the ſame unalterable good Thing, whether *They* had ever been required, or not. In a word; when We ſpeak of the *End*, We mean the *higheſt End* of the *Goſpel*. And that is the higheſt *End* of the *Whole*, to the procuring or Improvement of which, every *inward* Act of the Mind, and every *outward* Inſtitution, belonging to it, are made and declared to be ſubſervient. And This, to the Glory of the Goſpel be it ſaid, is the *Practice* of all *Morality*.

But to proceed; Since this ſolemn *Judgement to come* is ſo expreſly declared by our *Saviour*, and preached by his *Apoſtles*, as the great *Motive* to *Righteouſneſs*, *Temperance*, and every other *Virtue*; Let us now obſerve,

III. Of how great Uſe the Conſideration of This, may and ought to be, to ſuch Creatures as We are, placed in ſuch a World as this.

St. *Paul's* Diſcourſe to *Felix*, about the unalterable Obligations to *Morality*, might have been entertained as a good and reaſonable Lecture: But it was the *Addition* of this other *Topic*, of a *Day* coming, in which All Men were to be called to *Account*; and to be rewarded, or puniſhed, by the ſupreme Judge; which made the Impreſſion upon Him, here mentioned; and forced him to betray the *inward* Apprehenſions of a *Guilty Conſcience*. We find, indeed, that it went no farther, than his *preſent* Concern and Uneaſineſs. He put off the *Diſcourſe*; and, without doubt, the *Thoughts* of it too. The World had taken ſuch hold of Him, that his Attention preſently returned to the Profits and Pleaſures of it; and would not ſuffer Him to give this Subject ſuch a Place in his Thoughts, as the Importance of the Matter required. But let not Us follow ſuch an Example.

This awful Subject of a *Judgement to come*, is not, I own, much worthy of our Regard, unleſs the Expectation of the Thing itſelf be a reaſonable and manly Expectation. But let not any one put the Thoughts of it far from Him, as if This were the Caſe. Let Him look into his own Mind, and it will ſhew Him, in the ſtrongeſt Light, That a *Being* made capable of giving an Account, may juſtly be called to do it: That a *Being* framed ſo as to ſee *Duty*, and *Honour*, in one Method; and *Sin* and *Diſhonour*, in another; and plainly deſigned for *Duty* to a God above Him, and a World of *Fellow-creatures* around Him; has the greateſt Reaſon to expect to have that Account of his Behaviour, demanded of Him, in *Another* Place, which is never demanded of him, in *This*. Theſe are the Thoughts of a Man, as a reaſonable and ſocial Creature: and it is agreeable to the *Dignity* of a Man, and of the higheſt of Men, to entertain Himſelf with the Reflexions becoming his Nature, and reſulting from the peculiar Excellencies of it. And to theſe great and unextinguiſhable Evidences of it, furniſhed from within the Circle of every Man's own Breaſt, the *Goſpel* has added the Weight of that Aſſurance which *Chriſt* has given Us of ſuch a *Judgement to come*.

Neither let any fly from this Employment, as from a Scene of *Melancholy* and *Diſtreſs*, producing only Terror and Uneaſineſs. The End of this great and awful *Motive*, propoſed by *natural* Religion, and heightened by *Reveled*, is not, to make Men *tremble*, but to make Men *better*; not to fill their Souls with *Horror*, but to lead them to the very contrary, by guarding them moſt effectually againſt thoſe *Practices* which rob them of their Innocence and their Peace. And could Men be prevailed upon to think of it, as becomes them, I am perſuaded, it would make even all the *Goods* of this World more agreeable to them. It would not deſtroy any *Profit*, *Pleaſure*, or *Honour*, which a reaſonable Creature would not wiſh to have deſtroyed. To all others it would add a Luſtre and a Value. To *Riches* it would give the true and proper Uſe; which is their only Advantage. The *Honours* of this World it would adorn, by ſetting them off with all thoſe *Virtues*, which alone can render them amiable in the Eyes of Beholders; and without which they are, at beſt, but gaudy Pageantry. And the *Pleaſures* of Senſe themſelves would be rendered more ſincere, unmixed, and laſting, by being reſtrained from hurting either the *Health*, or *Reputation*, or *Intereſt*, or *Honour*, of the Purſuer; and by being deprived of that Sting of Guilt, which otherwiſe will for ever attend upon them.

In ſuch a World as ours is; with ſuch a Nature as Man muſt be content with; ſurrounded with the *Temptations* of *Proſperity*, and the *Trials* of *Adverſity*; Who would not wiſh to be under the Influence of a *Motive*, which may preſerve the Dignity of his Nature, at the ſame Time that it guards and increaſes his Virtue. In every Age of our rational Life, and every Circumſtance of it, We more and more, as We paſs, want the friendly Aſſiſtance of ſuch a Motive. The *Innocence* of *Childhood* quickly vaniſhes, and is ſucceeded by the *Voluptuouſneſs* of *Youth*: and in *This*, a Torrent of ungoverned *Paſſions* often threatens to carry all that is good before it. In the more advanced Years of Life, the Purſuits of *Ambition*, or *Luſt* of *Power* and *Advancement*, take place; not without Danger of the Man's changing Truth, Sincerity, and Honeſty, for Art, Diſſimulation, and Deceit. And in *Old Age*, the *Power* of *Avarice* often ſhews itſelf in too abſurd a Manner to be deſcribed. This is the general State of Man. And therefore, Every Man may juſtly be ſaid to have ſo much need of ſuch a Motive to fortify Him, that he will, too probably, fail without it.

But They who are, by their Situation in Life, ſurrounded with more *Temptations*, and *Opportunities* than *Others*, have, of all Men, the greateſt Neceſſity for ſuch a Guard and Defenſe: Or, in other Words, They who have moſt Temptations to *forget* the great Day of *Accounts*, have, of all others, the ſtrongeſt *Reaſons* not to do it. Thoſe who ſee little around them, beſides the Hoards of Wealth, or the Gaieties of Power and Proſperity; whoſe *Stations* raiſe them above the common Level, and put them out of the way of many of the moral Advantages Others may meet with; whoſe Riches and Power invite the *Smoothneſs* of *Flattery*, but check the *Freedoms* of true *Friendſhip*; and whoſe exalted Degree of Life removes them from the leſſer *Fears* or *Motives* which ſometimes weigh with others: What remains for *Theſe*, who lye moſt open to the ſtrongeſt *Trials* of this Life, thoſe of Proſperity, and Pleaſure; of Profit, or Superiority; but to be alarmed into a Behaviour quite different from that of *Felix*, now before Us? Not to content themſelves with hearing Theſe Truths, and feeling a little preſent Commotion of Soul upon them; not to throw off the Conſideration from the *preſent* certain Time, to an *uncertain* Futurity; but to enter ſeriouſly into their own Breaſts; to think in earneſt of a Being ſuperior to Themſelves as much in Power, as in all other Perfections: and particularly to repreſent to themſelves that Solemn *Judgement* to come, in which They have an equal Concern with the Meaneſt of all their Fellow-creatures; and in which they muſt appear as free from all Diſtinction of Superiority, as the loweſt of Mankind. The Strength, or Multitude, of the Temptations which have here ſurrounded Them, will then increaſe the Glory and Crown of their *Virtue*; but not take away the Guilt of the *Contrary*, in the Eyes of *Him*, who will judge all Men according to their Works.

In a word; If the Men in *high Stations* of every Sort; and the moſt involved in the Affairs or Pleaſures of Life, would but, now and then, find or force an Interval; wearied, as they muſt ſometimes be, with the Hurry of Buſineſs, or tired with the Circle of Amuſements; if They would, I ſay, now and then retire from all theſe; and think ſeriouſly of the Dignity and End of their Beings, and of their appearing in Judgement before that God whom They can neither deceive nor reſiſt; This would teach *Them* to deſpiſe every Inſtance of *Power*, *Profit*, or *Pleaſure*, inconſiſtent with Duty and *Morality*. This would give eternal Peace to their own Minds; and make their *Example* a Light, and an Incitement, to All below; who are ever looking up to *Them*, and forming their Manners on the *Model* of Thoſe above them. And thus might *Virtue*, by degrees, ſpread itſelf through the *Inferior World*; and the Number be increaſed of Such as may be *Happy* both here and hereafter.

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Of CONSISTENCY *in all our* ARGUMENTS *about* RELIGION.

SERMON VII.

Preached before the KING, *March* 5, 17$\frac{31}{32}$.

GALATIANS ii. ver. 18.

For if I build again the Things which I deſtroyed, I make myſelf a Tranſgreſſor.

IN the Verſes going before this, we have a very remarkable Inſtance of St. *Peter's* Miſconduct, in contradicting, by Doctrine as well as Practice, what He himſelf had taught to be the *Deſign* of the *Goſpel*; to the great Prejudice of it amongſt the *Gentiles*; and this, out of *Fear* of ſome Zelots amongſt the *Jews*; as appears evidently from St. *Paul's* Reproof, when He *ſaid to him, before all*, (ver. 14.) *If Thou, being a* Jew, *liveſt after the Manner of the* Gentiles, *and not as do the* Jews, [*i. e.* without a Regard to the ceremonial Parts of the *Jewiſh* Law] *why compelleſt Thou the* Gentiles *to live as do the* Jews? or, Why do you teach and lead *Them* to the *Obſervance* of what you do *not obſerve* yourſelf? A Behaviour! which one would be almoſt tempted to think to have been, by the Deſign of Providence, recorded, that it might ſtand as a perpetual Warning and Monument againſt founding any Pretenſes to *Infallibility* upon a Succeſſion to *this Apoſtle* in particular. St. *Paul*, who records it, after ſhewing the *Inconſiſtency* of this Conduct with the Rule by which St. *Peter* had walked before, and by which the *Goſpel* had been propagated, goes on farther to ſhew the Chriſtian People, *ver.* 15, 16, 17, that the *Goſpel* is not to be cenſured, as a deficient Diſpenſation, not able to put us, out of the State of Sinners, into a State of Favour with God; but *They* only, who either teach, or receive, ſuch Doctrines, as are *inconſiſtent* with thoſe *Principles*, upon which They themſelves firſt received the *Goſpel*.

He then, in the *Text*, lays down this general Rule, by a common Figure putting Himſelf for any other Perſon, *For if I build again the Things I have deſtroyed, I make myſelf a Tranſgreſſor: that is*, For whoſoever doth, by his *Doctrine*, contradict thoſe *Firſt Principles* upon which his *Religion* is founded; and, to get rid of a preſent Difficulty, again maintains or receives thoſe *Doctrines*, upon the renouncing of which his Title to the Privileges of his Religion depends; *makes Himſelf a Tranſgreſſor*; that is, puts Himſelf back into the Condition of an *Unbeliever*, and *Sinner*, not entitled to God's Favour offered by his Religion; and ſo hurts the Religion He profeſſes, by a Behaviour abſolutely inconſiſtent with it. And what the *Apoſtle* affirms here of Thoſe who *build again what they have once deſtroyed*, may, with an exact Agreeableneſs to St. *Paul's* Intention, be affirmed of Thoſe alſo, who *deſtroy*, or pull to pieces, *that which they had before built up*, as neceſſary to the Support of their *Religion*: becauſe there is exactly the ſame Reaſon for it; and becauſe what may be called *building up*, with reſpect to *Falſe* Principles, may be as juſtly expreſſed by the *deſtroying*, or pulling down, thoſe *Good* ones which are contrary to them.

This being the *General* Reaſoning made uſe of by St. *Paul*, in the earlieſt Days, to oppoſe the Miſchiefs done to *Goſpel*, by the inconſiſtent Behaviour of firſt ſupporting it, and inviting the *Gentiles* into it, by particular *Principles*, and then, as ſeeming Difficulties preſſed, declaring againſt thoſe very *Principles*; and the Reaſoning being at firſt unanſwerable, and in all Ages the ſame; it will be natural to apply it to our own Uſe, by obſerving, That the *Arguments* which alone can ſucceſsfully defend, or recommend, *Chriſtianity*, muſt be *conſiſtent*, and uniformly maintained: That whoſoever *builds up*, or maintains again, thoſe ſame *Principles* by the Deſtruction, or Confutation, of which alone *Chriſtianity* itſelf was at firſt, and ever muſt be, defended againſt its Oppoſers; and that Whoſoever *deſtroys*, and throws off thoſe *Principles*, upon which alone *Chriſtianity* could be firſt *built*, and ſupported; *makes Himſelf a Tranſgreſſor*; greatly hurts the Cauſe of *Chriſtianity*, and furniſhes the Adverſaries of it with the moſt Popular, and, according to the Genius of the World, the moſt ſucceſsful, Pretenſes againſt it.

And as St. *Paul* thought it of great Importance to addreſs His Diſcourſe, and his Cautions, againſt ſuch *Inconſiſtencies*, to the *Chriſtian People*, not without ſome hurt to St. *Peter's* Character, for fear They ſhould either receive ſuch *Inconſiſtencies* as would vitiate their own Title to the *Privileges* of true *Chriſtians*, or come to reject the *Goſpel* itſelf, for the Sake of them: ſo, I hope, I ſhall be excuſed, if I follow ſo great an Example, and lay before a Congregation of *Chriſtians*, the ſame General *Rule*, and the ſame *Cautions*, equally neceſſary now, as in His Days, to preſerve Them from being nominal Believers in vain; or from rejecting *Chriſtianity* entirely.

You ſee plainly, by this Time, that my Aim is, To bring that ſame Rule, of *Conſiſtency*, into the Service of *Chriſtianity* in *this* Age, which the *Apoſtle* made uſe of, in the *firſt* Age of the *Goſpel*; and to ſhew the great Diſadvantage ariſing to *Chriſtianity*, from ſwerving at any Time from it.

The Debates which have long been, and ſtill are, ſubſiſting, both in the *Popiſh*, and *Proteſtant*, World, give us Occaſion enough for this Leſſon. If a Judgement were to be made from the Tenor of ſome of them, one would be apt to imagine an open War declared between *Reaſon*, and *Revelation*; an irreconcileable Enmity between the *Religion* of *Nature*, and the Religion of *Grace*, or *Favour*, propoſed in the Goſpel. I hope, for the Sake of *Chriſtianity* itſelf, that this neither is now, nor ever will be, the Caſe. For if ſuch a *real Contradiction* ſhould once be granted; it is very evident, Which of the two muſt ſuffer. But, to come to what I chiefly deſign,

I. The *firſt Obſervation* I ſhall make, is, That when *Chriſtianity* is recommended to any *Unbelievers*, either as it lies in the *Goſpel* itſelf, or as it is modified

dified in any particular *Church* of *Chriſt*, the *Arguments* are, and muſt be, all built upon the *Right*, and *Duty*, of all Men to enter into an impartial *Examination* of their former Opinions. The *Appeal* is made to their common *Reaſon*. They are called upon to try, by the Rules of That alone, what is propoſed to them, as from God, before they judge or determine about it. This very *Appeal* ſuppoſes the *Law* of *Reaſon*, that is, the *Religion* of *Nature*, to ſubſiſt beforehand, as the Meaſure of their trying whatever is offered to Them, as a *Revelation* from Heaven. It ſuppoſes the *inviſible Things* of God; not only his *Being*, but his *Attributes* and *Perfections*, to be already *ſeen*, *from the Things that are made*; and from their Relations to one another; and particularly, from the moral Capacities and Powers of Man, evidently made accountable to His great *Creator*.

And there can be no other Method than This. For how can I poſſibly judge, whether any *Propoſition*, or *Injunction*, be worthy of God, unleſs I firſt know the Nature and Perfections of that God, about whoſe Diſpenſations I am called upon to judge? And how can I poſſibly judge whether the *Propoſal* offered be agreeable to his Original Law, the *Religion* of *Nature*, by which I am called upon to judge; unleſs there be ſuch a *Law* exiſting, either actually known to me, or within the Reach of my Capacity, *before* I form my Judgement about what is propoſed to me?

This being ſo, it is evident that when Men are firſt invited into *Chriſtianity*, it is not by the way of *Impoſition* upon their *Faculties* or *Senſes*; nor by depreciating, or throwing Contempt upon, their *Reaſoning* Capacity; but by acknowledging the Uſefulneſs of *Reaſon*, and the Excellence of the *Religion* of *Nature*. They are then told, that it is their Duty to *judge* of the Demands made upon them, in the Name of God; and that they can and ought to do this, by applying Themſelves to their natural Light, with an honeſt Heart; and by comparing what is now propoſed with that *Light*, which the ſame God has already given them, before they can be aſſured that Nothing is now required of them, but what is agreeable to their former Law: and All, We ſee, is to be built at firſt, not upon the Ruines, but upon the Evidence and Support, of *Reaſon*.

If any *Unbeliever*, in ſuch a Situation, ſhould anſwer to this Propoſal, when firſt made to Him, that he dared not truſt Himſelf in ſo important a Caſe: That the *reaſoning* Capacity in Man was too weak, to judge of the Ways of the great God; that the *Light* He had to ſee by, in this Caſe, was ſo dim, that He could not preſume, without forfeiting all Title to Humility, to determine a Matter of ſuch infinite Importance by it; and therefore, thought it more becoming Him to reſt Himſelf where Providence had once lodged Him, than to enter into Searches, out of which his poor, weak *Reaſon*, would hardly bring Him ſound and whole: If any One, I ſay, upon the firſt Propoſal of *Chriſtianity* to Him, ſhould anſwer in this Manner; I doubt not, he would be told that this was only the Refuge of a lazy, unactive, or wicked Mind; that the eternal Law of *Reaſon* and of God, was not ſo obſcure, or remote, as Vice and Indolence would fain repreſent it to be; that his *reaſoning Capacity*, let it be what it will, was the only Meaſure of his judging for which He can be accountable; that God has a Right to call upon Him to make uſe of it, as the *Rule* of his Judgement, concerning all Pretenſions of this Kind.

Thus evidently does it appear that Men are not, and could not be, invited into *Chriſtianity*, but by a profeſſed *Homage* paid firſt to the *Religion* of *Nature*, as to a *Superior* Judge, of God's Appointment, by whoſe Sentence the *Religion* of *Grace* (or *Favour*) is to ſtand or fall: and that the whole Weight of the

Latter, lies upon the acknowledged Strength of the *Former*. The *Agents* of the *Church* of *Rome* themſelves, who *compaſs Sea and Land to gain a* Proſelyte, even *They* are forced to ſpeak to Men, at their *firſt* Application to Them, in this ſame Manner; and to make ſome Compliments to the *Reaſon* of Mankind, as to the proper Judge of the *Firſt Step* neceſſary to their Succeſs. Thus much for the *firſt Obſervation* I had to offer.

II. The *ſecond* will relate to the *Procedure* which too often is ſeen to follow this *Beginning*; but is quite *inconſiſtent* with it; and therefore, hurtful to the Cauſe of *Chriſtianity* itſelf. I will give only an Inſtance, or *Two*, of what I mean: but theſe ſufficient to ſhew of what Importance it is, to be perfectly *conſiſtent* in what We ſay upon ſo intereſting a Subject, as *Religion*.

1. If any of *Thoſe Perſons*, to whom the *Chriſtian Religion* is, in the Manner beforeſaid, recommended, ſhould take Occaſion, from the Excellency of Reaſon, and of the *Religion* of *Nature*, thus appealed to, as the Rule of Judgement, to argue againſt the *Probability*, or even the *Poſſibility*, of the *Chriſtian Revelation*, upon this Ground, that, there being already ſo good a *Law* open to Men, there can be no *Neceſſity* for ſuch a *Revelation*. Suppoſing this, I ſay, (which has been the Caſe) can it poſſibly be *conſiſtent* with what was propoſed to theſe Perſons before; nay, muſt it not hurt the *Cauſe*, deſigned to be ſerved, for Them immediately to be told, as They ſometimes are, that *Human Reaſon* is very *weak*, at beſt; that the *Law* of *Nature*, or the *Religion* of *Nature*, is imperfect and inſufficient; or *obſcure*, and not within the Reach of our Underſtandings; and therefore, a *Revelation* was *abſolutely neceſſary* to the Direction and Salvation of Mankind? For, How quick and natural will the Reply to this be! Why then have you appealed to this ſame *Reaſon*, and this ſame *Religion of Nature*; and demanded of Us to judge from *Theſe*, whether *Chriſtianity* be worthy of God?

Human Reaſon, or the Capacity of a Man, be it what you pleaſe, is all the Light that Man has to judge by, concerning the Nature and Attributes of the *Great* God. By this *Reaſon*, weak as it is; weak as it can be painted out ever ſince the Fall, We are required by You to judge of the *Goſpel* itſelf, by comparing it with the prime *Law* of our *Creator*, and with His known *Attributes*. But if we are too weak either to find out *That* Law; or if That Law, when found out, is no *Law* for Us to judge by; but either a dim, or a deceitful Light; either not ſufficient to ſhew Us Good, or leading Us (as ſome *Lights* do *Travellers*,) out of our Way: If this be the Caſe; We are brought back again, where we ſet out; and, if This be the State of *Human Reaſon*, with regard to That *Original* Law, and the *Attributes* of God, from which it muſt be deduced; We have Nothing to judge by with reſpect either to the *Truth*, or *Expediency*, of the *Goſpel-revelation*. And how ſuch a *Reply* can be well anſwered, I do not plainly ſee.

This is enough to ſhew, that the Cauſe of *Chriſtianity* itſelf may be unwarily hurt by our thus *pulling down* what We once *built up*; or *building up* what we once *pulled down*; in our *Arguments* relating to it.

If any aſk after *another Anſwer* to this Difficulty, and one quite *conſiſtent* with the Appeal made to *Reaſon*, or *natural Religion*, as to a previous *Law*, perfect enough to be the *Touch-ſtone* of all *Revelation*; I hope, ſuch an One may be eaſily pointed out. For, ſuppoſing the *Perfection* of this Primary Law of God; and granting the Plainneſs and Clearneſs of it to all attentive and well-diſpoſed Minds; and alſo, That a *Revelation* is *not* abſolutely neceſſary; I think it may be, with the ſtricteſt Truth and *Conſiſtency*, anſwered, That, agreeably to all the Notions of Almighty God, taught by Reaſon and natural Religion, it is in all

reſpects

reſpects worthy of that ſupreme Governour, to do for the Happineſs of ſuch Creatures as He has made us, not only all that is *abſolutely neceſſary*, but what may be *excellently uſeful* to that End: That He may, with Glory to Himſelf, diſplay his paternal Regard for Us, by doing much *more* than what is *ſtrictly neceſſary* for our Eternal Good: That it is *Love*, and not the *Rigour* of Obligation, which is repreſented in the *Goſpel*, as the Moving *Principle* of his ſending *Chriſt* into the World; and that this *Love* is a *Principle*, which leads to greater and more Inſtances of *Beneficence* towards his Creatures, than what can be thought in *Juſtice* due, on his Part.

This may be illuſtrated by obſerving, That a *Father* amongſt Men, would be accounted but a very indifferent *Friend* to his *Child*, who, becauſe his Son might poſſibly find out the Ways of Prudence and Safety, by a conſtant Attendance to the *Light*, he Himſelf could ſtrike out, ſhould, upon this account, refuſe to adviſe him, from his own *Experience*; or ſo much as to awaken him to a Senſe of any Danger, in his Entrance into the World: That, as it would not be eſteemed an uſeleſs or weak Thing for a *Father* to do more than can be called *neceſſary*; but, on the contrary, a Mark of *Indolence*, or *Ill-nature*, not to do it in many Caſes; ſo it cannot be thought in Almighty God a *Conduct*, either fruitleſs or unreaſonable, but accompanied with the greateſt *Propriety* and *Glory*, to do more for his Creatures than He is *ſtrictly* obliged to do, in order to put Them into the True Way to all Good.

Thus may it be proved to be worthy of the *Supreme* Governour, to conſult their Happineſs, by calling upon them, in an *extraordinary* Manner, to forſake that *Vice* and *Idolatry*, which they might, without ſuch an *Interpoſition*, ſee to be contrary to *Reaſon*; and to practiſe that whole Syſtem of *Morality*, the *Obligation* of which, it is granted, They *might poſſibly*, without this, find out to be their Duty. Nay, It may be added, that, conſidering the Importance of the *Religion* of *Nature*, and the willful *Negligence* and *Corruption* of the Bulk of Mankind, it was very *probable*, *à priori*, that a *Good* God would once at leaſt, interpoſe to awaken his reaſonable Creatures, by ſome extraordinary Method, to the Study and Practice of *That Religion*. And ſurely, it muſt be acknowledged that the *Goſpel*, if We conſider it ſeriouſly, propoſes what is at leaſt moſt *uſeful* to Mankind, by making *this* very *Religion* of *Nature* a main Part of what it requires; and by revealing plainly the Motive of a *Judgement to come*, in order to ſecure all Obedience to it.

This, I think, muſt be allowed to be a ſatisfactory Way of treating the *Difficulty* before-mentioned; and particularly on this account, that it is a Way perfectly *conſiſtent* with all our *Appeals* to natural *Religion*, and all that can juſtly be ſaid of the Excellency of it; and therefore, a *Way* which preſerves to Reaſon all its Weight, and to *Revelation* all the *Dignity* it claims.

2. I will now mention a *ſecond* Inſtance of a very *inconſiſtent* Conduct with regard to the *Chriſtian* Revelation. When an honeſt Man, moved to the *Enquiry* into it, by the *Appeal* made to the ſufficient *Strength*, not to the *Weakneſs*, of *Human Reaſon*; called to it by the *Truſt* repoſed in Him by God, of looking after his own Soul, and his own Happineſs; encouraged to it, by his acknowledged Capacity to find out and judge of the *Attributes* of the Great God, and his *Right* to reject all *Doctrines* about them, but what are agreeable to the Dictates of *natural Religion*: *When*, thus invited and encouraged, a Man with an honeſt Mind, compares the Contents of the *Goſpel*, as preached by *Chriſt* himſelf, and Thoſe immediate Diſciples whom He called to do it, with the immutable *Law* of *Nature*, and the inviſible Things of God; and is juſtly come to this *Concluſion*,

that the *Goſpel* is worthy of God, and accompanied with ſufficient Evidence: *When*, after He is come thus far, to his Satisfaction, He thinks himſelf ſtill to have the ſame Right to conſider, and judge of, the Meaning and Extent of the *Propoſitions* and *Precepts*, recommended in the *New Teſtament*, or taught by Thoſe who profeſs to preach nothing elſe, by the ſame Rule of Reaſon, and God's firſt Law: how ſurprizing muſt it be to Him, to be ſtopt, and told, that, having come to this good Reſolution, and entered Himſelf into the *Church*, or Society of *Chriſtians*, it is now Time to acquaint Him, that, after his embracing the *Chriſtian Religion*, there will be very little need of his troubling himſelf in that Manner: That He has been called upon, indeed, as a Perſon entruſted with the Care of his own Soul; but that He is now to be eaſed of that Trouble, and to devolve it upon *Others:* that He has been treated as a Perſon endowed with Underſtanding, and required to embrace *Chriſtianity*, as far only as his own Underſtanding ſhould perceive and find every thing in it worthy of God tranſacting with Man: but that now he muſt lay aſide this Character of an *Underſtanding* Being, and muſt not think it hard to embrace what is dictated by Others, though quite unintelligible to Himſelf; or, which is worſe, abſolutely inconſiſtent with all his own well-founded Notions of God, and of his Duty! How ſurprizing, I ſay, muſt this be! And yet, as *ſurprizing* as This is, it is the open avowed Language of the whole Church of *Rome*; and, I fear, the unavoidable *Conſequence* of what *Some*, who have departed far from that *Church*, unwarily teach and inculcate.

But is not This again, *deſtroying what we have built up*; and, in another View, *building up again what we have deſtroyed?* And, what is moſt to be lamented, with Men who have not Strength of Mind enough to get out of theſe Difficulties, and yet Underſtanding enough to ſee them; the Damage falls upon the *Goſpel* itſelf. With all others the *Caſe* is plain, and the *Anſwer* eaſy. If We are fit to be truſted with our own Souls, and we are juſtly called upon, as a Duty owing to *them*, to judge of what is propoſed to Us, as from God; We are as fit ſtill to judge of the Nature and Extent of our Duty, as we are ſtill as much obliged to take Care of Ourſelves, and of our own Happineſs. If We had no Capacity to underſtand any *Propoſitions* expreſſed in Words; we could never be called upon by a Righteous God to judge of them in order to receive them. If the *whole* were unintelligible to Us; it would be of no more Concern to us, than if the *Form* of *Words*, pretending to convey it to Us, were only a Crowd of inarticulate Sounds; and We, no more intereſted in it, than if we were of the Herd of *Animals*, uncapable of Reaſon. And, by the ſame juſt Rule, if any *Part* of what is propoſed to Us, be utterly unintelligible to Us, *that Part* is juſt as much out of our Sphere, and equally of no Concern or Influence, with regard to Us: and We ought not, if this be the Caſe, to be called upon to judge at all in ſo important a Matter. As therefore, in all other *Sciences*, truly ſo called, amidſt all the moſt intricate Difficulties and Differences, it is expected that the *Words*, on each Side, ſhould have a Meaning to them, and be underſtood, without which, no Uſe could be made of them: So, much more, in *Religion*, which is a *Science* of infinite Uſe to our Practice, nothing can have Influence, that is not known; and nothing can be made known to Us, that is not expreſſed in Words, which are intelligible to Ourſelves; and therefore, to be judged of by Ourſelves.

And if we go from Speculations, and Principles, to *Precepts*, no one can deny but that the true Meaning, the exact Bounds, the Nature and Extent, of the *Figurative*, or *General* Expreſſions, in which almoſt all Duties are laid down in the *New Teſtament*, cannot poſſibly be fixed, but by the Attributes of God, and the Law of Reaſon and Society; which is the *Religion* of *Nature*. And this *Religion*, neither our *Saviour*, nor His *Apoſtles*, ever profeſſed completely and explicitly to delineate, in all its Parts and Meaſures; but They conſtantly appealed to it, and invited the World to regard and practiſe it. On the contrary; if this be ſo, that, in embracing the *Chriſtian Religion*, we muſt diſcard that *Reaſon*, by which alone we were led to embrace it; and if that *Underſtanding*, which we were told was ſufficient to judge of the *Relation* between the Attributes and Firſt Law of God, and the *Revelation* of the *Goſpel*, is now in ſome Parts of *Religion*, to act no more the Part of a Director to Us: May it not be ſaid, too juſtly, that this *Procedure* is no better than leading Us by the *Brightneſs* of *Light*, into the *Blackneſs* of *Darkneſs*; and a *Method* of making our *Underſtanding* itſelf the Inſtrument of guiding Us to a State of no *Underſtanding?* Nay, Will it not from hence be urged farther, by Some, that They have been impoſed upon in the whole *Proceeding*; and ought to go back to that *Point*, at which They began, when They were firſt *invited*, and (if I may uſe the Expreſſion) *enticed*, into *Chriſtianity*, by the *Compliments* then paid to the *Religion* of *Nature*, as the *Original Light* conſtituted by God for us to judge by, of all poſſible Schemes of Religion?

I have not Time to name more *Inſtances* of the ſame Sort. But theſe *Two* are ſufficient to ſhew the juſt Ground I had to obſerve that *Chriſtianity* itſelf muſt ſuffer by the *Inconſiſtencies* of Thoſe, who, in their Arguings about it, do thus *build up again what they had deſtroyed, or deſtroy what They had built up.*

I will now conclude with a few *Remarks*, which plainly follow from what I have ſaid.

1. They who inadvertently treat *Reaſon*, and the *Religion* of *Nature*, in the Manner I have now deſcribed, if We go on to ſpeak in St. *Paul's Figure* of a *Building*, ſeem to have totally forgot the Beginning and Progreſs of the *Work*, in this whole *Fabrick* of Religion. They treat the *Law* of *Reaſon*, as if it were only the *Scaffolding* of the *Building*; and, like the *Scaffolding* of *Other* Buildings, to be taken away with the *Rubbiſh*, at the *End* of the *Work*. Whereas, it is the very and only *Foundation*, upon which They themſelves are forced, and glad, to raiſe the *Building* at firſt. And, like *other Foundations*, ſo abſolutely neceſſary to the ſtanding, as well as to the firſt erecting, of it, that if you take *this* away, the *Building* itſelf muſt fall. It may *ſeem* to *Themſelves*, indeed, to remain; and They may pleaſe themſelves with the Thoughts of living ſtill in the *upper* Rooms: But it is from that Moment a *Fiction* only; the *Fiction* of *Fancy*, and a mere *Caſtle in the Air*. The *Rain* need not deſcend, nor the *Floods* come, nor the *Winds* blow and beat upon this, to weaken and deſtroy it, like the *fooliſh Man's* Houſe in the *Goſpel*, built upon the *Sand:* for, upon taking away the Foundation, This muſt of itſelf immediately fall; not having ſo much as *Sand* to ſupport it.

2. As the *Law* of Reaſon, even in fallen ſinful Man, is God's *original Law*, to the Teſt of which *Revelation* is, of Neceſſity, ſubmitted: Methinks, there ought to be, in all Perſons concerned, the *greateſt Fear* of offending God, by depreciating *This*, which may moſt juſtly be called His Primary Revelation of his Will, under the *Pretenſe* of a more than ordinary *Zeal* for any *Secondary Law* of his, which cannot be received, or ſo much as known, without *This*. And this Fear muſt be the more reaſonable in a *Chriſtian*, if it be conſidered, That whoever attempts, (let his Deſign be never ſo honeſt and pious,) to extinguiſh, or diminiſh, the Splendor of God's *Original Light*; if He could

ſucceed, may be ſure of *darkening* the *Second Light*, which He thinks to ſet up on high, and make brighter: becauſe the *Light* of *Nature* is the *Light* of the *Goſpel* alſo, as it ſhews Men the Way to it; and as it throws its Beams upon every *Page* of it. And I will here add, what ſeems too often to be forgot, that the *Religion* of *Nature* is not the *Opinion*, or *Whimſy*, of this or that *Philoſopher*; no, nor what any, or all of them put together, have *actually* ſaid, or may ſay: but it is truly that Law of God, which may juſtly be collected, by His reaſonable Creatures, from the immutable *Reaſons*, and *Relations* of Things; and is the *ſame Law*, as one of the Heathen Writers well obſerves, at *Rome* and at *Athens*; that is, in other Words, at *all* Places, from *one* End of the World to the *other*.

3. Though it appears from what has been ſaid, that the bad Conſequence of ſuch *inconſiſtent* Methods, is, or may probably be, the *turning away* of Many from the *Faith* of *Chriſt*; yet, it is fit that ſuch Perſons ſhould know, that This Fault in *Others*, will not wholly excuſe *Them*; becauſe They may ſee, if They pleaſe, that This cannot be charged upon the *Goſpel* itſelf, but only upon the Weakneſs, or Wickedneſs, of Frail Men. On the other hand, how great the Guilt is of Thoſe who lay any *Stumbling-blocks* in the Way of *Chriſtianity*; let our *Saviour* himſelf teach us. *Wo unto the World, becauſe of Offences. For it muſt needs be that Offences come:* that is, The Nature of Man is ſuch, that *Stumbling-blocks* will be laid in the *Way* of the *Goſpel. But Wo unto that Man, by whom They come.* And this *Wo* is more particularly deſcribed by our Lord, in a Manner, pathetic enough to awaken all Perſons concerned, to put a ſtrong Guard upon their own *Zeal*, or their own Paſſions; leſt They ſhould, even under the Influence of a well-meaning Heart, at any Time fall into this Condemnation.

4. As the *Religion* of *Nature* is ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient *Rule*, and in a ſufficient Meaſure within our Reach, when we are called upon, as a Duty, to examine into *Chriſtianity* by it; it evidently follows, that Whoſoever takes moſt Pains, and moſt ſucceſsfully, to *delineate* the *Religion* of *Nature*, in all it's Branches, and all it's Extent, is ſo far from being an *Enemy* to the *Goſpel*, in the Event; that He really is the *Man*, who does what the *Goſpel* came to awaken the *World* to do; and what is neceſſary towards the explaining and ſetling the *moral Duties* mentioned in it: and furniſhes out a *Syſtem*, which, if it be founded upon *Truth* and *Reaſon*, becomes immediately a Part, an eſſential, certain, and indiſputable Part, of the *Goſpel* itſelf; being *That Part*, upon which the *great Account* to come is ſo often there repreſented chiefly to turn.

There can be no greater Service done to *Chriſtianity* itſelf, than what ariſes from ſuch Labours of Wiſe and Serious Men. And it is with a View to the ſame Service, that I have, at this Time, uſed my beſt Endeavours that the *Religion* of *Favour* and *Mercy* may not ſuffer by any Diſgraces unwarily put upon the *Religion* of *Nature*. In a word; if We have a real Regard and Concern for *Chriſtianity*, let us ſhew it by the Value we ſet upon that *Religion* of *Nature*, by which alone we could be rightly conducted to it; and without which We cannot interpret, or underſtand, any of it's Doctrines and Precepts, when We have received it: Nay, which is now incorporated into it, and itſelf made the *Law* of *Chriſt*. Let us not encourage, or receive, Any one *inconſiſtent Method* of treating the *Chriſtian Religion:* For ſuch *Inconſiſtency* is, in Truth, the great Strength of *Infidelity*, on one hand; and, in ſome Caſes, of *Popery*, on the other. But, let us act that *conſiſtent* Part which alone can make

Chriſtianity ſit eaſy upon a thinking Mind; or recommend it to the World of *Unbelievers.*

If we conſcientiouſly do this; neither *building again* any Part of that Syſtem of Darkneſs which We in effect *deſtroyed,* when We, upon our own Conviction, embraced *Chriſtianity*; nor *deſtroying* the leaſt Part of that Syſtem of *Reaſon* and *Light,* which We may be ſaid *then* to have *built up,* as the Strength and Support of it: And if We add to this that beautiful *Conſiſtency,* in the *Practice* of All that is good, which is the *Duty* and *Ornament* of a *Chriſtian*; We ſhall, by this whole Conduct, do the greateſt Honour and Service to the *Goſpel*; and ſecure to ourſelves the *Happineſs* attending ſuch a Behaviour in *this* Life, and the *Reward* promiſed to it, in That which is to come.

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No continuing City here, &c.

SERMON VIII.

Preached before the KING, *February* 23, $17\frac{34}{35}$.

HEBREWS xiii. 14.

For here have We no continuing City; but We ſeek one to come.

THE Life of Man, in this World, is often repreſented, by the *Author* of this *Epiſtle,* and other ſacred *Writers,* as the *Life* of a *Traveller,* a *Stranger,* or *Sojourner* here below: and this World itſelf, as the *Road* to another. And, in Truth, this is a very proper Repreſentation of the Caſe. *Heaven,* that Seat of eſtabliſhed Happineſs above, is our *Home*; and ought to be ſo accounted by Us. Thither all our Steps ought to be tending: and through this World muſt we go, as through a Road, before we come to it. In our Journey, We have all the Unhappineſſes of *Travellers.* We meet with an inconvenient Lodging, and ordinary Entertainment, for ſome Time. And if it be otherwiſe, yet we muſt certainly leave it; and no more think of ſetling ourſelves in it, than a *Traveller* does of fixing his *Habitation* upon the moſt beautiful Spot of Earth he meets with in his Way; or in the beſt accommodated Houſe upon his Road. The little *Reſt* we have, if we have any, is, as in a *ſtrange* Place, diſturbed and interrupted with much Noiſe, and Hurry, and Diſorder; and, like that of *Travellers,* to be left, perhaps, with the next Morning's Light; and ourſelves to be called Home to a more fixt and durable State. *For here have We no continuing City: but We ſeek one to come.*

From this *Alluſion* to the Life of a *Traveller,* by which the Uneaſineſſes of *our Life* in *this* World, are illuſtrated; and from the *Words* of the *Text,* particularly ſetting forth the Uncertain, and *Unſetled,* Condition of Man here below; it is my Deſign to take Occaſion, without any critical Examination into their *Connexion* with the Words before and after them, to conſider, more at large,

I. The *unhappy* Condition of Man in this uncertain State, where *he has no continuing City*; ſuppoſing Him to be without the Hope of a better and happier State to come.

II. The Grounds we have firmly to expect, and ſeek, ſuch a State of Happineſs, in *a continuing City to come:* And,

III. Laſtly, the Importance, and true Uſe, of the foregoing Obſervations.

I. The *unhappy* Condition of Man in this uncertain State, in which *He has no continuing City*; ſuppoſing Him to be without the Hope of a better and happier State to come.

1. To be brought into the World (by the Will of a ſuperior Being) weak and helpleſs; to paſs our firſt Years in a State of abſolute Dependence upon the imperfect Wiſdom, or ſtrong Paſſions, of Others; to be nouriſhed, through *Infancy* and *Childhood*, with much Care and Trouble to Thoſe about us, and much Uneaſineſs and Pain to ourſelves; to be educated, through our *Youth*, and through all the Hazards and Storms of that impetuous Seaſon, according to the good or bad, the juſt or miſtaken, Notions of Thoſe who claim the Right of conducting us to the *Gate*, at which we are to chuſe our own Path, and at the Entrance of which *our own Life* properly begins — To enter upon this Life, now to be led under our own Conduct, perhaps big with the Thoughts of Nothing but the Enjoyment of uninterrupted *Good*; and to find ourſelves ſoon ſurrounded by a Crowd of *Evils:* To go on, and ſtill be hoping for ſomething ſatisfactory, and ſtill diſappointed; Unhappy, by miſſing the Aim in View; or more curſed, by obtaining it; either not finding what we ſought, or finding what appeared *Happineſs* at a Diſtance to be Emptineſs, or perhaps, *Bitterneſs* itſelf: — To inherit the *Pains*, and *Diſeaſes*, of our *Forefathers*; or to ſuffer under new ones of our own: To bend under *Afflictions* properly belonging to Ourſelves; or to partake ſenſibly in thoſe of Others, in whoſe Happineſs our own is wrapt up; or at leaſt, to ſympathize with our Fellow-creatures, in the many Scenes of *Diſtreſs*, forcing themſelves into our View, on which Side ſoever we caſt our Eyes: And, after paſſing ſuch an uncertain and tempeſtuous Sea, in which one Wave is continually preſſing upon another; and one Danger attending to take the Place of another: *i. e.* after paſſing a *ſhort* Life of *Folly* and *Vanity*; of *Expectation* and *Diſappointment*; of imperfect Health, and frequent Pain: After all this, I ſay, to ſink into Nothing; to fall into a State of utter Inſenſibility:— The *Experience* of the *One*, and the *Proſpect* of the *Other*, ſeem too great a Burthen for a rational Creature to bear.

2. Nor are the Unhappineſſes and Uncertainties of human Life confined to any particular *Climates* of the Earth, or Degrees of Men. Go to thoſe Parts, which are ſometimes called *Happy*; where the Sun ſhines warm, and the Earth is always ready to pour forth its Abundance: and you will find, in the *Moral* World, little but *Violence*, and *Iniquity*, triumphant; in the *Political*, the *Oppreſſion* of the Powerful, laying waſte the Rights, and living upon the Spoils, of Thoſe below them; and in the *Natural*, Diſtreſs and Want ſpread over the moſt delightful Countries, through the *Sloth* and Effeminacy of their Inhabitants; or the Violence of Tempeſts and Earthquakes frequently ſcattering Terror and Ruine all around them. And if You return to thoſe Parts where Power is made uſeful and lovely by Juſtice and Law: How often will you find them torn to pieces by inteſtine Quarrels; always diſturbing, and, ſometimes, totally deſtroying, the Peace and Security of private Life!

3. If we let our Thoughts go up to the more elevated Stations of Life; are *They* more ſecurely fenced about from *Evils*, by Providence; or more defended from *Uncertainty* and *Unhappineſs* than Others? Is the Sleep of Thoſe who poſ-

ſeſs them, ſweeter, or leſs interrupted by anxious Cares and Fears, than That of their Inferiors? Or, are Diſeaſes and Death kept farther and longer from *Them*, than from the Meaneſt? Far otherwiſe. The Outſide, indeed, is all dazling and pompous: But *within*, are the Cares, and Perplexities, and Unhappineſſes, naturally attending ſuch Stations, either through the Imperfections inſeparable from human Nature; or from the Envy and Diſatisfaction of Others. And were their Eſtate a thouſand Times more eligible; I might ſay, leſs pitiable, than it is—Nay, were *Power* nothing but *Happineſs* unmixed; were *Government*, Pleaſure without Pain; and the ſincere Cares of it always repaid with Duty and Gratitude: Were *Riches* the Inſtruments of *Good*, untainted by any Marks of *Miſery*; were *Grandeur* as gay *within*, as it is gaudy *without*: yet, have the Poſſeſſors no Security from Evils of another Sort, and *no continuing City here*. The Diſeaſes and common Calamities of Life are ſufficient, often, to make the whole *Scene* of all theſe united, *Inſipid*, or *Nauſeous*: and whether They do, or not; the *laſt Enemy* muſt come; and to *his* Force, by the Appointment of God, the beſt-built Fabrick of human Happineſs muſt yield.

If This, therefore, be really the *unhappy* and *uncertain* Condition of Man in this World; and, from the higheſt to the loweſt, no One exempt from it; what does it become Us to do? Shall We ſtop here in this Diſtreſs, and place our only Happineſs in *Deſpair* of Any? Or ſhall we ſpend the Vigour of our Minds in unmanly Complaints of our unhappy Portion; and loſe Sight of all Happineſs, becauſe it will not attend Us, upon *this* tottering and uneven Stage? If we are wiſe, or know what it is to be made reaſonable Creatures, in our Degree; Let us rather try, what was propoſed in the next Place,

II. Whether this *Unhappineſs* itſelf, in *this* State, will not guide our Thoughts to Happineſs *hereafter*; and the Experience of *having no continuing City here*, lead us to the reaſonable Expectation of *One to come?*

1. The *firſt Thought*, upon this Head, will ariſe from our being brought into Life, and placed in this World, by a *Superior Agent*, a God of all poſſible Perfections. If this Supreme Director be a Being, not only of all *Power*, but of all *Wiſdom* and *Goodneſs*; not acting by arbitrary Will, but by the Maxims of unclouded Reaſon: Whatever Darkneſſes there may be, in our finite Underſtandings, with regard to the Deſign of every Part of the Creation; yet, This muſt be certain if any thing in the whole Comprehenſion of Nature be certain, that Such a Being could not poſſibly command us into Exiſtence, with ſuch Faculties as We poſſeſs, with any Deſign ſeparated from That *Godlike* One, of conducting Us *finally* to *Happineſs*; whatever *State* of *Trials* and *Uneaſineſſes*, He may *firſt* appoint Us to paſs through. It is unworthy of ſuch an *Agent*, whoſe *Goodneſs* muſt give Counſel to his *Power*, to ſuppoſe that He could have had any *Glory* of his own in view, but what was perfectly conſiſtent with a juſt Regard to the *Happineſs* of ſuch Beings, when He reſolved to ſend Them into this World. The contrary Notion of the *Glory* of *God* is the Foundation of the worſt Errors about his Dealings with his reaſonable Creatures; and cloaths Him with *Power*, only to make Him their *Terror*, and not their *Delight*.

If God, therefore, who *then* brought us *firſt* into Being, *when* we *firſt* taſted of Life, and were free from all Poſſibility of wilful Offence on our Part, could be ſuppoſed to throw us into this State, in which ſo few have any Taſte of Good, and ſo many are almoſt devoted to Pain and Miſery; and, at the ſame Time, to open to our Thoughts no other Scene but This: might it not juſtly be ſaid, that ſuch a Proceeding as this, is no better than to force many kinds of Evil, and many Degrees of Miſery, upon *Creatures* void of all *Offenſe*, without the leaſt Hope or Pretenſe of ſo much as any Recompence for them? But if the *Greateſt* Being in the Univerſe be the *Beſt*; as He certainly is; let us be afraid of imputing ſuch a Conduct to Him; and, under that Fear, let us do Juſtice to his Attributes in this Inſtance; and, with Aſſurance, conclude that He would never have created intelligent Beings, only to ſport a little, and ſuffer much, in ſuch a World as *This:* and, conſequently, had in his View Another and better State after This, when he firſt commanded us hither.

2. Let us go one Step farther, and, if we may be allowed to do it, let us ſuppoſe a Being created with ſufficient Degrees of Intelligence; and immediately placed, by his Creator, in ſuch a *Point* of *View*, as to be able to ſee through all the Mazes of human Life, and ſurvey all the Imperfections, and Miſeries, and Uncertainties, here below; and to judge of them juſt as well as *Experience* enables the moſt unprejudiced amongſt Men, to do. Let us ſuppoſe, after ſuch a full View, it were left to his own Option, whether He would be content to paſs through the ſame ſeveral Periods of Life which the Inhabitants of this World do, and to take the common Lot of Mankind here below, as his whole Portion; whether He would chuſe this certain Conflict with *Evils*, and ſmall Chance for any *Good*; and, *after* the Conflict, be reduced to a State of *Inſenſibility*; or to be thrown back now *immediately* into his former State of the ſame *Inſenſibility*. Were this the Caſe, I hardly think that the bare Name of *Life*, which is but an empty Sound when ſeparated from all Hope of ſetled Happineſs; and much worſe, when connected with a great deal of Miſery; that the mere *Name* of *Life*, I ſay, could poſſibly tempt him to chuſe a Part in ſuch a State, and then to *ceaſe to be*; rather than to accept of the ſame Sentence, without going through the *Evils* of *this* State, *before* it.

But then, put the Caſe that a Scene of *Eſtabliſhed Happineſs* ſhould be opened to the View of this Being, to ſucceed the *Vanities* and *Unhappineſſes* of the preſent; and this *Happineſs* declared to be reſerved for ſuch as ſhall paſs through the Other with *Virtue* and *Honour:* This would alter the State of the Queſtion; and would be a ſufficient Inducement to any ſuch Underſtanding Being, to undertake the Conflict; and to be content to tread the uneaſy and uncertain Path of human Life here below; when he found it to lead to the Certainty, and Duration, of *Good*, and *Happineſs* hereafter.

This way of *Diſcourſe* is not founded on a mere *Curioſity* of prying into the Secrets of unfathomable Wiſdom; but a ſober Attempt to juſtify the Ways of God to Man: And theſe He himſelf, in all *Points*, in which moral *Juſtice*, *Equity*, and *Goodneſs* are concerned, muſt be ſuppoſed to have ſubmitted to the Judgement of his intelligent Creatures, when He made Them *moral* Agents, and obliged Them to govern themſelves by the ſame Rules of *Juſtice*, *Equity*, and *Goodneſs*, which He himſelf obſerved.

My Meaning, therefore, is not to pretend to judge of all the Views of infinite Wiſdom, which would be *Arrogance*; but to draw an Argument from the *Moral Attributes* of God greatly conducing to his Honour: *viz.* That the *Beſt* of Beings, being unalterably happy in Himſelf, cannot be juſtly ſuppoſed to have commanded into Being a Number of intelligent Creatures, void of all Offenſe towards Him, upon any ſuch unhappy Terms, as no One of them could have conſented to, had it been poſſible for him to have judged of it: And, therefore, that ſuch a Being ought not to be ſuppoſed to have forced Us into the poor *Habitation* of this World, without deſigning us for Another, and a Better.

3. I will go on, in the next Place, to argue from our peculiar Capacities, directed to the finding out the Exiſtence and Nature of the Supreme Being; and

fitted for the Worſhip of Him, and the Imitation of his moral Excellencies. For how *vain*, or worſe than vain, are all theſe *Capacities*, if they be not deſigned by Him, who gave us them, to lead to his Favour in a future State! The *low* Concerns of *Animal* Life, and even of *Social* too, might have paſſed on, in a way worthy enough of this preſent Life, without our being made capable of the exalted Notions of a God, and of That true *Religion*, which cannot properly ſubſiſt, without the Expectation of a *future State.* If there be ſomething *real* to anſwer to what We can diſcover by the Powers given Us; then are our *Capacities* worthy of God who is their Author. If the *contrary* be ſuppoſed; how great an Abſurdity is by this fixt upon *Him*, who endowed Us with theſe Capacities!

Much the ſame may be ſaid of thoſe reaſonable and reſtleſs *Deſires* of almoſt All Men; longing to continue in Life; and travelling perpetually towards greater and greater Degrees of Happineſs, and made capable of them by their good Creator. Theſe muſt all be accounted the fruitleſs *Efforts* of vain *Capacities*; unleſs *Life* be Happineſs; and deſigned to be our laſting Good.

If we add to Theſe, the common and well-known *Complaint* of all Ages, that the Affairs of *this World* are conducted, under the Inſpection of *Providence*, in ſuch a Manner, that the Beſt of Men, even in the ordinary Courſe of Things, are often ſeen to groan under the Weight of the ſame common Calamities of this Life which Others feel; and beſides theſe, in ſome extraordinary and unnatural Caſes, to ſuffer all the Evils that the Malice of wicked Men can bring upon them, for the Sake of a good Conſcience: If We add, I ſay, ſuch Conſiderations; The Argument from hence will be This, That the Beſt and moſt Equitable of all Beings muſt deſign, and act, conſiſtently with that amiable Character; That He cannot do this, without putting as great a Diſtinction between the *Beſt* and the *Worſt* of his reaſonable Creatures, in *Happineſs*, as there is in *Behaviour*: and therefore, there being no ſuch ſetled diſtinction in *this* State, but much Miſery left for the Virtuous and Upright often to ſtruggle with; there muſt be, in the great Deſign of the Creator, *another* State, in which *Virtue* and *Happineſs* ſhall be ſeen inſeparably united. Without this, there can be no Appearance of *Proportion*, in the *whole moral Syſtem*: and with it, all the juſt Relations and Habitudes of Things are exactly preſerved. Upon which Account we may juſtly conclude it to be ſo deſigned.

Theſe *Conſiderations* are not thin *Speculations*, ſpun out of the *Cobwebs* of the *Schools*, or built upon the Subtleties of *Metaphyſics*; but *Arguments*, founded upon the *Nature* of *God*, and the *Nature* of *Man*, and the ſenſible *Experience* of our preſent State: and particularly, upon thoſe Notions of the Supreme Being, which it is our Duty to embrace, and conduct ourſelves by: and therefore, ought not to be entertained as the Dreams, or Wiſhes, of good Men wearied out with the Evils of this Life; but as *Concluſions* drawn from the plaineſt and moſt rational Principles.

To theſe We *Chriſtians* ought to add the Aſſurances given by *Jeſus Chriſt*, of a *Future State* of Rewards and Puniſhments, without which his great Deſign had been all Vain and Fruitleſs: and theſe *Aſſurances* confirmed, beyond all reaſonable Doubt, as the Voice of God himſelf, by that Series of Wonderful Works, and that *Reſurrection* from the *Dead*, which were the Demonſtrations of his being ſent by God, into the World, to ſhew Mankind the true and only *Road* to their *eternal Happineſs*, in a *continuing City to come*.

III. The *Uſe*, to be made by us, of what has been ſaid, is the only remaining Point: and the Point, indeed, in which we are moſt concerned.

We have ſeen the *Conditions*, upon which we live in *this* World: how certainly Pain, Affliction, and Adverſity, in all their various Forms of Miſery, are our Portion here; and how ſmall a Part of our Time any Thing that has the Appearance of *Happineſs* takes up. We are, at beſt, rather *Amuſed*, than *Happy*, in this Life: rather diverted from the continual Senſe, or Dread, of *Evil*, than filled and ſatisfied with any *Good*. There are, indeed, Images of Pleaſure, like Phantoms, dancing before our Eyes; and, like Phantoms, ſoon diſappearing. But, even with regard to Theſe, we are rather taken up with the Purſuit of what we have not, than ſatisfied with what we have. And, ſuppoſing ourſelves poſſeſſed, as we falſly call it, of all the Goods of this World; in the midſt of *Life*, we are in *Death*.

In theſe Circumſtances of Diſtreſs, what *Beings*, made capable of higher Things, as We are, can forbear to wiſh for a more ſetled State of Good? And if we wiſh for it, our greateſt Intereſt will incline Us to attend ſeriouſly to the *Arguments* which prove it; and to yield up Ourſelves to the Force of that Evidence they carry with them: And if we be convinced of the *Reality* of ſuch a *State*, we cannot be ſo inſenſible as not to deſire a Place in it; and, if we really deſire it, we cannot but be ſolicitous to take the true Method of obtaining it: that only Method of fitting ourſelves for it, pointed out to Us by the *Religion* of *Nature*, and of *Chriſt*: I mean the uniform Practice of all Virtue, which is the *Imitation* of God, the *Beſt*, and moſt perfect, of all Beings.

This is the true and only *Uſe* of what has been ſaid, that can poſſibly be made, with any Appearance of Reaſon, by any *Creature*, brought into Being by the Supreme Father of all Things, and endowed with all the Qualities neceſſary to the conſtituting of a *moral Agent*.

The Thoughts which I have now laid before You, are of infinite Moment to every *reaſonable Being*, condemned at preſent to *this* World, in which He *has no continuing City*; but framed ſo as to *ſeek One to come*.

The *Loweſt*, and the moſt Unhappy, of all the Sons of *Adam*, may receive Support and Comfort, from this Leſſon, which ought to be ever in his Mind, That the Evils of his wretched Condition, his Pains, and Sickneſſes, and Poverty, and all the Diſtreſs attending it, cannot laſt longer than his ſhort Life; and that, after a Period put to his Life and his Miſeries together, He has as good a Title to plead to a durable State of unmixed Happineſs in a never-ending State, or a *continuing City to come*, from his patient and blameleſs Behaviour here below, as the moſt elevated, Proſperous, Rich and Powerful, of all that tread on this Earth; and that his Voice will *then* be as well heard, and as much regarded, as the *Voice* of Any of Thoſe, who perhaps thought too much of their *Superior* Exaltation above Him, in *this* State. Thoſe in the middle State of Life, will feel the great Advantage of the *Thoughts* I have propoſed, throughout their whole Conduct, in all their Buſineſs, and every Stage of Life.

But what is moſt proper to be ſaid of Them, in this Place, is, that They are Thoughts of equal Importance to the higheſt *Prince*, and the meaneſt *Subject*: to Thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed by the *Honours* of this World, and Thoſe in the *common* Order of Life. For what can, indeed, be more awful and moving, and therefore, what more uſeful, to Thoſe in *exalted Stations*, than to conſider ſeriouſly, that, at the opening of that *Future* never-ending State, All the moſt dazling Diſtinctions of this World ſhall ceaſe; and none remain, but that *eſſential* One between the *Good* and the *Bad*; the *Virtuous* and *Vicious*: That no Rank ſhall then be regarded, but the Rank of Moral Excellence; no Guards ſhall attend the Great, but their Innocence, or true Repentance; and no Praiſes be heard from the Mouths of Flatterers, but from the Voice of their good Actions only: That in *this continuing City*, their Station ſhall be allotted, not according to their exalted *Power*, or *Grandeur*, or *Riches*, but according to their Uſe of them, here below; and that their Godlike Behaviour in this World, ſhall be the only Title to their *Thrones* of *Glory*, in the World to *come?*

And let me add, that I would not permit Myſelf to recommend ſuch Thoughts as Theſe, in this Audience, if I were not fully perſuaded that they are *Thoughts*, which will blunt and ſoften the Thorns and Cares of *Power*; will throw Comfort into the Retirements of the *Great* and *High*; and ſcatter Innocence and Honour through the whole *Syſtem* of their Actions: Which will moſt ſafely conduct them through the Troubles, and Allurements, of their preſent Situations; will animate them to be like God himſelf, in the exerting all their Capacities for the *Happineſs* of the *World* around them; and give them an Ambition to excel in every thing praiſe-worthy here, in order to their obtaining a Seat in that State of *future Bliſs*, which is repreſented in the *New Teſtament*, as a *Kingdom unſhaken in the Heavens*, far out of the Reach of all ſuch Commotions and Diſorders, as are ſeen in the *Kingdoms* of this World; and as a *continuing City*, the Seat of Eſtabliſhed Happineſs for ever.

Chriſt's YOKE, *Eaſy*; *and* BURTHEN, *Light.*

SERMON IX.

Preached before the KING, *February* 27, 17$\frac{36}{37}$.

MATTHEW xi. 30.

For my Yoke *is Eaſy, and my* Burthen *is Light.*

IT is not improbable that our *Bleſſed Lord*, when he ſpake theſe and the foregoing Words, was looking upon Crowds of *Travellers*, coming up to *Jeruſalem*, upon ſome great *Feaſt-day*; many of them loaded with *Burthens*, and all tired and weary with their *Journey:* and that, according to his uſual Cuſtom in other Caſes, He took Occaſion from hence to ſpeak to *Them*, who now wanted *Reſt* of *Body*, concerning another Sort of *Reſt*, of far greater Conſequence; the true *Reſt* and Happineſs of reaſonable Creatures: calling their Minds from the low Concerns of their *Bodies*, to the higher ones of their immortal *Souls*; and from the Buſtle and Hurry of this World, to the Calm and Quiet of true *Religion*.

But, whatever the immediate *Occaſion* of this Diſcourſe might be; the *Intent* of it is ſo important, and ſo general, that every Man, in every Age, is equally concerned in it, who feels in his Breaſt any Degree of Reaſon and Reflexion. For it is very evident that, in this and the two foregoing *Verſes*, our Lord is inviting Men to take upon them *this Religion*, and to imitate *his Example*, as the happieſt Courſe they can chuſe. At the 28th Verſe; *Come unto Me, all ye that Labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you Reſt.* Come unto me all ye who are wiſhing for *Happineſs* and *Reſt*, but are ſtill in a State of Uneaſineſs and Diſquiet, by purſuing it in wrong Methods; and I will ſhew you the only way to that *Reſt*, which is worthy of your Searches. Verſe the 29th; *Take my Yoke upon you, and learn of Me; for I am meek and lowly in Heart: and ye ſhall find Reſt unto your Souls.* Enter upon the *Practice* of my *Moral Rules*; or, in other Words, imitate my Example, in the Practice of every Virtue, and particularly of *Meekneſs* and *Humility*, which are in their nature *Reſt* and *Quiet* themſelves; and you will quickly find yourſelves in that State of Happineſs you are ſeeking. Then follow the Words of the Text, verſe 30; *For my Yoke is Eaſy, and my Burthen is Light.* For that *Syſtem* of *moral* Duties and Obligations, which I am come to inforce and lay upon you, is of ſuch a Nature, as to be much more agreeable, and eaſy, to ſuch a Creature as Man is; and much more conducive to the Quiet and Happineſs of ſuch a Being; than a Freedom from it, or an Engagement in any Courſe of a contrary Nature, can be.

Thus far theſe Words of our Bleſſed Lord may, juſtly and naturally, be extended. For He plainly appears to ſpeak to Such as are in a *reſtleſs* and unquiet Condition wanting and wiſhing for *Happineſs*; from his offering to ſhew them the only way to it. He plainly intends what He ſays of *his Yoke*, to be underſtood of the *Moral Rules* and Obligations of his Religion, becauſe He himſelf inſtances in *two* of them; *viz. Meekneſs*, and *Humility*. He plainly appears to comprehend, in what He ſays, his whole *Syſtem* of *Virtue*, from his calling it by the Name of *his Yoke* and *his Burthen*; which muſt mean his *Whole* Moral Law. And He certainly intends what he ſays of the *Eaſineſs* of his *Yoke*, and the *Lightneſs* of his *Burthen*, to be underſtood in Compariſon of any other, ſet in Oppoſition to it; becauſe he ſtill calls it a *Yoke* and a *Burthen*: Words, which ſuppoſe it not to be void of all preſent Difficulty, and Uneaſineſs. And the *Whole* is plainly meant, in Compariſon of the *Yoke* and *Burthen* of *Sin*, or *Immorality*; becauſe He inſtances, expreſly, in the *Practice* of the *moral* Virtues mentioned, as the Way to Happineſs.

I may, therefore, very reaſonably, take Occaſion from theſe Words, to conſider how truly and juſtly it is ſaid, that the *Yoke* here ſpoken of ſits *eaſier*, upon ſuch a Creature as Man; and the *Burthen* of practical Religion *lighter*; than any of a contrary Sort: or, in other Words, to ſhew that the *Practice*, implied in *This*, is a much ſurer way to his Happineſs, than That of *Vice* and *Immorality*. In order to this,

I. The *firſt* neceſſary Step is, to conſider what a Sort of Being Man truly is.

II. The *ſecond* will be, to enquire what Circumſtances are neceſſarily required to the making any *Courſe* of *Action* eaſy and happy to ſuch a Creature.

III. And the *third* will be, To ſhew that an uniform Courſe of *Virtue*, or practical Religion, has a Title to all theſe Requiſities; which the Courſe of Life, *oppoſite* to it, cannot pretend to.

1. As to the *firſt* of theſe; it is but Folly to ſpend our Time in vain Complaints of the Imperfections of our Nature: That we are not made, on one hand, with Abilities to practiſe all *Virtue*, in every Circumſtance of Life, without any Inclination, or Temptation, to the contrary; or, on the other hand, capable of enjoying unbounded Pleaſure, wherever it offers itſelf, without any Reſtraints from within, or any ill Conſequences from without. Our Buſineſs is, to conſider ourſelves as we truly are; and not as we could wiſh ourſelves to be: as Creatures, related to the inferior Part of the *Creation*, in our *Bodies*, and *bodily Appetites*; but greatly diſtinguiſhed from it, by a Faculty within us, which ena-

bles Us to find out the Exiſtence of a God above Us; the Excellency of his Nature; the true Glory, and Duty, of a rational Being; and the Expedience, and Becomingneſs, of One Sort of Conduct above another. For to conſider *Man*, either as a Creature merely *Animal*, without any Direction in his Nature but to the *Animal Pleaſures*; or as a *Creature* merely *rational*, without any Bias from Fleſh and Blood, or any Temptation from the preſent Scene of Things; is a very *partial* and unequal Conſideration; and likely to carry us but a little way in the *Enquiry* now before us.

2. After this, the *Second* Step is, to conſider what *Circumſtances* are requiſite to the making any Courſe of Life eaſy, and agreeable, to ſuch a *Creature* as Man, certainly, is.

And here, there are *two* Things, which ſeem to me to have a juſt Claim to This, *viz.* That this *Courſe* of *Action* ſhould be agreeable to the beſt and governing Part of his Frame: And, That it ſhould either have no Difficulties, and Diſtreſſes, of any Sort, in it; or that thoſe Difficulties, and Diſtreſſes, ſhould be, at leaſt, ſufficiently compenſated by Advantages, either preſent, or future, or both.

1. To make any Courſe of Action, *eaſy* and happy, to *Man*, it muſt certainly be agreeable to that *rational* Principle within Him, which, He is ſenſible, has a Right to guide and direct Him in his Actions.

The *Liberty* of a reaſonable Being is his *Happineſs*: and the *true Liberty* of ſuch a Being, cannot conſiſt in an unbounded Freedom from the Obligation of all Laws; but in the ready and ſetled Habit of following that *Principle*, or that *Authority*, which is, evidently, entitled to the Rule and Government of Him. For by this means it is, that a Perſon, or intelligent Agent, comes to do what Himſelf approves of; what Himſelf recommends to his own Practice, *before* Action, and delights in and applauds, *after* it. On the contrary, it is the *Slavery* of *moral Conduct*, which is moſt of all to be dreaded by ſuch a Being: And the moſt hard and intolerable *Yoke*, and the moſt grievous and oppreſſive *Burthen*, to Him, muſt be a *Life*, in which He is hurried, by the Command of an *Inferior* Principle, got looſe from the Influence of the *Superior*, into ſuch a *Scheme* of Actions, as Himſelf can never ſeriouſly approve, *before Execution*; and cannot but wiſh undone, *after* it. It is with *Moral* Liberty, as it is with *Political* Liberty, in its Perfection; which is greatly miſtaken, and ill-treated, when it is ſuppoſed to be *Licentiouſneſs* abſolutely free from Rule; whilſt its very Eſſence conſiſts in a ready and uniform Submiſſion to ſuch *Principles*, or *Perſons*, as have a right to govern us; and govern us by ſuch Laws as Reaſon, (conſulting the Good of the whole Society) declares it to be beſt for us to obey.

If we aſcend higher in our Thoughts to That Being who holds all Perfection in Himſelf, it is no Preſumption to ſay, what He accounts his own Glory; That it is the *Liberty* of Almighty God himſelf, to be conſtantly, and without any Deviation, governed by the eternal and immutable *Laws* of Good and Right, Juſt and Equal. From whence we may juſtly argue, that no Being capable, in any Degree, of knowing any Part of thoſe Laws, can have any other *Moral Liberty* than *This*; or deſire any other, upon any reaſonable or honourable Terms.

Conſequently, on the other hand, it muſt be the Eſſence of *Moral Slavery* to Man, to be arbitrarily governed by ſuch *Powers*, as He knows to have no Right to any Command over Him; or hurried into Action, by ſuch Laws and Commands, as He himſelf cannot think of in any other Light than as Contradictions to the Dictates of the Superior Principle, and inconſiſtent with his own Peace, and all Order within Him. Neither does the preſent tranſient *Pleaſure* of obeying them, in any Inſtance, at all alter or affect this Truth: unleſs *Pleaſure*, againſt Reaſon, can change Evil into Good; and alter the Nature of Things, ſo as to turn *Bitter* into *Sweet*; the *bitter* Reproaches and Reſentments of an offended Mind, into the *ſweet* Approbations of its *ruling* Principle.

It may, therefore, be juſtly inferred, from what I have already ſaid, that it is impoſſible that any *Courſe* of *Action* can be an *eaſy Yoke*, or a *light Burthen*, to *Man*, in which He is ever contradicting the Superior Principle within, and the only one He has to conſult, and to be influenced by; and is guided by the impetuous *Rule* of *Another*, which was made to obey: becauſe, ſuch a Courſe, muſt neceſſarily beget Self-condemnation, and the worſt Sort of inward Diſtreſs; and make the Man his own Enemy, and his own Puniſher. But,

2. To the making any Courſe of Life *eaſy*, and *happy*, to ſuch a Creature as *Man*, I will be free to own it not to be quite enough, that it be perfectly agreeable to his *beſt* and governing Part; but neceſſary alſo, that it ſhould either have no greater Difficulties, and Diſadvantages, in it, than what are certainly found in That oppoſite to it: or that Theſe Difficulties, and Diſadvantages, ſhould be ſufficiently and fully compenſated by Advantages, *preſent*, or *future*, or *both*.

This needs no Sort of *Proof*, or *Illuſtration*; that, if any *Courſe* of *Action* has *Difficulties* in it, next to inſuperable; or *Uneaſineſſes*, next to intolerable; there can be but little Hope of *Conſtancy* enough, in ſuch a Creature as *Man*, to keep Him ſteddy in it: But that if the *Difficulties* in it are not worthy to be named with the *Advantages* and *Encouragements* attending it; this will render it an agreeable Taſk to every well-informed Mind. If the *preſent* Advantages of it be but *ſmall*; yet, if the *future* ones be vaſt and durable, though they be ſuppoſed only probable, This will weigh greatly againſt the preſent Difficulties of it. But if it ſhould be found to have a more ſure and probable Title than the contrary, to all preſent Advantages, worth the ſeeking after; and the ſureſt allowed Title to all *future* ones; only ſuppoſing us to be Creatures accountable to that God who made us: Theſe Conſiderations, joined to what I have ſaid, under the former Head, will be more than ſufficient to place it far above any *Courſe* of *Life* that can be oppoſed to it; and recommend it to the Choice of Men, as the moſt *eaſy Yoke*, and *lighteſt Burthen*; or as the Courſe of Life, much more free than any other from all the Evils that are moſt to be avoided by ſuch a Being.

III. Let us now proceed to the *third* Propoſition I laid down; *viz.* That a ſetled Courſe of *practical Religion*, or *Virtue*, has a much ſurer Title to all theſe Requiſites before-mentioned, than that of *Vice* and *Immorality*.

And here, I believe, it is an unconteſted Truth, that the habitual Practice of *Virtue*, is the Practice fully approved and applauded by our *beſt* and *ſuperior* Faculty; by that *Principle* within Us, which, we are ſenſible, was given to rule and govern our Actions. And this ſingle Truth will make a vaſt Difference between the Practice of *Virtue*, and that of *Vice*; That, to the *Former* a Man is conſtantly directed by ſerious Conſideration, and by a willing Choice, which is the Reſult of it; that *in* it, He is accompanied with his own Applauſes, and the ſecret Approbations of his Conſcience; that *after* it, He is entertained with the Pleaſure of a ſweet Reflexion, and the Praiſes of unpolluted Reaſon: That, on the contrary, to the *Latter* He is never, in any one Inſtance, led by the ſerious Conſiderations and Arguments formed by Reaſon and Judgement; that themore he conſiders, and reflects, and reaſons, the more he is diſſuaded *from* it; that he is hurried *into* it by quite the contrary Principle; that he is accompanied *in* it by frequent Reproaches of his own Reaſon; that he is often purſued *after* it by the Laſhes of a guilty Conſcience, and by the ſtinging Thought, that he has done what he can never juſtify at the Tribunal of his own Heart, or the more impartial one of Him who made him what he is.

Of this one might make the wickedeſt of Men, not void of all common Senſe, Judges themſelves: whether it was ſerious Conſideration and Reflexion that made them Sinners; whether it was the laſt Reſult of their *Judgement* and *Reaſon*, that the Path they tread would lead them to their greateſt *Happineſs*; or, whether the Courſe of *Vice* be the Courſe agreeable to their ſuperior and governing Principle. On the contrary, let the loweſt Order of good and virtuous Men witneſs, whether their *Virtue* ever gave them any Uneaſineſs, upon the Review of it; whether the Sentiment of ſorrowful Repentance was ever ſtirred up in their Minds, by the Thought that they had been juſt, or temperate, or humble, or charitable; or, whether They ever felt any Remorſes within, upon looking back upon the virtuous and righteous Part of their Lives. They will give Teſtimony, every one of them, that if they ever have felt any Uneaſineſs of that kind in their loweſt and moſt deſponding Moments; this has been owing to the Suſpicion, that They have not done enough in the Cauſe of *Virtue:* not that they have been ſo good, as they have been; but that they have been no better. On the other hand, if any Eaſe of Mind, in a religious Senſe, has been experienced by any habitual *Sinners*; it is undeniable that it has never ariſen from any *Pleaſure* reſulting from the Review of a *vicious* Courſe: but from their deep Sorrow, on account of their paſt Conduct; and from the ſecret Hope they ſometimes entertain, that God will accept ſuch Sorrow inſtead of that *Virtue* and *Holineſs*, which they mourn the want of. All which puts it beyond Doubt, that a ſteddy *Courſe* of *Virtue*, is the *Courſe*, entitled to the conſtant Approbation of our beſt Part, and to the Favour of that *Principle* within, which was given to rule and direct us: and that the *Courſe*, contrary to this, is accompanied with all its Diſlike, and Diſpleaſure.

2. If we now proceed to the *Second* of Thoſe *Requiſites* before-mentioned, " That to make any Courſe of *Life*, agreeable to ſuch a Creature as Man, it ſhould either have no *Difficulties*, or *Diſtreſſes*, in it; or, that *they* ſhould be ſufficiently compenſated by *Advantages*, *preſent*, or *future*, or *Both*; We ſhall, I hope, find it alſo true, that a Life of *Virtue* has manifeſtly the Preference, in this View, that the *unnatural Diſcouragements*, it may, in ſome extraordinary Caſes, meet with, are more than compenſated by the Advantages attending it; and that the general Rule, in the *natural* Courſe of Things, is greatly in its *Favor*.

To this Purpoſe, let it be conſidered, That the *preſent Advantages* of it are as certain, as Any of the moſt certain *Pleaſures*, or *Profits*, of *Sin*; and of much more Importance to ſuch a Creature as *Man* is. It conſtantly, and without Variation, brings along with it a *Peace*, and Serenity, and Joy of Mind; never known or felt without it. It tends, naturally, to the *Health* of that Body itſelf, upon which ſome place the higheſt Value; to as good and creditable a *Situation* in Life, as ought to be wiſhed; to ſuch a *Reputation*, as a Man would chuſe upon the beſt Conſiderations: And, in the Enjoyment of the Goods peculiar to this World, being bounded only by *Reaſon* itſelf, it is always free from thoſe many Embaraſſments, Diſappointments, Uneaſineſſes, Anxieties, Perplexities, and preſent Miſeries, to which the unbounded Enjoyment of the ſame Goods is every Day ſeen to expoſe Men.

On the other hand, the Practice contrary to this, if it has any Effect upon the *Mind*, (as it muſt have, as long as the *Mind* exiſts) it is to diſquiet and diſcompoſe it, by ſuch well-grounded *Uneaſineſſes*, as are themſelves *preſent Unhappineſs*. The Effect of it upon the *Body* is, in many Caſes, to bring on *Ruine*, and *Diſſolution*, before it's Time; to fill it with more Diſtempers, and invite more Calamities into it, than would, otherwiſe, be experienced. The Effect of it upon the Name and *Reputation*, is no better; if the *beſt Reputation* be the Eſteem of the Good and Wiſe. And upon Men's *Eſtates*, the Influence of *ſome* Vices is as bad, in leſſening them, and bringing them to Nothing; and of *Others*, in making them uſeleſs to the Poſſeſſors themſelves. And if this be plainly the Caſe, that, excepting in ſome very *unnatural* and extraordinary Circumſtances of Affairs, the Cauſe of *Vice* has nothing to boaſt of, even in this *preſent* State; and that the *Courſe* of *Virtue* has, in itſelf, a conſtant Fountain of *inward* Eaſe, and a *natural* Tendency to all the *outward* deſirable *Happineſſes* of Life; here, at this Point, all the Boaſts and Pretenſions of *Vice* ceaſe at once.

It is *Virtue*, alone, that can look forward, with any Courage and Satisfaction, into a *future* State of Things. *Vice* is no *Rival* there: nor does it ſo much as preſume to think of any Claim to *future* Rewards; but, as long as Thought remains, is often alarmed with the Fear, or Suſpicion, that, as *Puniſhment* is due to it, *Puniſhment* will hereafter overtake it. I ſay, it is a State of *Virtue*, alone, that can make Us feel a Pleaſure in hoping and thinking, That, as ſurely as there is a God, who made Us reaſonable Creatures capable of the Guidance of *Moral Rules*; as ſurely, as He has made us with all the Tokens of Creatures *accountable* for our Actions; and as ſurely as there is a *State* after this poor Life: ſo ſurely will the Favour of God, and all the proper Marks of it, be ſhewn to the truly Virtuous; and the *Rewards* of *another* and *better* Life, more than make up for all that was grievous in *this*, to the moſt unfortunate and oppreſſed of all the Lovers and Followers of it. And We *Chriſtians* know that it was the great *Deſign* of our *Bleſſed Lord*, to bring *Life* and *Immortality*, in a future State, to *greater Light*, than they were viewed in, before; in order to make his *Yoke* ſtill the *more eaſy*, and his *Burthen* the *more light*, to All who ſhould take his Religion upon them.

I have thus endeavoured to induce you to chuſe the *Yoke* and *Burthen* ſpoken of, in the Text; that is, the *Obligations* of *practical Religion*, or *Virtue*, before the *Slavery* of *Vice*; the only *Rival* which ſtands in Competition with it. I have compared their ſeveral Pretenſions: And I am not ſenſible that, in this Compariſon, I have given one Grain of Weight to the Scale of *Virtue*, which does not, undeniably, belong to it; or taken from the *contrary* Scale any one Advantage which it could poſſibly claim.

And now, if I may conclude with a *Word* more peculiarly proper to *this Aſſembly*, and *this Place*, in which I now ſpeak; I will add, That, if what I have been laying before you be the Truth of God, of ſuch Importance as to be worthy of your Attention; it cannot but be the immediate Concluſion from the Whole, in the Breaſt of every Perſon of *High Rank*, here preſent, that a ſetled Courſe of *Virtue* muſt be the only Courſe of *Honour*, to ſuch a Being as Man is; and that the more eſtabliſhed any Man is, in this Courſe, the greater Title he has to be called a *Man* of *Honour*. The Word *Honour* ſtill remains amongſt us, applied to the Behaviour of Men; and, if the *Ideas*, annexed to *Words*, be not yet entirely confounded, it can mean Nothing diſtinct from, much leſs contrary to, *Virtue*. Nor are the Differences of Things yet ſo loſt, but that the *Word* is ſtill deſigned, in all the Inſtances of Conduct and Action in which it is uſed, to ſignify a Degree of *Virtue* even exalted above the common Pitch; and exerciſed in Caſes, to which human Laws, and human Eyes, often cannot reach; but the Right and Reaſon of the Thing do: as in thoſe of *Gratitude* to *Benefactors* known only to Ourſelves; *Truth* to the moſt ſecret Promiſes; *Juſtice* and *Equity*, as ſuch, where *no Court*, and no Man's Judgement, can enforce it. Theſe, and many other Inſtances, ſhew an Acknowledgment, in Thoſe who uſe the *Word*, of the ſtrict Obligation to *Virtue*, as the Dictate of the rational Faculty; and of the utter Diſagreeableneſs of the contrary to that *ſecret Principle* in Them, the Power of which, in ſome ſuch Inſtances, they cannot forbear to feel, and follow.

This is, in Effect, to acknowledge, what is a moſt certain Conſequence, that a Man of *Virtue*, and a Man of *Honour*, through the whole Syſtem of *Morality*, are only two Expreſſions for one and the ſame Thing: and that it is a *Contradiction* to the *Nature* of Things, as well as the greateſt *Abuſe* of *Language*, to put aſunder what God and Reaſon have joined together.

And, indeed, what can be the *Honour* of *Man*, but that *Practice*, which is unvariably agreeable to his ſuperior and ruling Principle? Let him not claim any other, for fear He ſhould be found to claim the *Honour* of *lower Animals*, inſtead of *his own*; and to boaſt of *That*, in which many of the *irrational* Kind, could They act in our World, would greatly excell him. For, in *Men* themſelves, it requires but a very low Capacity, and little more than *Inclination* free from the Reſtraints of Reaſon and Reflexion, to be *diſhonourably wicked*.

This is no wandering from the *Words*, and *Doctrine*, of the *Text*. For I mean to infer from what I have been now ſaying, that *Virtue* muſt be the *Eaſieſt Yoke*, and the moſt *Light Burthen*, to a Mind ſenſible of the Rules of the ſtricteſt *Honour*; becauſe this, we ſee, is ever acknowledged of ſome particular *Inſtances* of it; and therefore, cannot be denied of any other *Branches* of that *God-like Syſtem*, which relies, in every Part of it equally, upon the ſame eternal and immutable *Laws* of *Right*, and *Truth*: and, on the other hand, that a Courſe of *Vice*, and *Immorality*, muſt be the moſt *galling Yoke*, and the moſt *heavy Burthen*, to ſuch a Mind; becauſe it is a moſt uneaſy Contradiction to thoſe ſame *Rules* of *Honour*, by which the Man acknowledges himſelf, of *Right*, to be governed, and preſerved from *Moral* Evil, in *ſome* Caſes; which *Rules* extend equally to *every* Branch of the whole *Syſtem* of *Iniquity*.

And here, let me repeat, That no imagined *Pleaſure*, or *Profit*, can alter this Truth: becauſe Nothing of that Kind can turn *Unreaſonable* into *Reaſonable*; nor, conſequently, the *Diſhonour* of an *intelligent* Being into its *Honour*. Nor can all the Enſigns and Trappings of *outward Greatneſs* (in another Senſe, ſometimes, called *Honour*,) make it otherwiſe. They will always render *Vice* more deformed, and more diſagreeable, in the Eyes of all who think rightly; becauſe it is truly more out of *Character*, in ſuch a Garb, than in the *Coarſer* Dreſs of the *Lower* World: but They can never give to it the peculiar Privilege of *Virtue*; which, alone, ever was, and ſtill remains, the true *Honour* of all the Great and Noble of this World, as well as their Duty and Happineſs.

I have thus, in the beſt Manner I could, explained and enforced a very important Declaration of our *Bleſſed Lord*, concerning the Practice of all the *Moral* Duties of His holy *Religion*: and, I hope, in doing this, I have been preaching *Chriſt*, and his *Doctrine*. It is the *Glory* of His *Goſpel*, that the great Deſign of its Founder was to direct his Followers to the whole *Syſtem* of *Natural Religion*, or *Morality*. His *Doctrine*, upon which He reſts their *Happineſs*, is *Virtue*. His *Life* was an unſpotted Example of all *Virtue*. His *Death* is the greateſt Argument for *Virtue*. And his *Sufferings* are *blaſphemed*, when they are repreſented as deſigned for the Advantage of any *Sinners*, but ſuch as have forſaken their Sins, and are returned into the Paths of *Virtue*. Let Every One, therefore, who profeſſes to follow *Chriſt*, as his *Maſter*, *learn of Him*; and take his *Yoke*, and his *Burthen*, upon Him: And *he will find Reſt to his Soul*, in a Conduct agreeable to his own Mind, in every Part, and every Relation, of Life, *here*; and unſpeakable Happineſs, *hereafter*.

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Of PERSECUTION *on Account of* RELIGION.

SERMON X.

ROM. xiv. 4.

Who art Thou that Judgeſt Another Man's Servant? To his own Maſter, He ſtandeth, or falleth.

IN a former[a] Diſcourſe upon theſe Words, I obſerved, that the Foundation of all *outward Perſecution*, for any ſort of Differences about Religion, was laid in the Mind *within*; that the firſt Step was the *Inward* Act of *Cenſuring* and *Judging* our Neighbours, on account of what They eſteem, as any Part of the Worſhip or Service of God: But that the Evil ſeldom ſtopped there, but was generally obſerved, when Opportunity offered, to break out into open *Violence* to Men's *Bodies* or *Eſtates*, for the Sake of their Conſciences.

This being the Caſe, the firſt Step I choſe to take, was to attempt the Cure of that wicked Diſtemper of Mind *within*; or, to ſhew the inexcuſable Iniquity of the *Inward Act*, before it can proceed to *Outward Evils*. This I endeavoured to do, by obſerving,

1. That we are not qualified *thus* to ſit in *Judgement* upon One Another.
2. That it is not the Province of *Us*, who are but *Fellow-ſervants* to the ſame *Maſter*.
3. That it is a Province, which our Great and Common *Maſter* hath peculiarly reſerved to Himſelf. And,
4. That it is our great Buſineſs to prepare for the *final Judgement* of *Ourſelves*, and not to be found *judging* Others.

But, as Men have been, in all Places almoſt, and in all Times, obſerved to proceed from *Inward Cenſures*, to the Application of *Outward Force*, and *Worldly Evils*, in Matters purely *Spiritual*, and belonging to *Conſcience*; I ſhall now purſue this Subject farther; and endeavour, in the plaineſt Manner poſſible, to ſhew the great and unpardonable Iniquity of all *Outward* Perſecution, on *Religious* accounts: And this, by ſuch Conſiderations, as will at once determine *That*, and anſwer the chief Pretences alledged by Any Men for it.

Now this Great Evil of *Perſecution* is, by All ſuch *Patrons* of it as ſpeak ſeriouſly of believing the *Goſpel*, and regarding the Salvation of Mankind, always avowed, to be built upon the Great Importance to All Men, that They ſhould be Believers of the *One* only true Religion, and ſound Members of the *One* only true *Church* of *Chriſt*, in order to their *Eternal Salvation*: And upon the *Duty* of bringing Men to their own Happineſs, by *Force* of *Outward Evils*, when other Methods fail. I know, there is *Another* Reaſon, or Excuſe, for it, ſometimes mentioned; taken from the Peace and Quiet of *Society*, and of the Chriſtian World about Us, which is pretended to require ſuch an Agreement, as this Outward Force is deſigned to produce and eſtabliſh. But *this*, (not to mention that it is built upon a great Miſtake, directly contrary to Truth and Experience) being merely of a *political* Nature; and plainly founded upon the Wicked Maxim, that it is of no Importance what is *True*, or *Falſe*; what is pleaſing to Almighty God, or not; and throwing *Religion* quite out of the Queſtion; I ſhall not now enter at all into the Merits of ſo weak and worldly a Pretenſe; but ſhall only conſider the *Former:* which, being the moſt honourable Pretenſe for *Perſecution*, is always the moſt avowed: Few caring to own that they mean nothing but this World, and their own *Power*, or *private Intereſt*, in it. This then being plainly put upon the Importance of right Sentiments about Religion, and the true *Church* of *Chriſt*, out of which there can be no Salvation,

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[a] *Note*, This was the *Second* Sermon upon this Text. See the *Firſt* in p. 716, of this Volume.

I. The *firſt* Conſideration which offers itſelf, is this; that ſuppoſing, the *Importance* of *Truth* would juſtify Us; yet, without the Certainty of our being *Infallible*, in what we ourſelves hold to be *Truth* in *Religion*, it would be moſt unreaſonable, and inexcuſable, to act againſt our *Fellow-creatures*, by the Application of *Outward Force*. *Perſecution*, you may know from all Hiſtory, takes a great Compaſs, and is ſeen to exert itſelf, not only with regard to the Fundamental Truths of all Religion; but, (We may ſay, chiefly and moſt commonly,) for the Support of Thoſe *many* inferior, or leſſer Points, in which the Thoughts of ſerious and ſober Men ever were, and ever are likely to be, different. And if, in Theſe, or any of Theſe, We make a wrong Judgement; then, Every Step we take is not only out of the Paths of *Charity*, but of that *Truth* likewiſe, the Name of which we make uſe of to cover our Uncharitableneſs.

This is ſo plain, in the Caſe before us, that the *Romaniſts*, who generally take Care to make their Scheme of *Abſurdities* conſiſtent with itſelf, *firſt* aſſume to themſelves an *Infallible* unerring *Judgement*, before They venture to affirm to You, that You ſhall believe, and profeſs, what They think fit. For they well know that, if They ſhould own Themſelves, to be liable to Errors, and to be *fallible* Men, in all conteſted Points of Religion, They could not claim the Submiſſion due only to *Infallibility*, in Matters of *Faith* and *Worſhip:* and ſo, They chuſe rather to lay their *Foundation* in *Impudence*, than to loſe the Benefit of *worldly Terrors*, for the inlarging the *Bounds* of their Church.

But ſuch an *Outrage* upon the common Senſe of Mankind, cannot be carried by mere Dint of *Aſſurance*. For it comes to no more than This, " We affirm that We are *infallible:* and therefore, you are bound to obey Us, as ſuch: neither can They themſelves, who utter this Oracle, tell Us, in what *Place*, and *Perſon*, or *Perſons*, We ſhall certainly find this *Infallibility*.

This therefore, is a *Voice*, little becoming ſuch a Creature, as *Man* is, even the moſt elevated of all ſo called: who every Day finds within himſelf the Experiences of a Creature, capable of being deceived; and ſtanding in need of all favourable Allowances, both from God, and his Fellow-creatures. But,

II. Suppoſing that We could be, not only morally certain, but infallibly ſecure, that All the Points which We ourſelves embrace as Parts of Religion, were really True, and Irreprehenſible; the next thing to be conſidered is, That it is naturally impoſſible, by outward Evils, to force the *Inward Aſſent* of Others; or to make their real Sentiments about thoſe Points conformable to our own. For the *Aſſent* of the *Mind* to any thing as Truth, muſt be upon ſuch Evidence, as makes it appear to be Truth. Now nothing *External* can make any Propoſition appear True to a Man's Underſtanding. Whatever doth that, muſt be of a kind, congenial to the Mind within: To which outward Force bears no Similitude, nor Relation. It is *Reaſon* and *Argument*, either real, or ſuppoſed, that works *within*; and which alone muſt do ſo, till the Nature of Man, and of Truth, be totally altered.

If a Blind Man were put upon the Rack, day after day; and intenſe Torments applied to Him, for the great Crime of not ſeeing the *beautiful Colours*, which his Neighbours ſee. This might extort from him a Proteſtation, that He doth ſee them; nay, it might create in Him ſuch an Inclination to ſee them, that He might *fancy*, He did ſo: But it is plainly true, that it would not make Him really ſee any thing like them. He would ſtill be the ſame *Blind Man*; uncapable of ſeeing, and unacquainted with *Colours*, till All Defects ſhould be rectified, and All Things requiſite to the Purpoſe of *Sight*, ſhould be rightly diſpoſed.

Thus it is, in the greater Caſe before Us. All Men are pleaſed to ſuppoſe, that They themſelves ſee and perceive *Truth*, and that Others are blind, and ſtupid, juſt ſo far as They differ from Them. Be it ſo. Let *Us* be wiſe and knowing; and let the Herd around us be all Blindneſs, and Ignorance. Muſt it follow, therefore, that the Application of *Outward Evils* will work that Perſuaſion in Others, which will make Them, altogether ſuch as we are, in the Inward Sentiment? No. It may create a Wicked Prevarication, a falſe Proteſtation, an impious Hypocriſy; all ending in *Irreligion* and *Atheiſm*, which we muſt in great Meaſure anſwer for: Or, It may go ſo far, as to make Creatures, diſtracted with the Intenſeneſs of Pain, fancy at laſt that They ſee what Others ſee, and believe what Others believe. But this can be no more than Imagination, or Fancy; becauſe it is plain that the *Medium* made Uſe of, is not the proper Mean, or Inſtrument, to convey a real Perſuaſion. *Force* is not *Evidence*; *Torment* is not *Argument*. And therefore, whatever it may work, though bearing never ſo much Reſemblance to *Perſuaſion*; yet it cannot be *That* itſelf in Reality, becauſe That can no more be the Effect of any thing merely external, than the *Sight* of a *Blind Man* can be reſtored by tormenting him in an improper Place, and Manner.

This is ſo plain, that Thoſe who profeſs to argue for any ſort of *outward* Penalties, or Inconveniences, upon Accounts merely Religious, if They ever touch this Argument, only alledge, that thoſe outward Things duly applied, may make Perſons the more willingly attend to Argument and Reaſon: For ſo Every thing is called by Men, which Themſelves hold, or would appear to hold. And from this very *Conceſſion* it is plain, that it is the *Evidence* and *Argument*, which is the Mean of this ſuppoſed Conviction; and that even by Themſelves nothing but this is ſuppoſed, or can be ſuppoſed, to work a real Change, in the Perſuaſion, and inward Sentiments of any Man. And this being the only Gloſs that can be put upon this Proceeding,

III. It is to be conſidered that, ſuppoſing *This* were poſſible; it is neither the Buſineſs, nor the Intereſt of *Truth*, to be received, by ſuch Methods, or in ſuch a Manner. It is much *better*, and more pleaſing, in the Eyes of Almighty God; if We can judge at all, either of his Nature, or of his *Revelation* by *Jeſus Chriſt*; That any Man, in the Uprightneſs and Sincerity of his Heart, ſhould remain in an *Error*, than that He ſhould embrace the *Truth*, ſo induced, and ſo perſuaded to it. It is the great Intereſt of Truth, to be received upon ſuch *Motives*, and *Principles*, as are manly and honeſt; ſuch as lay the Foundation deep within, and are directly oppoſite and contradictory to Thoſe by which alone *Falſhood* is, or can be, ſupported.

But when a Man is worked upon, by Torments, or any ſort of *outward* Inconveniences only, to wiſh, or incline, to ſee *a Point* to be *True*; and the *Inclination* carries Him to aſſent, as He thinks, to the ſuppoſed *Arguments* for it; He is not at all ſure that He hath not parted with his *Integrity*, for a *Speculation*; that He hath not made Ship-wreck of his *Conſcience*, for the ſake of a ſuppoſed *Faith*: or, that He is not worthy of that Imputation of holding the *Truth*, in *Unrighteouſneſs*. It is plainly an *Accidental* thing to *Him*, if He ſhould, by this Method, be brought to a *Right* Opinion in any thing. It is wrought by ſuch Methods, as would as certainly have turned him from *Truth* to *Error*, as from *Error* to *Truth*. He doth not, therefore, reap the Honour of a ſincere and hearty *Lover of Truth*; and perhaps loſes entirely the Reward of all his former Uprightneſs and Integrity. Almighty God gains no *Servant*, no faithful *Dependent*, in *Him*: nor doth the Man ſecure to Himſelf any Share in the Favour and Love of God; as far as We know, either by *Nature*, or the *Goſpel*, the Will of our Heavenly Father.

And, as it is not at all the Intereſt of *Truth*, to be accidentally received, juſt in the ſame manner, as *Error* itſelf might; ſo, is it the greateſt Indignity and Diſhonour that can poſſibly be offered to that ſame *Truth*, for whoſe Service, as it is pretended, this great Concern is ſhewn. For what hath *Truth* to boaſt againſt it's *Enemy*, and it's Oppoſite, but that the *One* ſtands in need of nothing but *Light* and *Evidence*, to recommend it to Men's Minds; and that the *Other* cannot be ſupported without the Paſſions and *Wrath* of *Man*? This Boaſting is entirely deſtroyed, when the Methods of propagating and ſupporting *Truth* and *Falſhood*, are made the ſame. This puts them upon an equal Foot, and makes their Glory the ſame: For, whatever becomes of *Falſhood*, this Method extinguiſhes all the *Beauty* and *Glory* of *Truth*, by conveying it to the Minds of Men, in a Method unworthy of any thing, but the *groſſeſt Falſhoods*.

This, therefore, is certain to All who know the Value of Integrity and Honeſty in the Eyes of *Almighty God*; that, ſuppoſing the Application of *Outward Evils* could create a real Change of the Perſuaſion within, and that for the better, as to the mere *Truth* of any *Propoſition*; yet, *Error* itſelf, joined with Uprightneſs and Sincerity of Soul, cannot but be more valuable in the Account of our Great Judge, than *Truth*, either accidentally embraced, or infuſed into the Mind by the Workings of *Force*, and the Conſiderations of *this World*. But it cannot be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a *Perſuaſion* within can really be the Effect of *Outward Evils*. Nor indeed do *They* who make uſe of them, at all trouble themſelves about the *True* Sentiments of Thoſe whom They treat in ſuch a Manner. All that They think of, is to draw the ſame Words, or Sounds, *that is*, the ſame outward *Profeſſions*, from All. This leads us, in the next Place, to obſerve,

IV. That to *force* the *Profeſſions* of Men contrary to the *Dictates* of their *Conſciences*, in Matters of *Religion*, and *Divine Worſhip*, is directly contributing to the Worſt of Sins; and acting a Part the moſt inexcuſable, and unreaſonable. Any Inſtances of *Torment* or *Miſery*, applied to this Purpoſe, even if it were in Favour of the plaineſt Propoſition in *Mathematics*, would, in the natural Tendency of

Things, be ſo far from inclining, either a generous or a perverſe Mind, to the *real Belief* of it, that They would rather create an Averſeneſs to, and Hatred of, a *Point*, which ſtands in need of ſuch Methods of Support. And, ſuppoſing that *Wearineſs* under *Evils*, at Length ſhall make Men *profeſs* ſuch Points to be *true*, as They cannot believe to be ſo: this is, in Thoſe who make uſe of ſuch Methods to this Purpoſe, the Great Crime of enſnaring their Fellow-creatures into *Hypocriſy*, and in the End, perhaps into *Atheiſm* itſelf; into a Contempt of every Thing truly good, and a Diſregard of what is *True*, and what is *False*. So that I ſhould not doubt to ſay, that All the *Inward Infidelity* and *Atheiſm*, that is in the Hearts of ſo many Men, in thoſe Countries, where *Perſecution* is openly avowed, is in great Meaſure owing to that *Perſecution*, which pretends to root it out; and will be charged upon the *Perſecutors* themſelves, by the Great Judge of the World, when He ſhall *come, to bring to Light the hidden Things of Darkneſs, and to make manifeſt the Counſels of the Heart*. Let us go on now to obſerve,

V. That, as it is juſt, and holds good, in the Caſe of all *Truth*, that it ought to be received, by every Man, in the *Love* of it, and not in the *Fear* of any of this World's Evils: ſo, is it plain, that the more *Important* the Truth is, and the more it relates to another State, and his own *Eternal Salvation*; the more ſtill is it certain, that it ought not to be forced, but to be left to the Man's own Conſcience, and to that *Thought* and *Reflexion*, which were given to Man for the balancing and receiving it; and which alone entitle Him to *Reward*, or *Puniſhment*, for his Conduct relating to it.

The Reaſon is plain; becauſe the Importance of any *Truth* to the Service of God, or the Happineſs of Man, makes it more requiſite, that the *Man* ſhould purſue the *Enquiry* after it, with Sincerity; and hold it faſt with Conſtancy: neither of which He can do, if He is overpowered by the *Motives* of this *World*; and by the ſame Arguments, which equally recommend *Truth* and *Falſhood*; and which therefore, would have had the ſame Effect upon his Mind and Tongue, were any *certain Error*, by the like Pain and Diſtreſs, recommended to Him.

Nay, upon this Account it is not unreaſonable to affirm, That it would be more juſtifiable of the two, to erect a *Court* of *Inquiſition*, and to apply the *Extremity* of Bodily *Torments*, for the Conviction of All who will not own that *a Part is greater than the Whole*, or that *Ten are more than Twenty*; than to make uſe of the ſame *Terrors*, in Matters purely *Religious*, that touch the *Worſhip* and *Service* of *God*, according to Men's own Conſciencces. The *former* is monſtrous, and abſurd, and an Injury to *Human Society*. The *latter* is as monſtrous and abſurd; and beſides, is a profane *Invaſion* of Almighty God's Province; a Judging his Servants before the Time; an Inſult upon *Conſcience*, which is to be the Rule, and Meaſure, of a Man's Duty here, and of his *Happineſs* hereafter.

Since therefore, to force the *Mind* and *Conſcience* within, is impoſſible; and ſince to force the Words and Profeſſions of Men, againſt their Inward Perſuaſion, is impious and wicked; and ſince this is much more ſo, where *God's* Prerogative, and *Man's* Greateſt Intereſt, are concerned, in the moſt peculiar manner: it remains that the only Method in this Caſe, allowed by Juſtice, or Equity, is, the Uſe of Reaſon and Argument to convince Men inwardly of any Errors; and that All the reſt muſt be left to Charity, and mutual Forbearance. There are *Two* Arguments, to prove This, and to inforce it upon all Men, and *Chriſtians*.

The *One* is taken from the Sentiments of all Men, when they make it, or rather feel it, to be their own Caſe: and the *other* is, what ought to be conſtantly regarded by All who bear the Name of *Chriſt*, the Method in which *Chriſtianity* was propagated through the World.

1. As to the *firſt* of theſe; there is no Rule allowed to be more equitable, or more humane and fitting, than this, that what one Man hath Reaſon to expect from another, He is obliged in Reaſon to perform to that other, in like Circumſtances. If we cannot think it juſt in Others, in *their* Height of Power, to demand an Agreement in every Thing relating to Religion, of *Us*, ſuppoſing us under their Power; no more can we think it juſt in Us, to exact, with worldly Penalties, that ſame Agreement, whenever Superiority, and Strength, give leave: Becauſe *Force* is not *Right*; nor can any Thing be done lawfully by one Man, which may not as lawfully be done by Another, in the ſame Circumſtances. So that Men perpetually pronounce, in this Caſe, their own Sentence of Condemnation, by aſſerting and pronouncing That to be the Heighth of Injuſtice and Wickedneſs towards themſelves; which yet They will venture too often to practice towards Others, upon every the leaſt Opportunity. It is not only a Law of the Chriſtian Religion, but of eternal Truth, *Whatſoever ye would* (whatſoever You have reaſon to expect) *that Men ſhonld do unto you, That do unto them*; and never the *contrary*.

2. But then, as I obſerved, there is ſomething ſo peculiar to *Chriſtians*, in the Propagation of their own Religion, in its firſt and pure State, that it deſerves to be duly conſidered. The great Debate, We ſee, lies, between two Ways of promoting and ſupporting, what is called *Religion*; or extending the Bounds of a *Church*. Theſe are, either *Force*, or *Perſuaſion:* either the Argument of *Reaſon*, or of *outward Evil*. Here then, we ſhall find, which was moſt agreeable to the Wiſdom of God. It was, with reſpect to his Power, equal to Him which Method to make uſe of. Had He ſeen fit to have illuminated and converted the Princes and Magiſtrates of this World, (as He did St. *Paul)* this, according to ſome, would have done the Work effectually. The *Authority* of ſuch Men, beſides the Influence of their Examples, which there is a natural Inclination in Mankind to imitate, would immediately have drawn into the *Church*, the numerous Throng that is always ſeen to follow Power and Greatneſs. Nay, Multitudes of Lives might probably have been ſaved this way; becauſe no *Perſecution* of this *new Religion* could have been ſet on Foot, when all Power was with it; but would have been applied, on the ſide of it, if a few (which is not credible,) ſhould have been ſo unmannerly, or ſo ſtubborn, as not to follow Great Examples. But then, the whole End of the *Goſpel* had been well nigh fruſtrated; which was not, a bare Profeſſion of it; but a receiving it as the *Truth*, in the Love of *Truth*, and the not holding it in *Unrighteouſneſs*. Where would then have been the Trial of Men's Hearts and Souls? Where would have been the Proofs of Sincerity and Integrity in its *Profeſſors?* Where would have been Virtue and Honour, in following what was their great and laſting Profit?

Almighty God, therefore, who ſees the Springs and Ground of all praiſeworthy Actions, choſe a Method the direct contrary, for the Honour of the *Goſpel*, and of the firſt Profeſſors of it. He not only did *not* cloath it at firſt, in the Garments of this World's Glory; not only did *not* arm it with any of the Force and Might of this State; but He left it to the Power of thoſe Evidences that accompanied it: And, that *Sincerity* might have it's *perfect Work*, He opened it, when all the World was diſpoſed to arm againſt it; not only not to cheriſh or befriend it, but to perſecute and oppreſs it. So that here is the Difference between the *Sentiments* of Man, and of Almighty God. Weak *Man* never ſeems to think even the *Religion* of God's *own Inſtitution* ſafe, unleſs it have Perſecution, and worldly Power, in it's Friendſhip and Alliance. And the All-wiſe God judges ſo differently from this, that, in the Setlement and Eſtabliſhment of the Religion of *Chriſt*, he chuſeth to have the Power of this World againſt it, rather than for it. The Reaſon is, that *this* World may have as little to do with Men's Determinations about *Religion*, as poſſible; that the Uprightneſs of the Heart may lay the Foundation; and that Virtue may have it's Effect here, and it's Reward hereafter.

This, methinks, ſhould convince all *Chriſtians*, that *Perſecution*, in any Degree, is the Invention and Inſtrument of God's greateſt Enemy: and that, as *Chriſt* diſdained to make uſe of *outward Force*, in planting the *Beſt Religion* in the World; ſo it is Unchriſtian and Impious to change his Method, in ſupporting It; and for this Purpoſe, to chuſe Thoſe very *Weapons*, which his *Enemies* uſed at firſt *againſt* Him and his *Kingdom:* and which, his Father, in his infinite Wiſdom, rejected, as improper for the good *End*, He then had in view.

We may now, at the Concluſion of this Diſcourſe, very juſtly aſk, If all this be true, according to the Law of *Nature*, and the *Goſpel* of *Jeſus Chriſt*; how great, how inexpreſſibly great, is the Guilt of the Leaders of *that Church*, which places the whole Strength of Religion in the Strength of Power, and the Arm of Fleſh; which turns the Motives of all that is good, from *inward* to *outward*; which hath no Care or Concern about *Honeſty* and *Integrity*, but enforceth an *Unity* of *Voices*, by Fires, Baniſhments, Racks, and ſuch like Methods; which forſakes the Paths of Meekneſs plainly pointed out by *God* and *Chriſt*, and purſues thoſe of Deſolation, and Deſtruction? And then, Let us conſider, how much it behoves All who have profeſſed to ſeparate from that Church, to ſeparate effectually from the moſt *Unchriſtian* and *Diabolical* Thing in it; and to keep themſelves at a Diſtance from every Tendency to the ſame *Evil:* to ſtudy the *Goſpel*, and to put on that Spirit of Charity, of Peace, and of Forbearance, which breathes through *Every Page* of it. And This will effectually diſpoſe them, not to judge, or cenſure; much more, not to condemn and injure, oppreſs and torment, the Servants of *Another Maſter:* but to leave their Fellow-ſervants, in all Matters of *Religious Concern*, to ſtand or fall, by the Judgement of their one common Lord and Maſter, to whom alone They muſt all give an Account for Themſelves.

◆

Of ZEAL *not according to* KNOWLEDGE.

SERMON XI.

ROM. x. 2.

I bear them record, that they have a Zeal *of* GOD, *but not according to* Knowledge.

ZEAL, (in the uſual Acceptation of the Word, and as it may be underſtood in moſt Places of Scripture,) is a great and Sincere Concern of the Mind for any Thing. And a *Zeal of God*, is a fervent Concern of the Mind, founded upon a *Religious* Principle; a Concern for ſomething which a Man thinks of Importance to the Honour, or Worſhip, of God. But the true Notion of *Religion*, and of the *Honour* of God, has been ſo little known in the World; and Superſtitious and fond Opinions about his Will, and his Worſhip, have taken ſuch Root in the Hearts of Mankind, and been propagated ſo from Age to Age; that the *Zeal* commonly obſerved in the World, has been of more Prejudice to *true Religion*, and the *Honour* of *God*, than the greateſt Indifference and Coldneſs could have been. So ready human Nature has always been to miſtake, in ſuch weighty Matters; and to turn the *Virtues* and *Duties* of *Religion* into *Vices*, by their Miſunderſtandings, and the undue Management of their Paſſions.

A *Zeal* of God is, in itſelf, a reaſonable and commendable Thing. But when Men miſtake in the firſt Principles, and great Fundamentals of *Religion*; and fix upon the Deity whom they worſhip Such Attributes and Qualities as are agreeable to their own Fancies or Inclinations; all that they act is out of the right Way: and their *Zeal* degenerates into a ſuperſtitious Fury, and a mere Madneſs; being not guided by Reaſon, nor built upon a true Underſtanding of the Nature of *Religion*. Thus St. *Paul* obſerves, in the Text, that the *Jews*, even whilſt they rejected and perſecuted *Chriſtianity*, and adhered to Juſtification by their own *Law*, had a Religious *Zeal*: but He obſerves, alſo, that it was *not according to Knowledge*; not accompanied with Underſtanding, or built upon a right Apprehenſion of Matters.

And that We, whilſt we have a *Zeal* of *God*, and a Concern for what we account *Religion*, may not fall into the ſame Condemnation; it will be proper for Us to ſpend ſome Thoughts upon this Subject. And, in order to do this with Advantage, I propoſe theſe following Things:

I. To ſhew When it is that a Religious *Zeal* is *not according to Knowledge*.

II. To lay down the beſt Rule I can, for regulating *our Religious Zeal*.

III. To offer ſome *Motives*, in order to our avoiding that *Religious Zeal*, which is *not according to Knowledge*.

I. I ſhall endeavour to ſhew When it is that a Religious *Zeal* is *not according to Knowledge*. And, I think, this may be determined, 1. By the *Degree* of our *Zeal*, which ought always to be proportioned to the Value of the Object of it.

2. By the *Methods* in which it ſhews itſelf. And 3. By the *Motives* which give Life to it.

1. A *Religious Zeal* is *not according to Knowledge*, when the *Object* of it is not what it ought to be. Nay, It is Abſurd and Fooliſh; a Contradiction to All Reaſon and Underſtanding; when it is employed upon what does not deſerve any Part of our Regard. As We are made Reaſonable Creatures, We are obliged to act as Such. And therefore, When Men regulate and ſetle their *Religious Zeal*, for their own private Conduct, which is a Matter of great Moment to them; it ought to be done with the moſt mature Deliberation, and upon the beſt Grounds; with Regard to nothing, but what is of real Weight in the Balance of Reaſon, and of the *Goſpel*. Otherwiſe, They may unhappily come to lay out the Strength and Vigour of their Souls upon what cannot profit them; upon what cannot carry forward the great Affair of their Salvation in another World; and to found their warmeſt Expectations of God's Favour, and Happineſs, upon inſignificant Trifles. And then, All their Concern for them, the more Vigorous and Paſſionate it is, the more Abſurd it will be alſo. It may be a *Religious Zeal*, indeed: but it will be, *not according to Knowledge*, or Underſtanding.

And as the *Degree* of our *Zeal* ought to be proportioned by the Value of its ſeveral *Objects*; it is evident That Our *Religious Zeal* is not *according to Knowledge*, when We ſhew *more Zeal* for ſome Matters of Little Conſideration, than we do for Thoſe of much more Moment, and of greater Importance to us. All Men who believe any Thing of Religion, (and none but ſuch can pretend to any Thing of a *Religious Zeal,)* cannot but acknowledge that the main Deſign of it, or the *moral Duties*, which it always commands, are the Matters of greateſt Concernment to them. This, I am ſure, our *Saviour* has plainly taught all *Chriſtians*: and yet, the *Zeal* of Men, and even of *Chriſtians*, which has moſt appeared in the World, has been ſeen to exert itſelf, as if *Theſe* were framed to yield to Points of much leſs Conſideration. The Honour of God, in the Sanctification of Men's Lives, has been too much neglected; the Terms of *Salvation*, propoſed by God himſelf, both in his Book of *Reaſon*, and That of *Revelation*, have been overlooked. Other Terms have been invented; other Supports for Men's Hopes and Expectations ſought out: and a much greater Streſs laid upon ſome Circumſtances, which are, comparatively, trifling and inſignificant, than upon what God has *plainly* declared to be of the greateſt Importance.

But, certainly, We act not agreeably to that Character of underſtanding Creatures, which we pretend to, when we put off the great and momentous Points of *Religion*, with a very ſmall Part of our *Zeal*; and employ the main Force of it upon ſomething of much leſs Conſideration: when we expreſs a very cold Affection, and little Warmth, for Righteouſneſs, and Juſtice, and Temperance, Truth, and Honeſty, and Integrity; but have a burning *Zeal* for ſome particular outward Forms, or inward Opinions; or for the Enlargement of the worldly Intereſt of a particular *Sect*; none of which can come in Competition with Thoſe greater Matters, which True Religion ſtrictly and principally requires.

2. Our religious *Zeal* is, certainly, then *not according to Knowledge*, when it ſhews itſelf by undue *Methods*, and is diſcovered after an indecent and unchriſtian Manner. Let the *Objects* of our religious Concern be what They will, and what they ought to be; let the *Degree* of this inward Concern be, according to the Rules of Equity, proportionable to the *Objects*; yet there is ſomething more requiſite: It muſt not break forth into *Indecencies*, or *do Evil that Good may come*. We cannot be too much concerned for the Honour of God, and the Converſion of the World from Darkneſs to Light, and from the Power of Satan to the living

ing God. But the aiming at the Service of God himſelf, will not juſtify all the Means we may poſſibly uſe, in our great Concern for it. *Zeal* for God, and his Glory, muſt not break in upon any of the Laws which He himſelf has laid down, in order to his own Glory: for this would be to affront Him, in order to honour him; and to bring a Diſgrace upon his Religion, in order to propagate and extend it. And therefore, When the *Zeal* of any Perſons for what they account Religion, breaks forth into Reproaches and Calumnies, Murthers and Deſtructions, Violences and Paſſions, Invaſions of Rights and Privileges, and the like; or, when *Zeal* for Religion diſcovers itſelf in any Thing contrary to the known Laws of that ſame Religion; ſo that Virtue itſelf ſuffers, in any of its Branches: it is apparent that This is a *Zeal of God, not according to* Knowledge; being founded upon the Ignorance of what God expreſly requires; and proceeding from Men's not knowing, or not regarding, the eternal Laws of Practice, which God himſelf has propoſed to Mankind. And of ſuch Perſons as Theſe, the Apoſtle, in another Place of this Epiſtle, ſays, *whoſe Damnation is juſt*.

3. *Laſtly*, When the *Motives* that give Life and Vigour to our *Religious Zeal* are worldly and Evil; then our Zeal is *not according to Knowledge*, nor begun, and carried on, by Reaſon and Underſtanding. This *one* Thing will ſpoil the Beſt of all our Actions, and will certainly ruine the Beauty and Acceptableneſs of our *Zeal* in the Eyes of God. To expreſs a Warm *Zeal* for *Him*, and for his Honour, and His Commands, above all other Things; and to ſhew this Zeal in proper and becoming *Methods*; *Theſe* are very laudable and Chriſtian Points. But to exert this *Zeal* upon Temporal Conſiderations, and for ſome vile End of our own, undiſcovered to the World, renders the whole Procedure odious to God; even when there is Nothing bad in it, but the *Principles*, upon which Men act. For God ſees the Heart and the Reins; and is intimately acquainted with every Thought in Man. He delights in *Sincerity*. And though *That* will cover many an Imperfection in his Eyes, yet, Nothing can atone before Him, for the Want of *That*. And it is the Heighth of *Ignorance*, for any underſtanding Creature not to know this: and, if it be known, it is the Heighth of *Aſſurance*, to think to impoſe upon Almighty God with the outward Appearance, or Maſk, of *Zeal* for his Name.

That *religious Zeal*, which alone He can look upon with Delight, muſt be founded upon an inward Senſe of the Importance of *Religion*. But if there be all the Outſide and Pomp of *Zeal* imaginable; and this be founded upon mere *worldly* Conſiderations, and be expreſſed only to carry forward ſome *temporal* End; it is abſurd to think, that God can approve of it; or that this is ſuch a *Religious Zeal*, as it becomes an underſtanding Creature to have. Actions materially good and praiſe-worthy, are rendered vicious and evil by the *Motives* that give the firſt Spring to them. From whence it follows, that, though a *Zeal for God* and Religion, be, in itſelf, worthy of Commendation and Reward; yet, when it is built upon Conſiderations taken from this World only, and not upon a due Senſe of Religion heartily embraced within, it becomes a *vicious Zeal*, a *Zeal* unacceptable to God; as it is not only *not according to Knowledge*, but abſolutely inconſiſtent with it. Thus have I endeavoured to ſhew, *when* it is, that a *Religious Zeal* may be ſaid to be *not according to Knowledge*: which was the *Firſt* Thing I propoſed.

But, before I proceed any farther, I deſire to put in a *Caution*, That I would not be underſtood, by any Thing I have ſaid, under this firſt Head, to intimate That a great *Regard* was not due to Thoſe *Performances* appointed by our Lord, in his *Religion*, which, compared with Some *Others*, may juſtly be eſteemed of *leſs Importance*. For I know Who has ſaid, *Theſe Ye ought to do, and not to leave the Others undone*. But what I have offered on this Subject, I intended to this Purpoſe, that We ſhould not fix our *Zeal* upon theſe *leſſer* Matters, more than upon Thoſe which God himſelf has with a greater Concern recommended to us: and that We ſhould, much leſs, diſcover a greater *Zeal* about the Differences in Opinion and Worſhip, amongſt *Chriſtians*, not plainly determined in the *Goſpel*, than for the more important Duties expreſsly commanded in it: for this is, certainly, a *Zeal not according to Knowledge*.

When the Duty of *Sacrifice*, under the *Law*, came in Competition with the Duty of *Charity* and *Mercy*, our *Lord* himſelf obſerved, out of one of the *Prophets*, that God *required Mercy, and not Sacrifice*. And ſo, when any Moral Duty comes in Competition with an inſtituted Rite, we know, by this Rule, (confirmed by our bleſſed *Lord*,) which is to give Place. This Preference ſhews that the One is, of itſelf, of greater Value; and therefore, Reaſon will direct us to have *more Zeal* for it.

So likewiſe, it is certainly lawful for Us to be concerned for any Practice, Opinion, or Notion, relating to Religion, which we ourſelves think True, and of Importance; and to ſhew this Concern by all Chriſtian Methods; nay, to endeavour to convince Others of the Reaſonableneſs of complying with it. But it is a wretched Abſurdity to make the Obligation to this Compliance, of equal Importance to Mankind, with their Obligation to Righteouſneſs and Holineſs; and much more So, to ſhew a greater Heat and Concern, in order to make Men all of one Mind, and one Opinion, than in order to make Them holy, and juſt, and charitable. Having juſt mentioned this *Caution*, I now proceed to the *next* Thing I propoſed; which was,

II. To lay down the beſt *Rule* I can, for regulating our *Religious Zeal*.

This is certain, that it is our Duty to have a *Zeal* for God, and for *Religion*. But it is our Duty alſo, as certainly, to take effectual Care that it be a *Zeal according to Knowledge*; leſt otherwiſe it ſhould flame out, to the Prejudice and Diſhonour of Religion itſelf, and of that God in whoſe Service it pretends to burn. The Beſt and only Rule, I can think of, is, that we muſt take all poſſible Care to fix in our Minds juſt and true Notions of the Nature of God, and of the great Deſign of *Chriſtianity*. For, as the fundamental Error of Men, in this important Matter, has been the forming to Themſelves the falſeſt Notions of the *Nature* of Almighty God, and of the *End* of the *Goſpel* itſelf; and, as this Error has given the ſad Occaſion to all their Madneſs, under the Covert of a godly Zeal: So, the *Rule* I have mentioned muſt be the moſt proper to prevent, or cure, this great *Evil*.

When Men have been ſo fooliſh, as to imagine that God is pleaſed, and ſerved, and worſhiped, as He ought to be, by little and trifling Ceremonies; nay, by abſurd Rites, and ridiculous Offices of Devotion; (as many have brought themſelves to think,) They naturally lay out all their Strength, and employ all the Bent of their Minds, to eſtabliſh and propagate theſe; and ſtick not, at laſt, to deſtroy All that ſtand in the Way of their Fancies. Indeed, the chief Agents of this Sort, in the World, are, I believe, too wiſe to be perſuaded themſelves of the Truth of what they pretend to Others. But many, who ſerve under them, in the Proſecution of their Ends, think that all they are doing, let it be never ſo bad, is neceſſary for the Honour and Service of Almighty God, and his true

Religion; and therefore, lawful. But if we would not Ourſelves be of the Number of Thoſe whoſe Zeal is a Diſhonour to God; we muſt take Care to know what that God is, whom we ſerve; what his Nature and Attributes are; what his Will and Pleaſure is; and what the End of his making Mankind capable of regarding it, and living according to it.

Nothing can be of more Service to us, in the Matter now before Us, than This, which I am now recommending to you. Suppoſing, what is certain, that We ſhall find, upon Inquiry, that God, the great Lord whoſe Servants we are, is a God of purer Eyes than to behold Iniquity; that He is merciful, juſt, and holy, to an infinite Degree; that he cannot hate any of his Creatures; that he wiſhes, and deſigns their Happineſs; that he made them to know, and worſhip, and ſerve Him, in the Practice of all Virtue; that he reveled his Will to them, by his Son, in order to teach them more effectually to live ſoberly, righteouſly and godly, in this preſent World; and by This to bring them to all Happineſs in another, and better State: Suppoſing, I ſay, a ſerious Perſon made truly ſenſible of this; Is it poſſible for him to think of honouring God any otherwiſe, than by the Practice of what he knows to be pleaſing to him? Or, to purſue any thing in the whole World, with a *Zeal* comparable to That, with which he preſſes after what He knows to be the *Will* of that God? Can ſuch a Man ever ſuffer himſelf to tranſgreſs the plain Laws of God, in order to promote his Honour? to be cruel and barbarous, in order to carry forward the Glory of his *merciful Father*? to be unjuſt and uncharitable, to ſhew his Zeal for the God of all Right, and the Father of all Mercies? Or, to be ill-natured to all the World about him, in order to propagate the moſt peaceable and beſt-natured Inſtitution in the World?

I hope, as far as the Nature of the Thing itſelf can go, I may be juſtified in anſwering, That ſuch a Conduct is next to impoſſible. *He*, who ſincerely inquires into the Attributes of Almighty God, cannot eaſily ſuffer himſelf to act any thing contrary to that Nature and thoſe Attributes. *He*, who ſeriouſly looks into the Chriſtian Religion, will not eaſily think that any Thing, which contradicts the very Deſign of that Religion, can be acceptable to Him who inſtituted it. *He*, who ſees how great a Streſs is laid in the *Goſpel*, upon Holineſs, and Mercy, and Peace, can never be induced, under Pretence of the Honour of *Chriſt*, or his Church, to diſregard the Practice of *theſe*, even for one Day. Nor can *He*, who ever once thought in earneſt about Religion, be brought to imagine it to be a praiſeworthy Practice to ſerve the Cauſe of it by vicious and immoral Actions.

There is nothing therefore, more likely to fix our *Zeal* upon its true Object; and to fix it in the greateſt *Degree* upon what moſt deſerves it; to keep it from diſcovering itſelf in all *Methods* diſapproved and condemned by Religion; and to rectify the Principles and *Motives* which give Life to it; than the Study of the Nature of God, and the Deſign of *Chriſtianity*. I hope, upon the whole, I may conclude, That, if Men would ſtudy the *Book of Reaſon*, and the *Goſpel* of *Chriſt*, ſeriouſly, They could not poſſibly entertain, or ſhew forth, any *Religious Zeal*, but what is *according to Knowledge*. I ſhall now proceed,

III. To offer ſome *Motives*, in order to our avoiding ſuch a *Religious Zeal*, as is *not according to Knowledge*. And to excite us to the well-regulating our *Religious Zeal*, it will be very proper to conſider,

1. The Reaſonableneſs, and excellent Uſefulneſs, of *Religious Zeal*, when it is duely regulated. It is not left to our Choice, whether we will have a *Zeal* for God,

God, and *Religion*, or not; but it is our Duty to form and nouriſh it in ourſelves: and ſuch a Duty as we cannot but practiſe, and effectually compaſs, if we heartily ſet about it. To have a Zeal for God, is to have a warm and affectionate concern for a Being to whom we have innumerable Obligations; who is the proper Object of all our Hopes, and Deſires, and Expectations; and who has all poſſible Claims to our whole Service. And to have a Zeal for the Subſtantials of *Religion*, is to have a great Regard for what deſerves it more than all other Things in the World; for what is truly pleaſing to our Lord and Maſter, and can never be otherwiſe; for what is eſſentially neceſſary to the Happineſs of human Society here below, and to our own eternal Reward hereafter.

It is juſt and becoming, therefore, to have a *Zeal*, and hearty Concern, for this great and important Buſineſs of *Religion*. And, to have this *Zeal* ſo directed, as to purſue its End by none but proper and Religious *Methods*; by Nothing but what Reaſon and God himſelf recommend; is, to conſult the true Honour of Religion, and the Service of that God who requires it of Us. No Scandal is brought, by ſuch a Conduct, upon our Profeſſion: but every Mouth bleſſes it. And then, to have this *Zeal* founded on the *Motives* of eternal Moment, the Rewards of Heaven, and the Importance of Religion, and the Favour of God and *Chriſt*, is to improve the Beauty and Lovelineſs of it yet more. There can be no Argument in the World, nor the leaſt Shadow of an Objection made, againſt a *Zeal*, which has God, and the Practice of Religion, for its Objects; which regard *Theſe* more than any Thing of leſſer Conſideration; which diſcovers itſelf only in the Ways and Methods recommended in the Goſpel; and which works upon no other Principles but what the Goſpel approves of. But, on the contrary,

2. Let us conſider the Unreaſonableneſs, and the pernicious Conſequences, of a *Religious Zeal*, not well-regulated; or, in the *Apoſtle's* Words, *not according to Knowledge*.

And here it is too obvious to Every Man's Obſervation, that Nothing has done more Miſchief, or produced more lamentable Effects in the World, than this Sort of Zeal. It was this *Zeal* for the ceremonial Part of their Law, that kept the *Jews* from acknowledging our *Saviour*; nay, which induced Them to reject and crucify him. It was this *Zeal* for Matters of leſſer Conſideration, which, in very early Days, diſunited the *Churches* of *Chriſt* from One Another: and in theſe *later* Ages, keeps up, with a fatal Heat, the Differences between the ſeveral Sorts of Diſciples of *Chriſt*, in the World; and leads *Chriſtians*, by degrees, to act againſt their Fellow-chriſtians, with a Spirit of *Fury*, and wicked Perſecution. It is this *Zeal* without *Knowledge*, and the Diſcovery of it in an undue and unchriſtian Manner, which has prejudiced many againſt the very Name of *Chriſt*; and made the glad Tidings of Salvation a *Scandal* to Unbelievers.

But though it appears (as we have ſeen it to be, in the firſt Part of this Diſcourſe,) ſo unreaſonable, in itſelf; and has proved ſo pernicious to the Cauſe of true Religion in the World; Yet, it has always had a Multitude of *Votaries*, who have loved and entertained it *Themſelves*; and who have abuſed and perſecuted *Others*, who have not ſhewn their Zeal in the ſame ſevere, and inhuman *Methods*. Nothing could be of worſe Conſequence to the *Jews*, than this *blind Zeal* for their *Ceremonial Law*: and yet Nothing was in more Repute amongſt them. And They who had it not; They, who believed that *Sacrifice* was of *leſs* Value than *Mercy*, or moral Duties of greater Moment than Ceremonies; or the Salvation of the whole World of greater Concern than their Rites and Forms of

Religion; were accounted falſe and perfidious; treated with Contempt, expoſed and affronted, excommunicated, and baniſhed from their Synagogues. And the *Jews* have been followed, in this Path of Uncharitableneſs, ever ſince, in all Ages and Countries, by Such as have followed them in their *Zeal not according to Knowledge*.

But, One of the *Worſt* Conſequences of this, I muſt not omit; becauſe it is to be found wherever this blind *Zeal* is, even in the loweſt Degree; That it naturally brings in, wherever it is univerſally embraced, an univerſal Neglect of the great and ſubſtantial Parts of *Practical Religion*. For when Men's Thoughts and Hearts are taken up with the Shadows of Things, and all their Heat and Vigour ſpent upon theſe; They have no Time, or Zeal, left for the greater Matters of the *Goſpel*. Nay, it is often ſeen, that, when They are moſt poſſeſſed with a *Zeal* for the leſſer Matters and Appendages of Religion, They are moſt of all apt to forget the ſacred Laws of Practice, and to tranſgreſs the Rules laid down in that very Religion which they think They are propagating.

There cannot be any *Conſideration* of more Weight with *Chriſtians*, in the preſent Caſe, than This, That *where* the greateſt Heat and Concern are expreſſed about the inſignificant Circumſtances of Religion, *there* the *eſſential* Parts of it are ſeen moſt to be neglected, in the Lives, and whole Behaviour, of the Profeſſors of it. What *Chriſtian* will not be moved to diſcourage, and put what Check He can, to a Fire, which may, too probably, burn to the Deſtruction of all that is valuable in that Religion itſelf, in whoſe Cauſe alone it pretends to burn?

It is, I confeſs, a melancholy Conſideration, that ſome of the beſt *Qualities* and *Affections* of the Mind, ſo eaſily degenerate into accurſed and wicked Paſſions; and tend, in their Corruption, to the Ruine of the beſt and moſt important Things in the World. But this ſhould excite our moſt ſerious Conſideration; and induce us to make the great Strokes of *Practical Religion* the chief *Objects* of our *Zeal*; and to reſolve to ſhew this Zeal by Thoſe Methods only, which the Goſpel recommends to Us, as much as it doth this *Zeal* itſelf. And then, We may be ſecure from falling under the Cenſure of the Apoſtle, in the Text, of *having a* Zeal *not according to* Knowledge; and not only of This, but of pleaſing *Almighty God*, by placing our *Zeal* where it ought to be placed; by regulating it agreeably to his Nature and Perfections; and the *Goſpel* of his Son. And ſo, at laſt, may inherit the Reward of that *Faith* and *Obedience*, which we have not defiled by a falſe, raſh, and wicked, *Zeal*; or by pretending to carry forward the Honour of God, by ſuch *Methods* as He himſelf abhors.

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The Impoſſibility of ſerving GOD *and* MAMMON.

SERMON XII.

LUKE xvi. 13.

No Servant can ſerve two Maſters: for either He will hate the one, and love the other; or elſe He will hold to the one, and deſpiſe the other. Ye cannot ſerve GOD *and* MAMMON.

IN theſe Words our *Bleſſed Lord* ſuppoſes, and repreſents, all Men who have it in their Power to come to the Knowledge of the Supreme God, as tied and bound to Him, in the Relation of *Servants.* This being the Suppoſition; in order to convince his Followers of the great Unreaſonableneſs of pretending to be the *Servants* of God, and yet to be the *Servants*, together with *Him*, of an oppoſite Maſter, Slaves to the *Riches*, or Grandeur, of *this* World; Our Lord uſeth an Illuſtration taken from common Life. *No Servant* amongſt Men can poſſibly *ſerve two Maſters*, that is, *two Maſters*, with different and oppoſite Wills; of contrary Tempers, and contrary Reſolutions. For it will be either thus, that the Servant will have a much greater inward Affection, and Kindneſs, for *one* of them than for the *other:* Or, ſuppoſing that He can inwardly *love* them both equally; yet the Nature of their Commands, and ſeparate Intereſts, is ſuch, that He muſt often, whilſt He is obeying the one, or *holding to the one*, as the Text expreſſeth it, *deſpiſe*, that is, *neglect* the Commands of the *Other.* The *firſt* Affirmation is, that He cannot be ſuppoſed to *love* them both equally, ſo as to be attached to their Intereſts equally in his inward Affection, and Inclination: the *ſecond* Affirmation is, that, ſuppoſing him to *love* them both equally, yet, in the Execution of their contrary Commands, He muſt unavoidably *neglect*, or *deſpiſe*, the one, whilſt He *holds to*, or obeys, the other. From this Inſtance of a *Servant* amongſt Men, pretending invain to ſerve *two Maſters*, oppoſite in their Intereſts, and their Wills, Our Lord argues, and aſſures his Followers, That it is ſo, with reſpect to *God*, and *Riches*, here repreſented as a *Perſon*, or *falſe God*, ſet up as a *Maſter*, in Oppoſition to the *true* God. Ye cannot ſerve the true God, and *Mammon*; that is, *Riches*, or the imaginary *God* of *Wealth.*

If you would now ſee the Force of our Lord's *Argument*, extended, as it ought to be, to other Points, as well as Riches; it may be comprehended in theſe three Propoſitions. "You are all obliged by the ſtrongeſt Ties, and the moſt unanſwerable Reaſons, to be faithful and ſincere *Servants* of the true God, to whom You owe Yourſelves, and all you have, and all You can hope for." Now, as it is impoſſible, amongſt Men, for a *Servant* to ſerve *two* oppoſite Maſters, either affectionately, or faithfully; ſo, it is impoſſible for *You* to be the *Servants* of the fictitious *God* of this World, and to ſerve the *true God* faithfully, at the ſame Time. "Therefore, you are obliged, if you would ſerve God, as you ought, to renounce to the Service of every *other Maſter*, oppoſite to him, in Intereſt, and in Will." From the Text, thus explained, I ſhall take occaſion to diſcourſe of ſeveral Particulars, not foreign to the plain Deſign of the Words; nor uſeleſs to *Chriſtians* of theſe *later* Ages.

I. I ſhall obſerve that many Perſons, who have naturally good Diſpoſitions, and, frequently holy and warm Reſolutions, pleaſe themſelves with dividing their Services between God, and Something oppoſite to Him; and entertain a fooliſh Opinion that this Conduct is a ſecure way to his Favour.

II. I ſhall obſerve to you how unreaſonable, and how uſeleſs, this Diviſion of their Service is; and how ill-grounded and vain, all their Hopes are, which are founded upon ſuch a Service.

III. I ſhall endeavour to diſſuade you from all ſuch Service to Any thing in this World, as will make it impoſſible for you to perform the Service that is indiſpenſably due to God. And,

IV. I ſhall conclude with a proper Application, concerning the Reaſonableneſs, the Honour, the Advantage, and true Glory, of that Service which we owe to Almighty God.

I. I ſhall obſerve, that many Perſons, who have good Diſpoſitions, and frequently holy and warm Reſolutions, often pleaſe Themſelves with *dividing* their Services between *God*, and ſomething oppoſite to Him; and entertain a fooliſh Opinion that, by thus halving their Behaviour, They are in a ſecure Way, and *truly* his Servants. For it being ſo, that *Religion* hath been taught them, and the plain Doctrines of it inculcated upon them from their Childhood; and That, notwithſtanding all the Allurements, or Terrors, of the World, *Virtue* hath ſtill its peculiar Attractions, and Advantages; and that the Proſpect, or even Suſpicion, of God's Anger and future Puniſhment, is very terrible, and to ſome Minds intolerable: Theſe Things, I ſay, being ſo; many Perſons find it impoſſible to root out of their Minds all Regard to *Religion.* They experience a Reluctance in their Conſciences, when they attempt it; and this Reluctance gives them ſo much Uneaſineſs, as rather determines them to ſet about ſome *Part* of the Work of *Religion*, than to neglect the *Whole.* They cannot bear the Thoughts of being totally caſt off by Almighty God; and of forfeiting all poſſible Title to Heaven and Happineſs; aud of incurring certainly his Wrath and Diſpleaſure. Theſe Things they cannot think of with any Eaſe; nor can they bring their Conſciences to ſit down quiet under the Apprehenſion of them.

But then, on the other hand, perhaps their natural Inclination leads them ſtrongly to ſome particular Vice, or other: Perhaps Cuſtom has improved this Inclination, before they were enough aware of it: Perhaps, it brings them in a great deal of preſent *Profit*, and *Advantage*; or it procures them a great deal of *Pleaſure*; or Honour, and Pomp, may attend upon it. Theſe Things are ſo entertaining, and bewitching, to ſome particular Minds, and Tempers, that Men are not able to bear the Thought of parting, effectually and entirely, with what procures them ſo much preſent Satisfaction. When their Minds are employed upon the Excellency and Beauty of Religion, and the good Conſequences of ſerving God truly; and are a little at Leiſure from the cloſe Attacks of any thing of this World; then perhaps, they may come to a Reſolution of forſaking all for God, and a good Conſcience; and be vain enough to think that Nothing ſhall move them from ſuch Reſolutions. But when the Seaſon of *Trial* comes again; and the Temptation preſents itſelf to Them, in all its Force: They begin to think more favourably of the Matter; and to imagine it no mortal Crime, to be influenced by it; and to give Proofs, by their Weakneſs, that they are Men.

This being their Caſe, between the Motions of Conſcience, and God's Commands, on one hand, and the Temptations of Profit, or Pleaſure, or Honour, on the other; They at laſt are ſeen to come, with Calmneſs and a Sort of Serenity of Mind, to divide themſelves between *this* World and the *other*: between the *true* God, and the *Idol God* of this State; and to procure themſelves a Sort of Eaſe, by performing Part of that *Service* which they owe to Almighty God, (and This, to be ſure, will be the Part that They themſelves happen to like beſt) whilſt at the ſame Time they never loſe the View of what they propoſe to themſelves in this vain World. All indeed do not give up themſelves to the ſame Maſters. Some you may ſee purſuing Pleaſure to an immoderate Degree; others, ambitious beyond all Bounds; others, buſying themſelves in amaſſing Heaps of uſeleſs Wealth: and very many of theſe, in their Intervals, appearing before God, in publick Worſhip; calling themſelves his Servants, and perhaps really thinking that they are ſo. But,

II. I come now to obſerve to you how unreaſonable, and how uſeleſs, this *Diviſion* of their *Service* is: and how ill-grounded, and vain, all their Hopes are, which are founded upon ſuch a Service.

And this will appear moſt evidently by conſidering, what the true *Service* of God is; and how much of our Hearts and Time it muſt unavoidably require. The great Miſtake of Men ſeems to lie in their not knowing, or not attending to, the true Notion of God's Service. Were it ſo indeed, that to ſerve God were nothing but to ſay our Prayers, to call him Maſter, to attend upon his Ordinances, to bow before him, to lift up our Hands and Eyes, to confeſs our Sins, to beg his Bleſſing, and to give him Thanks: were *This*, or the like, all that is implied in ſerving God, then it is very certain that we might divide Ourſelves, and give the World our Strength, and our Heart, and our Practice, whilſt we ſerve God (as ſome call it) with our Lips, and our Bodies. We might then certainly go, from our Intemperance and our Luxury, to our Prayers and Praiſes; we might come freſh from cheating our Neighbours, and fall low before the Footſtool of our Maſter; we might come from our Hoards of ill-gotten Poſſeſſions, and be as loud, as the beſt of our Neighbours, in calling God our Father, in profeſſing our Faith in him, and laying Ourſelves before the Throne of his Mercy.

But this Notion muſt be rooted out of Men's Minds. This is what God complained of, under the *Jewiſh* Diſpenſation. *This People draweth nigh to Me with their Lips, but their Heart is far from Me.* You ſee, the *Worſt* amongſt that wicked and corrupted Generation of Men, in which our *Saviour* appeared, put on the greateſt Shew of *Zeal* for God and his *Service.* Who ſuch Zealots as *They*, to *pay Tithes*; to *faſt*; to *pray*; and to do *many* other Things which belonged to their *Religion?* But what was this? or to what Purpoſe? Their Practice, their Hearts (which are diſcovered by Practice) were all another Way. *Mammon* was their true Maſter; becauſe *They* were his true *Servants.* The *Service* they did to *Sin* was viſible. The World about them felt the Effects of it: whilſt they called that Form of *Religion*, the Service of God, which He aſſured them He abhorred and deteſted, when it was ſeparated from that practical Service which He indiſpenſably required.

For what is it, in which the *Service* of any Maſter upon Earth conſiſts? Is it in the calling *Him*, our *Maſter*; or *Ourſelves*, his *Servants?* Is it in a formal

Attendance upon him, to receive his Commands, or merely to know his Pleaſure? Is it a bare confeſſing of Ourſelves guilty of tranſgreſſing his Will, and in a daily returning to aſk his Pardon? Will any *Maſter* upon Earth acknowledge this to be *Service?* or, will any *Maſter* value, or regard a Man who behaves himſelf thus, as his *Servant?* Offer it now to any Man, and ſee if He will accept of ſuch *Mock-ſervice*, as this. If *I be a Maſter*, ſaith God, by his Prophet, *where is my Service?* i. e. If I be *your Maſter*, as you pretend to call me, pay me the *Service* due to a *Maſter:* Behave yourſelves as that Relation, which you pretend to be between us, enjoins and demands.

It is the Part of a Servant to regard the Intereſt of his Maſter, as his own Intereſt; to conſult the Honour of his Maſter, as his own Honour; and principally, which is the only Thing to judge by, to look upon his Maſter's Will, as far as a Maſter's Authority reacheth, as the Guide and Rule of his Actions. Now, if We apply this to Almighty God, and that Relation we ſtand in to Him, as *Servants*; we ſhall preſently ſee how far the Service we owe him reacheth; how much of our Time, and how much of our Hearts, it muſt of neceſſity take up. The *Intereſt* of our great *Maſter* muſt be eſteemed by Us, as our own Intereſt. Now, the Intereſt of our *Maſter* can be Nothing, but the Encreaſe of all that He approves of; and the Addition of as many Perſons as poſſible, to his true Service. Our great *Maſter's Honour* is what we are obliged, as Servants, to conſult and regard. And this lies likewiſe, in the Likeneſs of all underſtanding Natures to his moral Perfections; and in the advancing, as much as poſſible, the State of true Virtue in the World. And, what comprehends all, our great *Maſter's Will* muſt be made the Rule of all our Actions: for They are but indifferent Servants indeed, who do not pay a conſtant and ſtrict Regard to the *Will* of their *Maſters*. Now, the *Will* of God is every Command that he hath made known to Us, whether by the Law of Nature, which is his Voice; or by the Law of Revelation, which is an open Confirmation of that firſt *Law*.

From hence, therefore, it appears that, under the *Service* of God, is comprehended the whole *Syſtem* of *moral* Virtues, as well as all the external Acts of Devotion and Worſhip. A *Part* of that *Service*, which we owe to him, is indeed, external Adoration; the Prayers, and Praiſes, of our Lips; and all the Expreſſions of Dependence upon *Him*, and univerſal *Love* to *Others*, which become ſuch Creatures as we are. But *this* is but one *Part* of his *Service*; however it may have come to be called, in general, by that Name. Nay, if it do not proceed from the Heart and Soul; if the Mind and Thoughts do not ſincerely accompany it, and direct it all, with due Affections and Sentiments, to Him; it is indeed no Part of his Service; but only ſo many Words pronounced, without Meaning; and ſo many Sounds, muttered over for *Form's* Sake, without any Effect either upon Him, or Ourſelves. Nay, and ſuppoſing the Heart and Soul to go along with Us in theſe *outward* Exerciſes of our *Religion*; ſuppoſing Us to be ſincere in *this* Part of God's *Service*; and to confeſs, and pray, and praiſe, and intercede, with all the preſent Affection that becomes the Attendance of ſuch *Servants* upon ſuch a *Maſter:* yet, when this is done, This is but a *Part* of his *Service*.

There remains behind a large Field of *Virtue*. *Temperance*, and a Command of Ourſelves, and all our Appetites; *Charity*, or an unbounded Love to all the intelligent Creation; *Juſtice*, or a ſtrict Regard to the Dues and Rights of all Mankind about us; *Forgiveneſs* of the greateſt, and moſt provoking Injuries, that can be offered us; *Patience*, under all the *Evils* of Pain, Sickneſs, Loſs, Diſappointment, that come upon us by the Providence of our Maſter; and *Contentment* in every Station, to which he is pleaſed to confine Us; in a word, ſuch a Behaviour and Conduct, in that Poſt in which our great *Maſter* placeth us, as becomes us, as *Servants*, and as is required by the Nature of it, whatever it be. All may be comprehended in the two great Commandments, of *loving the Lord our God with all our Heart, and all our Mind, and all our Soul, and all our Strength*: and of *loving our Neighbours as Ourſelves*: or may be ſummed up in St. *Paul's* comprehenſive Expreſſion of *living ſoberly* with reſpect to ourſelves; *righteouſly*, with reſpect to our Neighbour; and *godlily*, with reſpect to Almighty God, in this World.

This being then the Taſk of God's *Servants*; this being the Work which every one hath to do, that hath given up his Name to Him; tell me now, Is there any room for *other Maſters*, oppoſite or contrary to Him? Can any Man *love God with all his Heart*, and yet love any Enemy to God with the leaſt Degree of his Affection; or the leaſt Part of his Heart? Can any Man, who hath ſuch a Taſk marked out for him; ſo many Virtues to excel in; ſo many good Habits to implant in himſelf; ſo many good Actions to fill up every Moment of his Time; ſo ſtrict a Regard to pay to the Honour of his great Maſter, and the Commands of ſuch a Lord: Can any Man, I ſay, in theſe Circumſtances, find any Opportunity, or the leaſt Interval of Time, for the Service of other *contrary* Maſters; ſuch, I mean, as direct Him to any Inſtances of that *Sin*, which is as oppoſite to the Will of God, as *Darkneſs* is to *Light*? It is evident indeed, from the Nature of the Thing itſelf, that, in whatſoever Point we decline from his Service, we ceaſe to *ſerve* him; and that, as ſoon as we are drawn to *Sin*, we are no longer the *Servants of God*, but of his *Enemy*. For *know ye not*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *that to whom Ye yield yourſelves Servants to obey, his Servants ye are, to whom Ye obey*. And conſequently, If You obey the Commands of God, You are the Servants of God: But if You obey Thoſe of *Sin*, You are the *Servants* of Sin; and have departed from the Service of God. And the *Service* of God being the Practice of all *Righteouſneſs*, in every Inſtance equally; it is impoſſible that You ſhould at the ſame Time be the *Servants* of God, and yet tranſgreſs Any of the Rules of that *Righteouſneſs*.

How vain therefore, and groundleſs, are the *Hopes* of Thoſe, who pretend to divide themſelves, and their *Services*, between God, and *this* World; between Duty to this ſupreme Maſter, and any Sort of *Vice*; They themſelves may ſee, by conſidering ſeriouſly what the *Service* of God is: Not a Prayer, or a Tear, or an Act of Devotion; but a continued *Tenor* of good Works; a Progreſs and Improvement in all Virtue. This is a *Service*, which admits of no Remiſſion of Care and Diligence; and which can brook no Rival. And therefore, the Man, whenever this is neglected, or broken into, immediately ceaſeth to be the *Servant* of that God, who cannot be truly ſerved, unleſs He be ſerved with the whole Heart. The Reaſonableneſs of what hath been ſaid under this Head is ſo manifeſt, that it will make Way for what I next propoſed; Which was,

III. To diſſuade you from any ſuch *Service* to Mammon, *i. e.* Riches, or any other Thing, or Perſon, in the Univerſe, as will make it impoſſible for you to perform that *Service* which is indiſpenſably due to God. For, it having appeared plainly, that it is impoſſible to ſerve, or obey, any Two Contrary and Oppoſite Maſters; and conſequently, impoſſible for the ſame *Man*, to be the Servant of *Mammon*, and of God; the only Queſtion is, Which of the two oppoſite *Maſters*, who contend for his *Service*, He ſhall chuſe for his Lord and Director: whether the True *God*, or the falſe Gods of this World, *Pleaſure*, *Profit*, or *Honour*, that ſet themſelves up againſt *his* Right, and in Oppoſition to *his* Will: for *One* or *Other* of theſe, He muſt chuſe.

Now, there is this, at firſt Thought, to be ſaid of the Service of God, that the greateſt Part of Thoſe who are truly the Servants of *Mammon*, or ſome other evil Principle, know not how to throw off all Regard to their *rightful Maſter*; but even, whilſt they are *ſerving* his *Enemy* truly, would gladly every now and then, return to the *Service* of God, in ſome Inſtances, or other. By this They themſelves give a remarkable Teſtimony that Almighty God hath a laſting, true, and certain, Title to their *Service*; whilſt They cannot be eaſy in their Minds, without paying him *ſome* Sort of *Service*. On the other hand, all that the greateſt Votaries of this World can ſay for that ſincere Service they pay to their *other* Maſters, is, that Inclination ſtrongly leads them to it; that they hope it is not ſo bad as it ſeems to be; and that they deſign ſtill, one time or other, to have due Regard to the *Service* of God, their true, and rightful Maſter. But how long will ſuch Pretenſes ſatiſfy reaſonable Creatures? Only long enough, to ſerve to make them miſerable, when they come to ſee, too late, the Unhappineſs of that *Service*, in which they have engaged themſelves.

For this is the Caſe. Almighty God hath ſuch a Right to your Services, that is, to your Obedience to all his Laws, that, in the midſt of your ſerving other Maſters, you are forced often to recurr to his Service, and to pretend to pay him ſome Sort of Obedience. Now, you have ſeen that this interrupted Obedience, this Half-duty, which is only ſo much as your other Lords, your Luſts and Paſſions, your Covetouſneſs, or Luxury, will permit you to pay Him, is not truly *his Service*; and that you cannot pretend, by ſuch a limited and broken Obedience, to prove yourſelves his *Servants*. Would you, therefore, be his Servants, ſo as to have that Reward which He hath promiſed to his true and faithful *Servants?* There is an abſolute Neceſſity that you ſhould immediately come out of the *Chains* of other contrary Lords; that you ſhould break their Fetters; and renounce every Degree of that *Service*, which *Mammon*, or any Sort of evil Principle, requires of you. For God's *Service* cannot be *his* true Service, unleſs it be perfectly free from all ſuch Regard to any thing elſe in the World, as is inconſiſtent with your conſtant Regard to all *His* Laws. His *Service* never can be eaſy to Yourſelves within, till You have thus got rid of all the Influences of impetuous Inclination to the Service of all contrary *Maſters:* nor can it be ever pleaſing to Him, till it is that uniform, ſincere, unmixed, Obedience, which He hath a Right to, by all poſſible Titles.

On the other hand, conſider what Title, what Right, any other Thing in the World, oppoſite to Him, hath to our Regards. What do we owe to them? Are they the firſt Cauſes of our Beings? Are they the primary Occaſions of our Happineſs? Will they, at the End, ſtand us in ſtead, againſt the Attacks of Adverſity here, or the Diſpleaſure of an offended God hereafter? Are they ſtable, unmoveable, certain, unſhaken, Goods? or, Are we certain of always having them for our Comforts and Supports? or, Are they not rather, vain, imaginary, moveable, and tranſitory Things; and we ourſelves, haſting away with a never ceaſing Pace; till all Correſpondence with them is entirely interrupted, never to be renewed again? And are ſuch Things as Theſe, fit to be choſen for our *Maſters?* or, Are we of that Nature, as that it can become Us to make ourſelves their Servants? By no Means: God, and Reaſon, reclaim Us from all Approaches to ſuch a *Service*; God, and Reaſon, which are to Us infinitely more than all the World beſides.

If therefore we would have God for our *Friend*, we muſt chuſe him firſt for our *Maſter*; and his Laws for the Rules of our *Service*. And if we would have our own Reaſon, and Conſcience, at Peace with Us; we muſt act the Part to which they direct: and that Part is ever the *Service* of that God, to whom we owe ourſelves. Whatever hinders us from a conſtant Application of ourſelves to that *Service*; whatever oppoſeth us in it, or would draw us off from it, is to be diſregarded, and caſt from us with Courage and Conſtancy. And, it being certain that the *Service* of *Sin*, is utterly inconſiſtent with the *Service* of God; it is certain, that if we would *ſerve* God, as we ought, in Duty and Intereſt, to do; We muſt firſt ſhake off all Regard to his Enemy; we muſt, if we think of being his *Servants*, unto all Righteouſneſs, ſhake off that *Yoke* of *Servitude* which *other Maſters* would impoſe upon us. And if we be truly willing to do this, there will remain Nothing to hinder us from giving up ourſelvers to the true *Service* of God.

IV. To this I ſhall now endeavour to perſuade you, and ſo conclude. His Title, or *Right*, to this *Service*, is indiſputable. He hath created us what we are. We owe to him all we have, and all we can ever enjoy; and the very Poſſibility of enjoying any thing. He hath bought us again into his Poſſeſſion, by the Life and Death of his Son. To him we owe this freſh, and greater, Opportunity of making ourſelves happy in his *Service*. And, how can we deny a *Service* due on ſo many, and ſo excellent, Accounts? The *Rules* of his *Service* are his Laws, by which He governs us, and to which he requires our Obedience. And theſe are *Reaſon*, and *Light*; the Tranſcripts of his own *moral Perfections*, which conſtitute his own Happineſs. They are the Dictates of eternal Truth; and every Step we take in the Paths of them, brings Peace and Joy along with it: in which they entirely differ from the Laws of every *other ſinful* Principle, that would draw us aſide from them.

The *Rewards* of this *Service* (for we *ſerve* not God for nought) are unexpreſſible. The *preſent* Reward is all that inward Satisfaction which a well diſpoſed Mind can take, in the Conſciouſneſs of a good and reaſonable Conduct; and the Thought of having God's Approbation. The *future* Reward, after the Service is over, is all the Happineſs of God's Preſence, or, of thoſe more immediate Communications of his Love, and Favour, which he hath promiſed to all his faithful *Servants*. In the *Scripture-ſtyle*, by being his *Servants*, they become his *Sons*; and, by being his *Sons*, they are adopted into the Inheritance of the Saints in *Glory*.

What is it now, I pray, that can come in Competition with this *Reaſonable Service?* Can uncertain *Riches*, or empty *Honour*, or inſatiable *Luxury*, pretend to any thing like this? What Title can they ſhew to the *Services* They claim? or, what can they produce in Favour of their own Right? Can they ſpeak Peace and Satisfaction to the Mind within? Are their *Laws* the equitable *Laws* of *Reaſon*, and obeyed with the Approbation of our Conſciences? or, will they entitle to any, the leaſt *Reward* hereafter? What are their *Laws*, indeed, but the hard Commands of Tyrants, accompanied by Diſquiet, here, and ending in Unhappineſs and eternal Death, hereafter; flattering with Images of Pleaſure, but leading to certain Pains?

Here then let us ſtop, and acknowledge that it is Almighty God alone, who can juſtly claim Us, as his Servants; He alone, who hath the Reward of our Services, in his Hand; and hath Power to execute what his Goodneſs hath promiſed us; and He, alone, therefore, who demands, and deſerves, our whole

Service. We cannot, We ſee plainly, ſerve *Him*, whilſt we ſerve *other* contrary *Maſters*. To him, therefore, without Delay, without Reſerve, without Hypocriſy, let us give up ourſelves, as true *Servants*; and ſhew ourſelves ſuch, by our ſincere, conſtant, and uniform Obedience to all his holy Laws: that ſo we may, at laſt, with the good and faithful *Servant* in the *Parable*, enter into the *Joy* of our Lord.

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The AMBITION *of* CHRIST'S *Diſciples reproved.*

SERMON XIII.

MATTHEW xx. 26, 27.

But it ſhall not be ſo amongſt you: but whoſoever will be Great *amongſt you, let him be your* Miniſter*: and whoſoever will be* Chief *amongſt you, let him be your* Servant.

THE Occaſion of this Leſſon of our *Lord's* is particularly related in the *Verſes* immediately before theſe Words. *The Mother of Zebedee's Children, (viz. James* and *John,)* being very deſirous of ſhewing the great Affection ſhe had for Them, and her Zeal to promote their Intereſt, came with Them to our *Bleſſed Lord*, whoſe Diſciples they were, and, with the proper Marks of Reſpect, let him know that ſhe had a *certain Thing* to aſk of Him. Our bleſſed Lord, always inclined to grant to all his Followers every Thing truly good for them, preſently aſked her what Favour it was ſhe deſired? It appeared by what followed *that She* was not content with the ordinary Marks of his Kindneſs, diſpenſed to her *Sons*, in common with his *other* Apoſtles; but hoped for ſome very extraordinary and ſingle Token of his *Love* to her two Children; Something that ſhe eſteemed the greateſt Gift and Honour they were capable of receiving from him. And this was, That, he being the *Meſſiah*, and his glorious *Kingdom* being now to be opened (agreeably to her Expectation, and that of all the *Jews)* with the greateſt earthly Glory, her *two Sons* might have the two principal Places in this *Kingdom*; and might ſit, the *one* on his Right Hand, and the *other* on his Left, as his two greateſt Favorites, and chief Officers. This was her Notion of Good and Happineſs; and according to That, *This* was her Petition.

Our *Lord*, with the greateſt Goodneſs, turned himſelf to the *two Apoſtles*, in whoſe Name, and with whoſe Conſent this Petition was made, and ſaid, *Ye know not what ye aſk: that is*, you are not yet ſenſible what a Scene of Difficulties *They* muſt go through, who deſire to be *Great* in my *Kingdom*; and what it is that is requiſite to the making you the higheſt amongſt my Favorites: *Are ye able to drink of the Cup that I ſhall drink of, and to be baptized with the Baptiſm that I am baptized with?* You muſt not expect to arrive at any Dignity in *my Kingdom* without following my Steps. And are You able to do as I, your Maſter, muſt do; and to undergo what I muſt undergo, before I arrive at my own Glory? The *two Diſciples*, not knowing well what He meant, and being poſſeſſed of the Opinion that, let theſe *Difficulties* and *Diſtreſſes* be what They would, His *Kingdom* would diſplay itſelf, *after* their ſhort Continuance, in all worldly Pomp, and *Victory* over all the Enemies of his People; and ſtill inflamed with the ſame Deſire of *Power*, and *Pre-eminence*, anſwered him with a great deal of Confidence, that They were *able* to follow him, and to *drink* of the ſame *Cup* that he ſhould drink of, whatever it ſhould be.

Our Lord, well knowing that, in the midſt of all their Ignorance, They had a ſincere Zeal for *Him*, and his Service, and that they would be great Inſtruments of Good in his *Church*, ſaid unto Them, *Ye ſhall, indeed, drink of my Cup*; that is, (if we ſpeak more plainly than our *Lord* at this Time deſigned to ſpeak,) Ye ſhall, indeed, be perſecuted and afflicted, according to the Example of your *Maſter*; and go through a Scene of ſuch like Difficulties as I myſelf muſt; and, by this Means, make yourſelves fit to be glorified in my *Kingdom*. But, ſuppoſing you thus to follow my Steps in this uneaſy Way to *Glory*; yet, *To ſit on my Right Hand and on my Left, is not mine to give; but it ſhall be given to Them, for whom it is prepared of my Father*; that is, the chief Places of *Dignity*, in my heavenly Kingdom, are not now, to be diſpoſed of, according to my arbitrary Will and Pleaſure; or to be given away any otherwiſe than as my *Father* has ſeen fit, in his perfect and unerring Wiſdom, to decree and order them.

When the other *Ten* Apoſtles heard what had paſſed betwixt *Jeſus*, and the *Two Brethren* and their *Mother*; what *They* had ſolicited, and how great their Ambition was; They, as little knowing the Nature of their *Maſter's Kingdom*, as the other *Two*, and as much deſiring the great Poſts and Honours in it, were very angry at the Requeſt of *James* and *John*, and very uneaſy at their aſpiring Deſigns. But *Jeſus* called them *all* to him, and took Occaſion from the *Petition* of the *two Brethren*, and from the *Pride* of the other *Ten*, to inſtruct them a little farther in the Nature of his Kingdom; and to teach them, that though in the Nations of this World, Thoſe were reputed the *Greateſt* who had the greateſt outward Dignities, and the higheſt *Authority*; yet, in *his Kingdom*, *They* ſhould be accounted the *Greateſt*, who had leaſt *Pride*, and leaſt *Ambition*; and who were moſt ready to ſtoop to do all good Offices, and to *miniſter*, as Servants, to their Brethren. And this *Inſtruction* he concludes with his own *Example*, (ver. 28) *even as the Son of Man came not to be miniſtred unto, but to miniſter, and to give his Life a Ranſom for many*: as if he had ſaid; As I myſelf, whom you will eaſily acknowledge to be the *Greateſt* in *my own Kingdom*, think it no Diminution of that Greatneſs to condeſcend to all Inſtances of *Love* and Kindneſs to Mankind; and now am come into the World to be a *Servant* to *Men*, and at laſt to die a ſervile and ignominious Death for their Sakes, and to procure their Happineſs.

Having now related to you, and explained, as I went along, this *Hiſtory* of the *Ambition* of the *Two Brethren*; their *Mother's* Petition; the Anſwer of our *Lord*; the *Indignation* of the *other Apoſtles*; and our *Saviour's* Inſtruction, occaſioned by their miſtaken Notions: it is my Deſign to conſider, not the *Words* of the *Text* only; but what other particulars ſhall offer themſelves, upon the Review of this whole *Hiſtory*, and the *Circumſtances* of it. And the Obſervations I ſhall make at preſent, are Theſe:

I. This *Story* gives Us Occaſion to obſerve, how inclined Men are to miſtake their own Happineſs; and how apt Many *Parents* are to overlook the real Good, and true Intereſt, of their *Children*; and to frame their Wiſhes with regard to *Them*, rather with a View to the Riches and Grandeur of this World, than to their true and laſting Happineſs.

II. This Hiſtory gives Occaſion to obſerve the great Tendency, and ſtrong Bias, there is in human Nature, towards outward Dignity, and Superiority over Others.

III. We may obſerve from it, what Notions the *Jews* had, at this Time, of the *Kingdom* of their *Meſſiah*, and the *Nature* of his *Glory*.

IV. It concerns us principally to regard what our bleſſed Lord here delivers and intimates about the *Nature* of his own Kingdom; and the Method of attaining to the greateſt Dignities, and higheſt Stations, in it.

I. This *Story* gives us Occaſion to obſerve, how inclined Perſons are to miſtake their own Happineſs; and how apt too many *Parents* are to overlook the real Good and true Intereſt of their Children; and to frame their Wiſhes with regard to *Them*, rather with a View to the Riches and Grandeur of this World, than to their true and laſting Happineſs.

Here were two of our *Lord's Diſciples*, who had been his Followers for ſome Time, ſo groſly ignorant in the Doctrine he had delivered, as to think that they were not capable of greater Happineſs than They ſhould experience, if they were placed in an eminent Poſt of Honour and Dignity, above their Brethren, in that *Kingdom* of their *Lord*, which, according to their Notion of it, was very ſoon to be opened, full of earthly Glories and temporal Splendour. And here was their *Mother*, who thought ſhe could not give a greater Proof of her Love for her Children, than by joining with Them, in what was truly *their* Petition, and adding her Requeſt to our *Lord*, in order to procure them this great Dignity which they aimed at. How much better had They conſulted their true Happineſs, had they aſked to be inſtructed in the certain Method of obtaining and improving All thoſe Virtues and Graces, which are the eternal Ornaments of a Chriſtian Mind! And how much greater a Demonſtration had their *Mother* given, of her True Love to them, if ſhe had checked their forward *Ambition*, and aſpiring Thoughts; and petitioned our *Lord* for his favourable Directions, in order to make her Sons glorious in all that was lovely in his Eyes, and agreeable to his great Deſign!

After our Lord's Reſurrection, They were ſufficiently convinced of the Folly of their former *Addreſs* to *Him*; and found, by Experience, that *His Kingdom* was to be eſtabliſhed by Perſecution and Hardſhips; and a Place of Dignity in it, to be obtained by the Practice of the loweſt *Humility*. How happy had it been, if the *Chriſtians* of all ſucceeding Ages, had been wiſe by their Example; and had learned, from their Weakneſs, and our Lord's Inſtruction occaſioned by it, to check and conquer this ſame Temper in Themſelves!

But it is too viſible, That, though the Nature of Chriſt's *heavenly Kingdom* is ſo plainly declared, and the Way to the *Glories* of it ſo clearly pointed out, through the Path of *Humility*, in the Writings of his *Apoſtles*, and his own Diſcourſes; yet, there are Few that can perſuade themſelves to think the Crowns of Heaven, upon the Terms of the *Goſpel*, worthy of ſo warm a Contention, and ſo eager a Purſuit, as any temporal Superiority, or earthly Dignity, is. How much Time, and how much Attendance, and how much Importunity, can Men employ, in ſoliciting ſome worldly Honour, or Poſt of Rank, above Others, who perhaps, grudge to beſtow a few Minutes of a Day upon the Thoughts of Religion, and the Purſuit after the good Things of another World! How many Men, who know the *Tenor* of the *Goſpel*, and profeſs to believe it, are ſeen to lay out the Strength and Eagerneſs of their Deſires, for *Themſelves*, upon the *Poſſeſſions* or *Pleaſures*, here below; without mixing, perhaps, one hearty *Prayer* for

Poſſeſſions, and *Pleaſures*, of another Nature! And no wonder, if ſuch Perſons, as far as They concern Themſelves with the *Happineſs* or *Unhappineſs* of their *Children*, ſhould chuſe to fix their *Wiſhes* for *Them*, on *the Things which are ſeen*, as the Inſtruments of all Good; rather than on *the Things, which are not ſeen.*

We may judge, without Uncharitableneſs, that the Motions of their Hearts all centre in this World, by the indefatigable Pains They will be at, to raiſe their *Children* to *State* and *Riches*, here below; and the little Concern they expreſs, to make them *Great* by *Goodneſs*; by the Practice of *Charity* and *Humility*, and all the other moral Virtues. There are but *Few* that can *taſte* this Sort of Greatneſs and Glory, *Themſelves*; and *Few* therefore, who will recommend it to Thoſe, in whom They are moſt nearly concerned. *Some*, I truſt and believe, there are, who are not aſhamed of a different and better Conduct. But the Number is great of Thoſe, who are ſo blind and miſtaken in their Notions of *Happineſs*, that they too often wiſh and procure, for Themſelves, and their *Children*, *Miſery* inſtead of it; whilſt They are labouring only after ſuch *Glories*, *Greatneſs*, and *Wealth*, as, in the End, often prove the greateſt *Diſhonour*, and the trueſt *Poverty*, to an intelligent Being. And, as this is the Caſe, Who can wonder, That, by the Many, *He* is not accounted ſo good a Father, whoſe chief Regards are expreſſed in what tends to the real and laſting Happineſs of his *Son*; as *He*, who leaves no Methods unattempted, to raiſe him to ſuch a Heighth of Greatneſs; or to overwhelm Him with ſuch Hoards of Money; as muſt bring along with them the greateſt Danger to his Virtue and *Eternal* Intereſt?

II. The *Hiſtory* now before us, gives us occaſion to obſerve the great *Tendency*, and ſtrong *Bias*, there is, in human Nature, to the Love of *Superiority*, in Power, and Place, over our Fellow-creatures in the ſame Society.

The *Twelve Apoſtles* were now, as it were, divided into *two* Parties; and both equally tainted with the ſame Sort of aſpiring Thoughts. *Two* of them hoped to have prevented the Attempts of the *Others*, and to have ſecured to themſelves the *Places* of prime *Dignity* in their Maſter's *Kingdom*. The other *Ten* diſdained to be thought inferior, or ſubject, to *Them*; and conceived a great Anger againſt them for their Deſign. It may, indeed, raiſe ſome Wonder, that ſuch a *Temper* ſhould at all take place in the Breaſts of Thoſe, who ſaw Nothing in their own *Maſter*, more remarkable, than the greateſt Inſtances of the contrary Spirit, of Meekneſs and Humility.

If any thing can be an Excuſe for this, and abate our Wonder, it is, that they All thus ſtrove for Dignity, and worldly Glory, when they thought their Maſter's *Kingdom*, a *Kingdom* only of this World. But who can forbear to wonder more, as well as to lament, that *Chriſtians*, who cannot read a *Page* in the *Goſpel*, without reading their own indiſpenſable Obligation to all the Offices of Humility, for the Good of Others, ſhould be ſo devoted to the Love of *Superiority*, as we every Day may obſerve them to be? What a Contention does there often appear, in our World, for *Place* and *Precedence!* What Paſſion, and Revenge, for an Affront put upon the ſuppoſed Honour and Dignity of a Man! What a Care and Caution, about every *Punctilio* of Ceremony, and Obſervance! What a Noiſe, about *Family*, and *Titles*; the Antiquity of a *Name*; the Dignity of *Predeceſſors*; or, the like Sort of Excellencies! Nay, what a prodigious Value is there often ſet, even upon ſo low a Matter, as Equipage and Attendance!

It would weary one to ſpeak, or even to think, of the Vanities and Follies of weak Mortals, upon this Head; the Uneaſineſſes, Quarrels, Jealouſies, and Breaches, it occaſions; the inexcuſable Miſpenſe of Time, and Neglect of all that is great and good, which this Temper introduces into the World; and the great Miſchiefs which, in various Shapes, have proceeded from it, in every Age. And yet, Mankind ſeem not, in the leaſt Degree, wiſer for their Experience; or at all the more diſpoſed to ſet only a juſt Value upon thoſe *Diſtinctions* which the Nature of Society makes proper amongſt Men; or, to reſiſt that Inclination (that *perverſe* Inclination) there is, in human Nature, to the Sweets of *Superiority* and *Power* over Others.

It is one of the meaneſt *Characters* we can draw, of any Men, to deſcribe Them, as ſearching out Opportunities of depreſſing and ſinking Others *below* them; and finding out continually ſome new Diſtinctions, if the old Ones are worn out, in order to place their *Brethren* in a meaner and more contemptible Rank than Themſelves; and thinking the moſt empty Reaſons ſufficient for this ignoble and unmanly Purpoſe. And yet this is ſo true, and ſo univerſally obſerved, that it is conſtantly lamented by all good Men; and conſtantly ridiculed by All, who make Themſelves publickly merry with the Follies of Mankind. Thus are the Minds of reaſonable Creatures buſied about *Trifles*, which divert them from Matters of infinitely greater Concern; and are founded upon ſuch *Maxims* only, as appear to be unworthy of their Attention, either as Men, or as Members of human Society. Let us now proceed.

III. The *third Obſervation*, I ſaid, we might make from this *Hiſtory*, related to Thoſe *Notions* which were, at that Time, common amongſt the *Jews*, about the Nature of the *Kingdom* of their *Meſſiah*.

We find, in this *Paſſage* of the *Goſpel*, not only *James* and *John*, with their *Mother*, but alſo the other *Ten Apoſtles*, all agreeing in the ſame Expectation of a Temporal *Kingdom* of *Chriſt*; and of Places of *Eminence*, and *worldly* Authority, to be enjoyed under Him: as appears from the *Leſſon* our Lord reads to them all at laſt, about the Way to *Greatneſs* in his Diſpenſation; and from many other Places of the *New Teſtament:* from which we may gather, that the *Apoſtles* themſelves could not, before They were better inſtructed, ſo much as bear the Thought of their *Maſter's Suffering* Death; or of his reigning in any other *Kingdom*, but *One* full of this World's Majeſty and Glory. They did, indeed, cleave to Him, in his low and mean Eſtate, convinced by the powerful Works he ſhewed forth: but They were continually watching, and longing, till he ſhould open another Scene, and *reveal himſelf to the World*, by *reſtoring the Kingdom to* Iſrael. Thus had theſe well-meaning Men the ſame low and groveling Expectations, which were entertained by the Crowd around them.

For the *Jews* univerſally neither looked for, nor deſired, any *Meſſiah*, but *One*, who ſhould crown them with the Glories of this World; and clothe their temporal *Enemies* with Shame: *One*, who ſhould *bleſs* them with Victory, and Plenty, and Riches, and Power. Nor would the far greater Part of that People accept of any *Salvation*, or *Bleſſing*, which could be offered, but ſuch a *Salvation*, and ſuch a *Bleſſing*, as They had figured to Themſelves upon the Principles of this World only. The *ſaving Them from their Sins*, which was the *Salvation* of *Jeſus*; and the *Bleſſing* Them, by *turning Them from their Iniquities*, which was the *Bleſſing* of his Goſpel: *Theſe* were Kinds of *Salvation*, and *Bleſſing*, which They thought too mean, and contemptible Offers, for *their Meſſiah* to make; or for Them to accept. They had no Reliſh for ſuch Sort of Happineſs: and deſired no Part in a Kingdom, which was not *of this World*.

The *Apoſtles*, indeed, were ſincere and honeſt, whilſt they were ſo groſly miſtaken. But the Bulk of that Nation were led to theſe Notions through a Courſe of Wickedneſs, and Hypocriſy. No Wonder, therefore, that thoſe Perſons ſhould go on to greater and greater Degrees of Hardneſs of Heart, and reject a ſpiritual *Meſſiah*, who had before given themſelves up to their own Luſts and Paſſions; and had ſhewn, by their Manners, that there was, in their Opinions, no greater Happineſs to Mankind, than the Enjoyments of Fleſh and Blood; the Glories, Profits, and Pleaſures, of this World. This was their *Principle*. And the *Argument* from this *Principle* was very agreeable to it, *viz.* That, the *Bleſſing* of their *Meſſiah*, who was to make them *happy*, could conſiſt in Nothing, but what They themſelves accounted their greateſt *Happineſs*; and, Nothing being, by Them, accounted ſo eſſential to *That*, as theſe *temporal* good Things: *This Bleſſing*, therefore, muſt conſiſt in granting, and ſecuring, to Them, the unbounded Enjoyment of what They ſo highly valued. But,

IV. It concerns us chiefly to regard what our *Lord* delivers, upon this Occaſion, concerning the Nature of his own *Kingdom*; and the Method of attaining the greateſt *Honours* in it. And,

Firſt, It is plainly implied in his *Anſwer* to the *Petition* made to Him, in Behalf of the two Brethren-diſciples, that his *Kingdom* was ſo far from conſiſting in worldly Pomp and Glory; that his true *Servants* were to expect to meet with Perſecution, and all evil Treatment, for their Maſter's Sake. And,

Secondly, The *Inſtruction* which He gives to all his twelve *Apoſtles* at laſt, expreſly taught *Them* that the Way to be *great* and glorious in his *Kingdom*, both here, and hereafter, is to be *humble*; and truly diſpoſed to condeſcend to one another, and to ſtoop to all good Offices, for the Service of their Brethren.

Firſt, I ſay, It is plainly implied in our Lord's Anſwer to the Petition of *James* and *John*, and their *Mother*, that his *Kingdom* was ſo far from conſiſting in worldly Pomp and Magnificence, that, in this World, all his true *Servants* were to expect to meet with Perſecution, and great Hardſhips, for their Maſter's Sake. This *Anſwer* is in the 22d Verſe: where, inſtead of feeding them with Hopes of enjoying great Power and worldly Grandeur, under *Him*, he mentions the *Cup*, He himſelf was to drink of; and the *Baptiſm*, He himſelf was to be baptized with; and propoſes the *ſame* Cup, and the *ſame* Baptiſm, to Them, for their Portion, before they could come to any Glory in his Kingdom. It is true, the *ordinary* Courſe of a Chriſtian's Life, in theſe later Ages, is not expoſed to ſuch *Perſecutions*, and to ſuch ſevere Trials, as the Lives of the *Apoſtles* were, at the Time when They were ſent forth to be the firſt Preachers of *Chriſtianity*. But yet, This is applicable to all ſincere *Chriſtians*, in ſome Degree, That They muſt drink of their Lord's *Cup*, and be baptized with his *Baptiſm*; that They muſt follow him through evil Report, and evil Treatment; through Reproaches and Diſgraces; and through many, not inconſiderable, Hardſhips, though not perhaps ſo far, as to a *Croſs*, or to a *Stake*. They may not be called to part with *Life* itſelf, for the Sake of their *Faith*, or their *Integrity*: But they will certainly have occaſion to exerciſe a great deal of *Patience*, and *Courage*, if they reſolve, in all Caſes, to approve themſelves *his Diſciples*. For there never yet was any Age of the World known to be ſo indulgent to *Virtue*; and ſo kind to the Practice of all the *Chriſtian* Duties; as not ſometimes to caſt many Difficulties, and many Grievances, in the Paths of the virtuous *Chriſtian*, under ſome Pretenſe, or other.

But the principal Thing that we ought to remark, is, the *Inſtruction* our Lord gives to his *Diſciples*, upon the Sight of their indecent *Pride* and *Ambition*, in the Words of the *Text*: By which We are plainly taught, as I obſerved juſt now, in the

Second Place, That the Way to be great and glorious in his *Kingdom*, both here and hereafter, is to be *humble*; and diſpoſed to condeſcend to all good Offices; and to make ourſelves the *leaſt* amongſt our Brethren, rather than to contend for Superiority and Pre-eminence.

This was our *Lord's* Inſtruction. But it was a *Leſſon* too hard for the *Apoſtles* Themſelves, at the Time when it was firſt given Them; and is daily ſeen to be too hard for the generality of *Chriſtians*, though it be ſo indiſpenſably inſiſted upon, in the *Goſpel*. Not that it is, or can be, ſenſibly *hard*, or painful, to *Thoſe*, who will conſider what They are originally; and how much Occaſion, and how great Reaſon, they have to be *humble* and *lowly*: Not that it doth not carry its own Reward along with it, when duly practiſed; freeing the Soul from all thoſe Uneaſineſſes that attend upon Pride and Ambition; and filling it with all the Quiet, and Peace, and Satisfaction, naturally flowing from the Contrary: Not that it is not reaſonable and becoming all Men, in itſelf, ſtanding in no Need of a poſitive Command to enforce it: but it is a *hard* Leſſon, becauſe Men have been generally trained up in the Notions of Pride and Ambition; and therefore, are ſeldom diſpoſed to regard what is truly reaſonable, and fitting their Natures, ſo much as what is agreeable to their preſent Inclinations, and the Practice and Cuſtoms of a corrupted World.

Many are the *Conſiderations*, by which we might inforce upon Ourſelves, and our own Conſciences, the Practice of this *Inſtruction* in the *Text*. But, becauſe our bleſſed Lord uſes no Argument, in this Place, to inforce it upon his *Diſciples*, except his own *Example*; I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf, at preſent, to the *ſame Argument*; and endeavour briefly to ſhew the Strength of it, with regard to *Ourſelves*, as well as His *Apoſtles*.

He is *our* Lord and Maſter, as He was *theirs*. And, therefore, we cannot think it beneath Us, to behave Ourſelves, as *He* did. This he himſelf, upon ſeveral Occaſions, judged to be a good Argument to recommend any moral Duty, That He himſelf practiſed it. *Learn of Me*; *for I am meek and lowly*, is his own Direction; in the Caſe of that *Humility*, I am now ſpeaking of. And, indeed, We muſt either throw off all Relation to Him, or acknowledge it to be a very forcible Conſideration. He was far exalted above Us, before He deſcended to converſe with us here below; high above all Principalities and Powers; above the greateſt and wealthieſt and moſt powerful of Us, the poor inconſiderable Inhabitants of this Earth. But, notwithſtanding this infinite Diſtance betwixt him and us, He pitied Us, and condeſcended to be ſubject to our Infirmities; to live a poor and deſpicable Life in our wretched World; and, at laſt to lay down his Life, at the Command and Decree of a Man. He knew perfectly well what was becoming a reaſonable Being; what Behaviour was beneath the Dignity of an underſtanding Nature, and what was not ſo. And his *Notions* of that *Dignity* appear from hence, That, during his Abode amongſt Men, He diveſted himſelf of all *Appearance* of Grandeur, and ſtooped to miniſter to the *meaneſt* of his *Servants*; whoſe Intereſt He regarded, both in his Life, and in his Death. And it is very remarkable, and ought to be taken into this *Argument*, what St. *Paul* affirms, That for this very Humiliation, and *making himſelf of no Reputation*, and deſcending to wear *the Form of a Servant*, God exalted Him, and crowned him with Glory inexpreſſible.

From this, then, we cannot but thus reaſon with Ourſelves. If He, who was ſo great, and ſo wiſe, did not think it beneath his Dignity, to condeſcend to ſuch Inſtances of *Humility*, as we are never called to; to live ſuch a Life of *Lowlineſs*, and die ſuch a Death, in order to miniſter to the Neceſſities of Mankind;

kind; We cannot think it beneath the Dignity of the Higheſt of Us, to imitate this great Example; and even make Ourſelves, by the loweſt Inſtances of Love, truly ſubſervient to the Good of our Brethren, in this World, and their true and eternal Intereſt, in That to come.

When we look upon this great *Example*; and ſee our *Lord* bending Himſelf to all Acts of Charity, towards Thoſe who were ſo much below him; how can we think it right to ſtand upon little Niceties, and Punctilios; or becoming Us, to find out any trifling Excuſes to exempt Ourſelves from doing the like good Offices to our Fellow-creatures, in the ſame *lowly* way? Let not his *Example*, therefore, be ever out of our Minds, when any occaſion of *Humility* preſents itſelf to us. Let us conſider how readily that *Lord*, whom we ſerve, would have laid hold on ſuch Opportunities: and we ſhall be aſhamed to avoid them Ourſelves. Let us look upon thoſe Glories which He is ſaid to have acquired by his *Humility*; and they will animate us to bear even the *Reproach* of *Humility* here below, if *Reproach* can ever follow ſo lovely a Virtue. And, as *He* is *ſet down at the Right Hand of* God; and has *a Name given him above every Name*, for the Sake of his *Lowlineſs* and *Condeſcenſion*; ſo We, by the ſame *Practice*, may hope to ſit down at *his* Right Hand, and to be crowned with *Glory* and *Honour* in the Preſence of God.

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The Different *Characters of* JOHN the BAPTIST, *and* JESUS CHRIST.

SERMON XIV.

LUKE vii. 33, 44.

John *the* Baptiſt *came neither eating Bread, nor drinking Wine, and ye ſay, he hath a Devil. The* Son of Man *is come, eating and drinking, and ye ſay, Behold a gluttonous Man, and a Wine-bibber, a Friend of Publicans and Sinners.*

THIS is our bleſſed Lord's own Account both of the Manner of Life uſed by *John* the *Baptiſt*, his Fore-runner, and by *Himſelf*; and of the Perverſeneſs of the *Jews*, in miſinterpreting and cenſuring the Conduct of them Both. *John the Baptiſt came neither eating Bread, nor drinking Wine*; *i. e.* he avoided all common Converſation with Men, and retired from the Noiſe of the Multitude; not ſo much as allowing himſelf the Enjoyment of human Society frequently; or laying hold on any Opportunities of *eating, and drinking*, with the reſt of the World about Him. And the *Jews*, becauſe they were not diſpoſed to receive his Doctrine, (which was the ſevere Doctrine of Repentance, and Amendment,) and his Teſtimony concerning *Jeſus Chriſt*, repreſented him as a Perſon diſturbed in his Brain, poſſeſſed by ſome evil and melancholy Spirit; and led, by That, into the Retirement, and Solitude, and Auſterity, which he ſeemed to affect.

Well then, one would have thought, by this, that if a *Prophet* ſhould appear amongſt them, with all the Signs of a divine Miſſion; and converſe freely with Them; not refuſing to be preſent at their Entertainments, or to mix himſelf with them, upon all juſt Occaſions; that This ſhould be quite acceptable to Them; and all their Prejudices be removed. But it was far otherwiſe. For *the Son of Man*, the *Meſſiah*, *Jeſus Chriſt*, *came eating and drinking*; *i. e.* converſing freely with Mankind; partaking with them, upon all proper Occaſions, of the ordinary Refreſhments of Life, without Scruple; and laying hold on all Opportunities of a free Society with the World around Him: and yet This alſo was ſo far from pleaſing, that They only changed their Note of Diſlike and Cenſure; and ſaid, *Behold* a Man, addicted to his Appetite, a Lover of Wine, and a Friend to the *Worſt* of Men.

And, indeed, He was *a Friend of Publicans and Sinners*, in the trueſt Senſe of the Word, *Friendſhip*: *i. e.* His great Deſign was to do them *real* Service, and to lead them to *Repentance* and Happineſs. But it was ſo manifeſt a Piece of wicked Scandal and Injuſtice, that he was *intemperate*, in thoſe Opportunities which only he could take of converſing with the Men, whom he came to ſave; that no Perſon of common Senſe; No One, whoſe Eyes were not blinded with the darkeſt Prejudice, could poſſibly believe, much leſs, report, ſuch a Thing. So far from it, that Nothing was more viſible, than the greateſt and ſtricteſt Abſtinence from all Exceſs, through his whole Life and Converſation: no Delight in the pampering of his Body, or the pleaſing of his Senſes; but a conſtant Regard to the Rules of Sobriety and Temperance. But, waving this, I ſhall return to my Deſign in chooſing theſe Words, at this Time: and That will appear in the Conſideration of theſe following Particulars.

I. The different Behaviour of St. *John Baptiſt*, and our bleſſed *Saviour*, with reſpect to human Society; and the Agreeableneſs of it to their different Deſigns.

II. The groſs *Miſinterpretation* put by the *Jews*, upon this their different Conduct; and the *Leſſon* we may learn from thence. After which I deſign,

III. To ſay ſomething, with reſpect to theſe two different Methods of Life: That of *Auſterity* and *Retirement*; and *That* of a more free Enjoyment of human Society.

I. We ſee plainly, in the very Words now before us, the different Behaviour and Conduct of our bleſſed *Saviour*, and *John* the *Baptiſt*, with reſpect to human Society: and ſhall preſently obſerve the *Agreeableneſs* of it to their different *Deſigns*. *John* the *Baptiſt* choſe a *Wilderneſs*, or Deſert, for the Scene of his Appearance and Action; avoided the Places of Concourſe and Society; and took upon him, in the beſt Senſe, the Habit and Vow of Auſterity, and the ſtricteſt Abſtinence. I call it the Scene of his Appearance, and Action: for this Retirement was not, as ſome have been in later Ages, choſen by Him for an unactive and idle Life of *Contemplation*, and uſeleſs *Speculation*; nor with the leaſt Thought of withdrawing himſelf from the Eyes and Ears of a vain and wicked World, by a voluntary and pleaſing Recluſeneſs within Walls and Fences. But it was embraced by Him, on quite contrary, and very uſeful Accounts.

He was to preach, and therefore to be known, to his Country-men. And accordingly, the Deſert he choſe, at his opening his Miniſtry, was very near to *Jeruſalem*: where his Name could not but be ſoon heard of, and whither He ſometimes went himſelf. And there was ſomething ſo peculiar in his Manner of Life, and his Preaching, which preſently became the Subject of Diſcourſe; that it drew the Attention of all People towards him: and They were induced by his Fame, and the Curioſity which That raiſed in them, to go out to Him, and hear what He taught, and what He pretended to. Our bleſſed *Lord*, on the contrary, when he diſplayed himſelf, and opened his Meſſage to Mankind, frequented the Places of greateſt Concourſe; and laid hold on all fair and good Opportunities of converſing with the World of *Sinners*. He choſe even to *eat and drink* with Them; and took their own Times, and attended their Leiſure, and their Invitations;

tations; and ſeemed rejoiced at every Occaſion of the moſt familiar Intercourſe with them.

And this different Conduct, We ſhall now ſee, was very ſuitable and agreeable to their *different Deſigns*. The *Baptiſt's* great Buſineſs was to raiſe the Minds, and turn the Eyes, of the People of the *Jews*, towards the *Meſſiah*, who was now going to appear; to prepare them, by the *Baptiſm* and *Doctrine* of Repentance and Reformation, to underſtand the true Nature of his Kingdom, and to receive Him when he ſhould ſhew himſelf; to bear a Teſtimony to the true *Meſſiah*; and, after that was done, He himſelf *was to decreaſe*, and the other *was to increaſe*: as He expreſſes his own Senſe of his Office. Now, there is ſomething in that retired, and ſevere, Manner of Life He choſe, which is apt to raiſe the Curioſity and Attention of Men very much; and to put them upon aſking ſuch *Queſtions*, as may lead to the Knowledge of the moſt uſeful and important Truths.

And We ſee accordingly, that this Method of Living and Preaching, in which *John* the *Baptiſt* ſhewed himſelf, had ſuch an Influence upon the *Jews*, that Many were in doubt whether he was not Himſelf the *Meſſiah*, the promiſed Saviour of that Nation. It was ſo long, ſince ſo much Sanctity, and ſo much Contempt of the World, had been ſeen amongſt them, that, in their good and ſober Moods, They were induced to think, from ſuch Beginnings, that This might poſſibly be *He*: though they quickly came to reject Him, when they found he ſpake of Nothing ſo much as of *Repentance, and bringing forth Fruits worthy of it*. But, after They had thus rejected Him, we find the moſt Artful and Deſigning amongſt Them were ſo embarraſſed between their own *Conduct* towards the *Baptiſt*, and their Fear of the *People*, that They did not know how to anſwer the *Queſtion* put to them by our *Lord*, whether the *Baptiſm* of *John* were of divine Original, or Not? For his Manner of Life, and Holineſs of Converſation, had gained him ſuch an *Authority* amongſt the *People*, that it would have incenſed *Them*, to have denied him to be a true *Prophet*; and, to have owned it, would have condemned Themſelves, for not receiving Him.

And as the Manner of his appearing, in that outward Garb, and inward Reality, of *Severity* and *Auſterity*, forcibly invited the Eyes and Attention of the Multitude to him; and engaged even the *worſt* Part of the *Jews* to ſend Meſſengers to him, to aſk him of the Character he bore, and the Deſign he came upon: So, likewiſe, it is worth obſerving, That, his chief Deſign being to bear Teſtimony to a greater *Prophet* than himſelf; and not to ingratiate himſelf ſo much with the People, as to gather Multitudes of Diſciples to his own Perſon; He could not have choſen a more proper Method of purſuing this, than that retired and auſtere Manner of Life. Had he made it his Buſineſs to have frequented all Places of Concourſe, and gathered to himſelf great Numbers of *Diſciples*, who were often Followers of the *Perſon*, more than of the *Doctrine*, of their Maſter; it might poſſibly have had an unhappy Effect with relation to the *Meſſiah* himſelf, who was to preach Salvation to, and make Diſciples of, the whole *Nation*, as far as They would permit Him.

It muſt indeed be owned that, the greater the Number of *John's* Diſciples had been, the greater Influence it would have had upon the Cauſe of the *Meſſiah*, if All of them had cordially received their Maſter's Teſtimony concerning Him. But this, probably, would have been found too hard for *Practice*; as it carried with it unavoidably this Conſequence, That *Jeſus* was a *greater Prophet* than their Maſter, *John* the *Baptiſt*. For we ſee, there was always a Conteſt between the *Diſciples* of ſeveral *Maſters*; and a great Regret, and Envy, raiſed in every Sort, to ſee their own *Maſters* ſunk and depreſſed by the greater Glory of *Others*.

And it is not improbable from the ſacred Story, that the few Diſciples *John* had, were leavened with this Sort of Temper; and that They could hardly have been perſuaded to believe any *Prophet* greater than their *Maſter*; or, with their whole Heart, receive the *Meſſiah*, who was now going to appear as Such.

Here therefore, was another Reaſon for the *Baptiſt's* Manner of Life; That his Buſineſs was, Not to conſult his own perſonal Intereſt, as a *Maſter* and a *Prophet*, ſo as to gather *Diſciples*, and Followers, to himſelf; but to be a living *Witneſs* to one *Greater* than Himſelf, and only to prepare Men's Hearts for the Reception of *Him*, and his Doctrine. And for this End, the Method which he choſe ſeems much more proper, than if He had mixed himſelf more with the World; and made it his Buſineſs to frequent the Places of popular Concourſe, and to ſhew Himſelf daily in the Commerce and Crowds of a great City: which might have appeared a Deſign of gaining Popularity, and Followers to Himſelf; rather than of ſerving the Honour and Intereſt of that Prince of Prophets, the *Meſſiah*, whoſe *Fore-runner* only He was.

But the *Meſſiah* had another Part to act. His great Buſineſs was to gain Proſelytes and Diſciples to *Himſelf*, who could not adhere too cloſe to him. He could not be too *popular*, when once it was proper to open his Pretenſions, and reveal his true Character to the World. His great Deſign was to engage Mankind to Himſelf by all proper Methods: and of Theſe, an eaſy and familiar Converſation, and a Compliance with their innocent Cuſtoms, was one of the moſt likely to win upon them.

Another *Conſideration* is, That it was juſtly deſigned by God, and expected by the *Jews*, That the *Divinity* of *Chriſt's Miſſion* ſhould be proved by wonderful Works in publick; never performed, after ſuch a Manner, and in ſuch Number, before that Time: which being not the Caſe of *John* the *Baptiſt*, it was the leſs neceſſary for *Him* to affect the Society and Concourſe of Men. And as the *Truth* of our *Lord's* Pretenſions was to be demonſtrated, and the Mouth of his Adverſaries ſtopped, by a conſtant Series of theſe aſtoniſhing and divine Works; upon this Account, a more *publick* Scene was the proper Scene of his Action: that He might not be ſaid to have choſen the darkeſt Corners, and Places void of Witneſſes, (which are thought proper Places to ſhew Tricks in,) and then to have weakly expected the World to believe in *Him*, for the Sake of what They never ſaw. The cleareſt Day-light, and the greateſt Multitudes, and even his *Adverſaries* themſelves, were to be the Spectators (though, to their own Shame, the envious and malicious Spectators,) of the Proofs he had to give of his divine Authority. And therefore, it became him to purſue them, as it were, of his own Accord, with his wonderful Works; to appeal, every Day, to the Eyes and Ears of Thouſands, and to call in all the Witneſſes poſſible to the Teſtimony He had to give of Himſelf. For Truth, entirely void of all *Fraud*, doth not fear, but deſire, *Witneſſes*. Again,

John the *Baptiſt*, though a Perſon of extraordinary Holineſs of Life, without regard to that peculiar Character in which He appeared, was not deſigned to be propoſed to Mankind, as the great *Example*, for their Imitation: But the *Meſſiah* was to be that perfect *Example*, which all ſhould be obliged to copy after, with the Care and Attention of ſincere Followers. It became Him, therefore, to chooſe a Sphere of Action, and a Manner of Life, agreeable to the Tempers, and Neceſſities, and Buſineſs, of the *Generality* of Mankind; not ſuch a one, as ſuits with the Tempers, and Purpoſes, of a very ſmall and inconſiderable Number. Our *Saviour*, without Doubt, had as mean an Opinion of that Generation of Men, in which He appeared, as it was poſſible to have conceived from a perfect Knowledge of their Weakneſſes, and Follies; their Paſſions, and Vices. And, had he only had his own Inclination, without regard to the Good of Others, to have conſulted, no Perſon could have reliſhed the Pleaſures of Solitude ſo well: becauſe no Perſon was ſo fully ſufficient to his own Entertainment and Happineſs; or ſo little in want of Any of the Supports of human Society. But how, then, ſhould he have *fulfilled all Righteouſneſs?* Or, How could He have anſwered the End of his Appearing, to be made an *Example* to *Us*, who muſt converſe, and deal, with one another: who muſt court and attend one another; and cannot, without our mutual Aſſiſtance, preſerve the leaſt Order in the World; or anſwer the beneficial Ends of *Society*, in it?

But I have ſaid enough on the *firſt* Head, *viz.* the *different* Behaviour of our bleſſed *Lord*, and *John* the *Baptiſt*, with relation to human *Society*; and the Agreeableneſs of this their different Behaviour to their different Characters and Deſigns. And ſhall only add this one Caution; that what I have ſaid is not to be underſtood as if, on the one hand, I thought that *John* the *Baptiſt* would not have been perfectly ready to a greater Correſpondence with the World, had it been more for the Purpoſe of his Appearance, all Things conſidered; or, as if, on the other hand, I was not ſenſible that our Saviour had often ſhewn his Love to Retirement, eſpecially for *Prayer* to his Father: though it is obſervable, this was generally his Entertainment, when there was no Opportunity of converſing with Mankind; and of doing good to Any of them by his divine Preſence and Diſcourſe. I come now,

II. To obſerve, what I propoſed in the next Place, *viz.* the groſs *Miſrepreſentation* put by the *Jews*, upon this different Conduct of our *Lord*, and *John* the *Baptiſt*. And that is plain in the *Text*. The *One* they cenſured, as a *Glutton* and a *Wine-bibber*, and a *Friend of Sinners*, becauſe he *ate and drank*, and entered into Company, after the uſual Manner of *Men*, in order to a more free and more beneficial Converſation with Them: And the *Other* they eſteemed little better than a mad Man, becauſe he ſeemed to fly from the reſt of the World; and lived not after the common Form, but affected ſomething very peculiar in his *Garb*, and in his *Diet*. So hard is it to pleaſe Thoſe who are reſolved not to be pleaſed. The *Leſſon* we may learn from hence is this, That Men are often very ready to entertain the moſt unjuſt Prejudices, rather than yield to the plaineſt Truths which contradict their beloved Notions or Practices. Had the *Jews* entertained the ſame Notions of the *Meſſiah*, and of the *Nature* of his *Kingdom*, that the *Baptiſt*, and our *Saviour*, both preached; They had ſhewn no ſuch Perverſeneſs and Prejudice, as now appears; and the *Two Prophets* had not met with ſo unjuſt and heavy Cenſures. Or, had the *Baptiſt* and our bleſſed *Lord* careſſed them in their beloved Notions of worldly Greatneſs and Majeſty, or their favorite Vices; and taught them Happineſs after their own abſurd falſe Scheme; One may venture to ſay, They had been extolled to the Skies, and Both received with open Arms. To ſuch a Pitch of *Prejudice* were the *Jews* come, that They could not bear to have their received *Opinions*, or *Practices*, condemned; and would not accept of an Happineſs, not to be obtained without relinquiſhing their old beloved Follies and *Vices:* When, in Truth, it ought to have been quite otherwiſe. For, if *John* the *Baptiſt* had preached any other *Meſſiah*, than one whoſe *Fan was in his Hand*, and who required the ſtricteſt Holineſs of Life; Or, if our bleſſed *Lord* had preached any other *Goſpel*, than the *Goſpel* of Holineſs, and Humility, and Love: the *Jews* might, juſtly, have charged the *One*, with the Madneſs of having a Commerce with evil Spirits; and the *Other*, with being a *Friend* to *Publicans*, and *Sinners*, in the worſt Senſe; a Lover of their Practices, and an Encourager of their Vices.

It was this Doctrine of Repentance, and Amendment of Life, that gave ſuch a Stop to the *Goſpel*, amongſt the *Jews*, at firſt. It is this that hinders the Increaſe of it, and that bars its Entrance to ſo many Ears, at this Day. The great Obſtruction, I ſay, to the *Goſpel*, is, that it will not reconcile Vice and Happineſs, a wicked Life and the Hopes of *Salvation*, together. Could it do this, plainly and effectually, how many Votaries ſhould we daily ſee flock in, and how many Encomiums ſhould We hear upon it! What *joyful Tidings* would it be accounted, and how glorious a *Salvation*, to the Sons of Men, wearied and affrighted with the Proſpect of the *Puniſhment*, but not with the *Practice*, of their Tranſgreſſions!

How obliging and courteous a Thing, therefore, is it, in the *Church* of *Rome*, to endeavour to make up this great Defect in the *Goſpel*; and, by the infallible Spirit it aſſumes, to ſupply this Want; and remove the only inſuperable Objection to wicked Minds againſt it! When we conſider the Workings of human Nature, we ſhall not much wonder that *Proſelytes* are gained, by teaching Men how to compound with God for the Breach of his Laws: Or, by the dextrous Management of ſuch *Machines*, as *Indulgencies*, and *Abſolutions*. But when we conſider the *Reaſon* of the Thing itſelf, it is moſt aſtoniſhing that even the weakeſt of Men can be ſeduced by ſuch Pretenſes. For I truly think, That, of the *Two*, it is more eaſy, and more pardonable, to believe *Tranſubſtantiation* itſelf, than to believe that Almighty God would enter into any ſuch Covenant with Mankind, as ſhould encourage them to continue in their Sins; or give them the Liberty of tranſgreſſing the leaſt of thoſe Laws of eternal Reaſon, which are the Foundation of his own Glory, and of all the laſting Happineſs there is in the World.

In *moral Philoſophy*, This is as great an Abſurdity, as the other is in *Natural*; attended with as many *Difficulties*, and with much more intolerable Conſequences, relating to our Eternal Salvation. And, I am ſure, it is more excuſable to *err* in a Matter of Opinion; nay, though it may draw after it great Evils in the Worſhip of God, than in a Matter, which deſtroys the very Eſſence and Obligation of all *Morality*; confounding *Virtue* with *Vice*; making *Light*, *Darkneſs*, and *Darkneſs*, *Light*: and which is, indeed, calculated for the promoting of the whole Syſtem of *Immorality* in the World, as much, as if it had been deſigned for Nothing elſe. Our bleſſed *Lord* had no ſuch *Goſpel* to preach: and therefore, found no Reception amongſt Men of corrupt and profligate Minds; conſtant Purſuers of the Pleaſures, or, unwearied Solicitors of the Glories and Honours, of this World.

Nay, could a Religion of ſuch Indulgence be ſuppoſed agreeable to the Will of God, I ſee no Need of a *Prophet* to be ſent into the World, on Purpoſe to teach, or inculcate, it. No fear, but that Mankind would learn this faſt enough, by the Influence of their own *bad Hearts*, and the Example of Others. From the *Beginning* of the World, great *Multitudes* had no *other Goſpel*, but This: and to the *End* of it, I doubt, great Multitudes will embrace no other; but live and die in their *Sins*, expecting Mercy and Heaven, whilſt they have no Foundation for it within, nor Promiſe of it, from without.

For ourſelves; Let us learn, from this perverſe Temper of the *Jews*, how unbecoming it is, and how unreaſonable, to reject, or to neglect, any thing, not becauſe it is not agreeable to our own beſt Principles of Reaſon, but, becauſe it is contrary to our wicked Inclinations, and to our worldly Deſigns. It is manifeſt from the *Goſpel*, and from the Accounts of thoſe Days, that the *Jews* ſet Themſelves to aſperſe both *John* the *Baptiſt* and our *Saviour*, and, at laſt, rejected Them, chiefly becauſe They were *Preachers* of the ſtricteſt *Holineſs* and *Virtue*. It was becauſe the *Baptiſt* was aſſiſting in *deſtroying the Works of the* Devil, that they ſaid he had a *Devil*. And it was becauſe our *Saviour* was *not* a *Friend* to *Sinners*, who continue ſuch, that they blaſphemed him as a *Friend to Sinners*, in the worſt Senſe. But let it not be ſaid that any of his own Followers, who are called by his Name, act, as if They partook, in any Meaſure, of the ſame Temper; and retained the ſame wicked Principles. I come now, in the laſt Place,

III. To ſay ſomething, in ſhort, concerning thoſe two Methods of living, now ſeen in the *Chriſtian* World; *That* of *Retirement* and *Auſterity*; and That of a more free and general Converſation: the *One*, ſometimes pretended to be copied after that of *John* the *Baptiſt*; and the *Other*, really copied after that of our bleſſed *Lord*.

It muſt be acknowledged to be very becoming the Character of a *reaſonable Creature*, placed in *this* State, to have a due Senſe of the Uncertainty and Vanity of the Enjoyments of this Life. And who would not be glad to retire from a World of Noiſe and Impertinence, of Ignorance and Folly, and, what is worſt of all, of Wickedneſs and Impiety? Who would not be glad, I ſay, to do this, in the moſt abſolute Senſe, that could ſupport himſelf in Solitude; were it not, that We have other Obligations to anſwer, and other Maxims to live by, than the following our own *Inclinations*, or *Humours*? The World is the *Stage* of *Action*, to a *Chriſtian*: and all the Members of that vaſt Body are his *Neighbours*; entitled to his Regard, as He is to Theirs. The Afflicted, the Deſolate, the Lame, the Blind, the Sick, the Weak, the Fatherleſs, the Widow, the Poor, the Needy, the Ignorant, and the Sinner, Theſe all, We know, called for our *Lord's* Aſſiſtance: and He thought it unbecoming *Him* to retire, when Any of theſe could be met with to receive the Influences of his Goodneſs. And the ſame Obligations belong to his *Followers*, by Right of *Deſcent*. They are the *Diſciples* of *Him*, who lived in the World to do Good to All in it: and theſe diſtreſſed Objects are left by *Him* to *their* Care; and They are made the Patrons and Guardians of them, in his *Abſence*. Whenever a *retired Life* hinders not the Care, and Relief, and Support, of Theſe; nor breaks in upon any other moral Engagement; or, any of the Duties ſtrictly owing to Human *Society*; it cannot be ſaid to be unworthy of a Man, or *Chriſtian*. And accordingly, our *Lord*, we ſee, freely mixed himſelf in *Society*, in order to the Benefit of the World about Him, as long as the *Light* permitted Him: and when *Darkneſs* came on, often laid hold on the Opportunities of what may be called a *Religious Retirement* from it. And generally ſpeaking, *Chriſtians*, in their due Meaſure, can imitate him in *both* theſe *Caſes*. But They, who cannot follow him, in *Both*, are ſtrictly obliged to take eſpecial Care not to neglect the *Former*. This was his peculiar Delight; to converſe, with Eaſe and Humanity, amongſt Men, becauſe, without This, no Inſtance of Charity could reach Them: and This was what he peculiarly recommended to his *Followers*, as the Duty They owed to their *Fellow-creatures*. Every Man may find Opportunities of Retirement, ſufficient to ſecure the Bleſſing of Heaven, and the Favour of God, by *Prayer:* and every good *Man* will make Uſe of them. And if He be always diſpoſed to lay hold on every Occaſion of doing Good in human Society, according to his Abilities; He will, by Theſe Two Inſtances of Practice, ſhew Himſelf the true Diſciple of that *Maſter*, who went before Him, in Both.

But to make *Retirement*, an *Art*, or a *Burthen*; to build Houſes of Entertainment to entice Men into it; to frame arbitrary Rules of Severity for it; to guard it with rigid Vows, too probably, drawing bitter *Repentance* and *Sorrow*, after them; and to clothe it with ſuch Appearances of Something extraordinary, and above the common pitch of Devotion, as may enſnare unguarded and unexperienced Minds into what may prove the great Unhappineſs of their whole Lives: Nay, to court it merely on *our own* Account, in order to lead an idle and uſeleſs Life; or to be at Leiſure, perhaps, not for the Study of God's Will, as delivered to Us by himſelf, but only for the Improvement of our own peculiar Whimſies: This is, undoubtedly, unworthy of the Grand *Deſign* of the *Chriſtian Religion*; and was not only never commanded, but never intimated, by the firſt Preacher of it, and his immediate Succeſſors, as far as we have any Knowledge of them.

That this is not copied after the *Life* of our bleſſed Saviour, All will allow, who read the Hiſtory of it; and find Him, daily and hourly, converſing with All that came in his Way, in the Streets and Houſes of *Jeruſalem*, and the neighbouring Towns. Nor can it be called the *Life* of *John* the *Baptiſt*; or the leaſt Imitation of it: becauſe it is moſt evident that He retired, not to pleaſe his own *Phanſy*; but to anſwer the End of his Office; and dwelt in the *Deſert*, not in order to avoid the *World* entirely, but to entice and invite All within his Reach to hear his Doctrine of *Repentance*, and of the *Kingdom of God*, then at hand. And, as far as We know the Nature of this *Kingdom*, or *Goſpel*, of *Chriſt*, We may *retire*, as much as *That* requires of us, in the Midſt of the moſt *populous* City; and without throwing off the leaſt Part of our neceſſary Buſineſs, or innocent Converſation: Nay, I may ſay, We may do this much more agreeably to the Nature and End of that *Goſpel*, than if we were ſhut up, within Walls, from the Sight of Men, and employed our whole Time, in performing, by Night and by Day, the moſt regular Round of *Offices*, under the ſpecious Title of Devotion.

In a word, the Way of Life, with regard to human Society, in this World, recommended to Us by our Maſter, is the *Life* of ſuch *Beneficence*, as ſuppoſes Us converſing, and acting a Part, in the *Society* around Us; and this cannot be, a *Recluſe* Life of *Inaction*, but implies in it the very contrary. *This* is that Behaviour and Conduct of ourſelves in the *Social* World, according to the ſeveral Stations aſſigned Us in it, which the *Precepts* of our charitable Religion declare to be our Duty. This is what the *Example* of our great *Maſter* directs Us to: And, this will be our Reward and our Crown to all Eternity. If we can perfect Ourſelves in *this*; We may ſecurely leave to *Others* the Happineſs, and the Glory, of any uſeleſs and idle *Retirement*, which They may pleaſe to miſcall by the Name of *Religion*; but which has not the leaſt Tincture of the *Religion* of *Chriſt*: And may well content ourſelves with following, as near as we can, the *Footſteps* and *Rules* of our common *Maſter*, rather than the ſilly and fruitleſs *Inventions* of Thoſe, who, under the Cover of his ſacred Name, have almoſt extinguiſhed the Knowledge of the *main End* of his appearing amongſt Men. And this Regard to our *Lord* himſelf, above All other Directors, I hope, We ſhall all reſolve to ſhew, in the whole Conduct of our *Lives* here below.

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The EXTREMES *of* RICHES *and* POVERTY.

SERMON XV.

PROVERBS xxx. 8, 9.

Give me neither Poverty, *nor* Riches; *feed me with Food convenient for me. Leſt I be full, and deny* Thee, *and ſay, Who is the Lord? Or, leſt I be poor and ſteal, and take the Name of my* God *in vain.*

I Shall not enter into any Enquiry concerning the *Perſon* to whom the Words in this *Chapter* are aſcribed. The only Queſtion of Importance is, whether this be not a Wiſh, or Prayer, worthy of a wiſe and conſidering Man; founded upon Reaſon, and a careful Obſervation of the Inconveniences, and Conveniences, attending the ſeveral States of Life in this World. If it can be proved to be a reaſonable, and well-grounded *Prayer*; we ought all to join in it, whoever were the firſt Author of it. And, on the other hand, if it ſhall, after Examination, appear to be contrary to *Reaſon*, and judicious Obſervation; it can be of no Importance, to find out, if we could, Who was the Perſon that made this Wiſh, here recorded.

Now, in order to our judging rightly, in the Caſe before Us, it is proper to obſerve that the *Prayer* in the *Text* is plainly founded upon *This*; *viz.* that the Hazards, and Inconveniences, attending the *two Extremes* of boundleſs *Riches*, and the loweſt *Poverty*, are ſo great, and ſo generally fatal to thoſe who experience either of thoſe two States; that, if a wiſe Man were to chooſe for himſelf, with regard to true Happineſs, and the Intereſt of Virtue and Religion, He would certainly chooſe the middle Condition: Or, ſuch a *Competency*, and convenient Subſiſtence, as ſhould ſet him above the Need of Relief from the Bounty of Others; and enable him to provide tolerably for Thoſe in whom He is moſt nearly concerned. And as the Proof of the Parts of this *Propoſition* will ſufficiently vindicate, and eſtabliſh, the Wiſdom of this *Prayer*, which is built upon it; I ſhall, therefore, make the *Propoſition* now mentioned the Subject of my following Diſcourſe.

And here, as to the *one* Part of this Propoſition, and this Prayer, *viz.* That which relates to *Poverty*; there is ſomething in *this* ſo diſagreeable, and ſo diſtaſteful, to the Bent and Inclination of human Nature; ſomething ſo contemptible and mean, in the outward Appearance of it, which ſtrikes more upon Men than the unſeen and hidden Part of any Condition; that there is not One in the World, perhaps, of Thoſe who may be eſteemed in their right Mind, who would voluntarily chooſe the loweſt and meaneſt Condition of human Life. There always was, and always will be, a general Concurrence and Conſent in this Part of the Prayer, *Give me not Poverty:* not, perhaps, for fear of ſinning againſt God, in that Condition, which is the Conſideration alledged in the Text; but for fear only of that Contempt and Ignominy, and thoſe Neceſſities, and worldly Inconveniences, which are annexed to that State.

On the other Side, there is, and always was, and always will be, almoſt as general a Conſent againſt the *other* Part of this Prayer, which relates to immenſe and exceſſive *Riches*. There is ſomething in the outward Appearance and Figure of that Greatneſs and Superiority which often attend upon vaſt *Riches*; ſomething in the uncommon Conveniences, and Pleaſures, They are ſuppoſed to procure; Something which captivates the Minds of moſt Men, to ſuch a Degree, that They can hardly know how to chooſe the *beſt* State, againſt their own worldly Intereſt; or, not to wiſh *Themſelves* in that diſtinguiſhed *Condition* of Life, which They are ſo apt to envy, and admire, in *Others*. And, generally ſpeaking, *He* that ſhould go about to perſuade any Man to beſeech God earneſtly *not* to grant Him the Abundance of *Riches*, would, I fear, be looked upon, in almoſt the ſame ridiculous Light, as He would be, who ſhould teach Him to pray expreſſly *for* the *Extreme* of *Poverty*, and Want.

This being ſo, That Men are very ready to pray ardently againſt *Poverty*, and a low Fortune, upon mean and worldly Conſiderations; and as ardently to wiſh for the greateſt Riches, without a due Regard to the natural Conſequences of ſuch a Wiſh: It is, therefore, of Importance to endeavour to ſhew, on one hand, that there are *Conſiderations*, of a better Sort, ſufficient to make a *wiſe* Man pray againſt the loweſt Condition of this Life; that ſo, our natural Abhorrence of extreme *Poverty* may be ſetled upon a right Foundation, and improved into a Virtue: And, on the other hand, ſtill more neceſſary, and of greater Importance, to ſhew that there are *Reaſons* ſufficient to remove the Bent of a wiſe Man's Thoughts from all anxious and importunate Deſires after the Abundance and Extremity of *Riches*; that ſo, we may not fatally err, on that Part, on which there is moſt Danger, from the apparent Tendency of human Nature. Thus ſhall we be led to fix our Wiſhes, with reſpect to this World, in their due Centre, on the middle Condition, rightly tempered between the two Extremes. In order, therefore, to ſhew the Wiſdom and Reaſonableneſs of this *Prayer* in the *Text*, I propoſe theſe following Particulars:

I. To conſider the fatal Inconveniences and evil Conſequences, with reſpect to laſting Happineſs and Religion, naturally attending the Extreme of Wealth, and the Abundance of *Riches*, in this World.

II. To conſider, on the other hand, the Inconveniences, with reſpect to Virtue and Religion, generally ſeen to attend the loweſt Condition of Life, and the Extreme of *Poverty*.

III. To infer, from what I ſhall have ſaid, the Reaſonableneſs of deſiring the middle Condition, called in the Text, *Food convenient for Us*; and the greater Likelihood of obtaining *Happineſs*, and ſecuring and improving our *Virtue* and Religion, in this Eſtate. This will be a ſufficient Vindication of the *Wiſdom* of the *Prayer* now before us. And,

IV. After I have ſaid what may be proper upon theſe Heads, I ſhall be led to anſwer ſome *Queſtions* of Importance, which may offer themſelves upon this Subject.

I. In order to ſhew the Wiſdom and Reaſonableneſs of the *Prayer* in the *Text*, I ſhall endeavour to repreſent to you the many fatal Inconveniences and evil Conſequences, with reſpect to *Happineſs* and *Religion*, which naturally attend the Super-abundance of *Riches* in this World.

And here, if I ſhould attempt to ſpeak of all the Sorts of Folly, and *Madneſs*, truly ſo called; and all the *Vices*, to which the Overflowings of *Riches* incline, and naturally lead, frail weak Mortals; of the Vanity, the Pride, the Haughtineſs, the Contempt of their Fellow-creatures, which appear in *Some*; the hard-hearted, ſelfiſh, Sordidneſs, of *Others*; the Luxury, the Idleneſs, the Profuſion, the Intemperance, the immoderate Purſuit of worldly *Pleaſures*, to which Many more, by the Guidance of *Riches*, have given themſelves up: *the Time would fail Me.* Nor would this be merely a *Declamation*, or a *Satire*, founded on the Ill-nature and Envy of Thoſe below this Condition; but a Matter of Fact, too much confirmed by the Obſervation, and Experience, of many paſt Ages: and ſeen, at this Day, to be ſtill ſo generally *true*, that We ſeldom hear of an *Exception*.

And this *Evil* is never more remarkable than in the Change made in Thoſe, who have ſhewn a good and virtuous Conduct in a *lower* Sphere, but have not been able to withſtand the Shock of a larger and more exalted Fortune; or, to be Proof againſt the Attacks of a ſudden and extraordinary Proſperity. How often, upon ſuch Occaſions, may We juſtly ſay, has the Increaſe of *Riches* been the Beginning of all moral Folly, or the Increaſe of all moral Evil! How often has the Addition to the outward good Eſtate of a Man, proved a ſenſible Diminution of the inward good Eſtate of his Soul; and the Improvement of his *Fortune*, the Improvement of every evil Diſpoſition of his *Mind?* Where Quiet and Contentment have been known to dwell, in a very great Degree; there, when *Riches* have entered, *Diſcontent*, and *Uneaſineſs*, have entered with them. Where Friendſhip, and mutual Confidence, have flouriſhed: there Enmity, and mutual Animoſities, have taken Place. Inſtead of former Repoſe and Tranquillity, Quarrels and Law-ſuits, Care and Anxiety, have been ſeen. Inſtead of Love and Amity, Diſguſt and Jealouſy; inſtead of Serenity and Calmneſs, a wrinkled Brow and an uneaſy Countenance; inſtead of Affability and Courteſy, Haughtineſs and Contempt of Others, have taken Place.

Thus Vice, in ſeveral Forms, has often triumphed over the moſt amiable Virtues, by the Help of *Riches:* and thus have the trueſt *Enjoyments*, in human Life, been totally ruined and laid waſte by Them. They are pretended ſometimes to be ſought after, to *ſatisfy* Men's Deſires, and to *extinguiſh* Covetouſneſs; and They only encreaſe thoſe Deſires, and add Fuel to the *Fire* within. They are really deſigned perhaps, by Some, to be made uſe of, for the Happineſs of Others who want them: but they are ſeen to make Men more hard-hearted, than they were before, and leſs inclined to *Beneficence* and Good-nature. What numberleſs Temptations, of all Kinds, and theſe irreſiſtible without the greateſt Guard upon their Minds, doth the *Exceſs* of Riches adminiſter to Men! All indeed do not fall by them: but all are in the extremeſt Danger. There are Exceptions: Otherwiſe, the World would be a Scene of *wicked Confuſion* between *Covetouſneſs*, and *Pride*. And happy *They*, who make the Exceptions! But, comparatively ſpeaking, how *Few* are *Thoſe*, who have Strength of Soul enough to know the only reaſonable and noble Uſe of that Diſtinction from their *Fellow-creatures*, which *Riches* create? Or, in the Words of the *Text*, how *Few*, who are *full*; and do not, ſome way or other, in their *Practice*, if not in *Words*, *deny* God, and *ſay*, *Who is the Lord?* So great is the Danger, that immenſe *Riches* may draw off the Mind from all due Regard to *Virtue* and *Religion*; and expoſe it to be fatally led away into ſuch a State, as is inconſiſtent with laſting Happineſs here, or hereafter; and is, indeed, the Reverſe to all that a Wiſe Man would wiſh for.

It is impoſſible to ſay all that might be properly urged upon this Subject. But, Whoever ſeriouſly thinks upon ſuch Obſervations as have been now mentioned;

tioned; and conſults his own Knowledge, or Experience; will find Reaſon enough not to deſire, or pray for, ſuch a *Condition*, as *That* by which ſo many have been ruined; and in which He himſelf is ſure of meeting with the moſt hazardous Trials, and all thoſe Temptations which are moſt likely to prove fatal to his own Greateſt and Trueſt Intereſt.

II. Upon the next Head, *viz.* the *Inconveniences* generally ſeen to attend the *loweſt* Condition of Life, I need not ſpend many Words: but muſt ſay ſomething; That we may not avoid it, or pray againſt it, merely for worldly Reaſons, becauſe it is a Condition of Life irkſome and diſagreeable to Fleſh and Blood; but upon better and worthier Conſiderations; leſt we ſhould fall into *Sin*, by the *Temptations* peculiar to it. For this is the Reaſon in the *Text*, upon which the Part of the Prayer relating to *Poverty*, is founded.

But here it cannot be improper, before I mention the Vices *peculiar* to this State, to obſerve, that, notwithſtanding the wide Diſtance and Difference of the *two Extremes*, there are great Sins common to Both: I mean, that the *Loweſt* of Men are ſeen to *practiſe* Many of the *ſame Vices*, which their *Superiors* ſometimes do: as if They ſtrove to reſemble the *Richeſt*, at leaſt, in their *Wickedneſs*; and to ſhew Themſelves exactly like Them, in the Worſt of their Features. The ſame *Profaneneſs* and *Defiance* of God; the ſame *Lewdneſs* and *Debauchery*; the ſame *Oaths* and *Execrations*; the ſame *Intemperance* and *Drunkenneſs*, when Opportunity, or the Bounty of the *Rich*, gives leave; nay, the ſame Inſenſibility, and Diſregard to the Happineſs of the World about Them, are found amongſt the very *pooreſt* of all Men: The *Same*, I ſay, which are ſeen ſometimes to accompany the *Riches* of *Others*.

There is *One* only trifling Difference, That the ſame Vices are practiſed, by *one* Sort, in a coarſer and more ſordid Manner, which are practiſed, by the *other*, (perhaps not always,) in a more refined and delicate Way. *This*, methinks, ought to ſhock Thoſe of ſuperior Rank; and, when They ſee that *Beggars* themſelves can riſe to the ſame Pitch of *Immorality*, muſt move Them, even from the *Pride* of keeping up their ſo much boaſted Diſtinction, to abhor thoſe Vices, in which the *Pooreſt* can equal, if not excel, Them.

But we muſt now add, that there are *Vices* peculiar to this *loweſt* Condition. The *Tricks*, and *Lies*; the *Forgeries*, and *Thefts*; the falſe *Teſtimonies*, and *Perjuries*; the *Violences*, and even *Murthers*, which the *Pooreſt* are, ſorely and often, tempted to be guilty of, in order to ſupport themſelves in Life, as they pretend, are hardly to be enumerated. *Here*, likewiſe, there are *Exceptions*; and *Some* may be found, who preſerve a Senſe of God, and Religion, amidſt the Preſſures of the narroweſt and moſt diſtreſſed Circumſtances. But ſtill the true and juſt Reaſons why a *Chriſtian* ſhould pray againſt this State, are, Becauſe he knows not what the extremeſt Neceſſity may reduce him to; and how little Strength he may find himſelf to have, upon Trial, againſt ſuch Temptations, as extreme *Poverty* may expoſe him to.

If theſe *Crimes*, now charged upon the *Pooreſt* of Men, were in ſuch Senſe the *Works of Darkneſs*, as not to be known, or ſeen, but only ſuſpected; This Accuſation might be deemed only an *Addition* of *Affliction* to their diſtreſsful State. But, who does not know and lament this Scene of Wickedneſs amongſt *Them?* And if more Notice were taken of it, it would be much happier both for *Themſelves*, and their Neighbours. They would have leſs Encouragement to make ſo deteſtable a Figure in their low Eſtate; and human Society, leſs to fear from their *evil* Practiſes; and the better Sort of them more Supports for their Patience and Humility, under their Calamities.

Having thus ſet before you the *Inconveniences*, with reſpect to *Virtue* and Religion, which are too generally ſeen to attend upon the two *Extreme Conditions* of *Life*, in this World; what I have already ſaid will naturally lead our Thoughts to what I propoſed, in the next place, *viz.*

III. To ſhew the Happineſs of the *middle Condition*; that State of *Life*, which is removed from the Trials and Hazards, attending the Superfluity of *Riches*; or the *Extremity* of *Poverty:* and bleſſed with Conveniences enough to place the Man out of the Reach of thoſe *Evils*, to which Exceſs and Abundance, on one hand, and Penury and Want, on the other, are ſeen to expoſe Men. We are all weak and imperfect Creatures; too eaſily impoſed upon, and miſled, by the ſpecious Outſide of Things; or too eaſily driven, by the Senſe of Pain and Want, into the Paths of Error and Sin. Therefore, the beſt Condition is That which has moſt Security in it. And *that* has moſt Security in it, which has feweſt Temptations to Vice, and leaſt Difficulty to ſurmount. And the Extremes of Fortune, in this State, being the moſt hazardous to *Virtue* and *Religion*; the *middle Condition* between the two Extremes, muſt, conſequently, be what a Wiſe Man would chooſe, all Things conſidered: unleſs he could know the certain Event of Things, which in their own Nature are uncertain, and depend upon the voluntary Choice of free Agents. For it may be truly ſaid of this *middle* State, That it doth not, by its natural Tendency, ſo much endanger Virtue, as either of the Two Extremes, of *Riches*, or *Poverty:* not ſo much, on one hand, inclining the Man to *deny God, and ſay, Who is the Lord?* or, on the other hand, to *ſteal and take the Name of God in vain*, as it is expreſſed in the *Text.*

It muſt be granted, that *many* are the *Vices* of that *Multitude* of Men, placed in this *middle* Condition: the more inexcuſable is their *Guilt* and *Folly*. But what would the ſame Men have been, in greater Abundance, or greater Narrowneſs, of Fortune? Much worſe, it is to be feared. If the leſſer Temptations they meet with, are able to draw them into ſo pernicious Courſes; what would thoſe greater, which they muſt have experienced in other States, have done? But I will not multiply Words. I hope, I have ſaid enough to lead you to ſee, and acknowledge, the Wiſdom and Reaſonableneſs of the *Prayer*, in the *Text*, *Give me neither Poverty, nor Riches; feed me with Food convenient for me.*

IV. The Time will now only permit me to conſider ſome *Queſtions* that may ariſe upon what I have been recommending to your Thoughts: which was the next Thing I propoſed to do.

1. It may ſtill, without Impropriety, be aſked, in return to all that has been ſaid, whether *Riches*, even the Abundance of Them, are not a very great Advantage to *Men* in this State, in many reſpects: and, therefore, whether, notwithſtanding the *evil Uſe* that has been made of them by Many, and the *evil Practices* They naturally lead to, They may not be deſired by *Wiſe* and *Good* Men. The true *Anſwer* to ſuch a *Queſtion*, I think, is this, That there can be no Reaſons ſufficient to move a conſidering Perſon to make it the uneaſy Care and Buſineſs of his Life to obtain any *Riches* beyond what are neceſſary and convenient for his own well-being, and for the Support of thoſe whom the Providence of God has nearly allied to him; becauſe it is far from being certain that He ſhall not be tempted to make a bad Uſe of them, as ſo many of his Fellow-creatures have done before him. The Exceſs of *Riches* can be found an

Advantage to no Man, till the final Event has ſhewn, that He has actually made a noble and Godlike Uſe of them, for the Benefit and Advantage of the World about him. *We* are apt to think, perhaps, that We ſhould make ſuch a Uſe of them: And it may be ſo. But we cannot certainly promiſe this to Ourſelves. We may fall by the ſame Snares that have entangled ſo many before Us: and We know not the full Power of a *Temptation*, till we have tried it. And therefore, I cannot think that it would become us to make it the great Object of our Wiſhes, or our Labours, to be *Rich* above what the Neceſſities and Conveniences, proper for our Stations, require. And if we walk by this Rule, it is moſt likely, that what the *Providence* of God ſends beyond this, may prove a *Bleſſing*; and not a *Curſe*, as it often hath proved, when Men have ſolicited Heaven and Earth, as it were, for it, and ſpent their Nights and Days in the Purſuit of it. The only Advantage that the Superfluity of Riches gives to any one is, that it opens a larger Field to his Generoſity and Beneficence; that it makes his Charity conſpicuous, and his Humility lovely; and adds a Beauty to all his Virtues. But who can tell that He ſhall certainly be the happy Man, of Virtue and Faith enough, to *poſſeſs this World, as though he poſſeſſed it not; and to uſe it, as not abuſing it?* We cannot, indeed, avoid rejoicing in any of the *Good Things* of this World, which are granted Us. But, if we be *Chriſtians*, we cannot rejoice in them any farther, than as we are reſolved to dedicate them to the Glory of Him who gives them to Us; to the Purpoſes He recommends to Us; and to the Happineſs of the reſt of our Fellow-creatures.

2. Another *Queſtion* may ariſe in the Minds of Some, concerning the other Extreme of *Poverty*; whether it be not often repreſented, and even in the *Holy Scriptures*, as a Sort of a Bleſſed State, and a Title, as it were, to the Favor of God; and the Rewards of Heaven; and therefore, be not truly worthy of a wiſe Man's Choice? But this again can be judged of, only by the Event. If Perſons behave themſelves in that Condition, with a conſtant Regard to Virtue and Religion; with a noble Courage and Patience; and with a due Submiſſion to the Providence of God; there is no doubt, it opens a Door to much greater Degrees of Happineſs to come. But it is not the Part of a *wiſe Man* to venture *eternal Happineſs* upon what may *poſſibly* improve Him; but rather to wiſh for what is leaſt liable to Temptations, and leaſt hazardous to his Virtue, in this State of Probation. When we are placed by our great *Governour* in a dangerous Poſt; our Buſineſs is to maintain it nobly and courageouſly: but it is *Preſumption*, and not *Duty*, to deſire and court unneceſſary Hazards. We ſeldom come off without the Loſs of Honour, from *Dangers* of our own chooſing: and therefore, our Lord himſelf teaches us to pray, *Lead us not into Temptation.* So that, though the *Extremes* of human Life, on both Hands, may prove honourable and glorious to Thoſe who can bear them with due Temper, and reſiſt all the Temptations which They adminiſter; yet no one, who thinks what human Nature, at preſent, is, would either *labour*, or *pray*, himſelf into a Condition, which Multitudes of Examples before his Eyes may make him fear, He ſhall not go through, without ſome conſiderable Loſs, or Wound, to his *Virtue*, and *Religion*.

3. If you now aſk, what is that *Prayer*, in relation to the Things of this World, which it becomes You to put up to the ſupreme Governour of all Things; I anſwer, that the Wiſdom of the Prayer in the Text is recommended to You, though not made an abſolute Duty. This will ſhew You that You may, with blameleſs Hearts, and in expreſs Words, pray againſt the hazardous *Extremes* of ſuperfluous *Riches*, and the loweſt *Poverty*: and that when you ſo

pray, out of regard to the greater Security of your moral Practice; leſt the *Trials* in thoſe two *Extremes* ſhould be too powerful for You; You are ſure, You act according to Duty, by making the Conſiderations of *Religion* the Ground of your *Prayer*.

If You would not be outdone, or put to Shame, even by the *Heathens*, let One of the wiſeſt that ever appeared amongſt them, lead your Thoughts to a Prayer, a little more general, but near a-kin to that in the Text. You may learn it from One of his *Scholars*, who, in his Addreſs to God, requeſted the Supreme Being to *grant* Him whatever was *truly Good* for Him, though He ſhould be ſo blind himſelf, as *not* to aſk it: and to *deny* Him whatever was not really ſo, but hurtful, though He himſelf ſhould be ſo ill-inſtructed, or weak, as to beg it of Him earneſtly and importunately: or to this Effect.

But if You would act in this *Caſe*, as *Chriſtians*, which your Duty requires of You; You muſt ſtrictly obſerve that moſt *reaſonable* Form of *Prayer*, which your *great Maſter* dictated to his *Diſciples*. In this, He effectually teaches You *not* to pray for Superfluity of *Riches*, unbounded *Poſſeſſions*, numerous *Servants*, ſplendid *Equipages*, or the like: but allows You, (I may ſay, *commands* You) to ſhew your Dependence upon the Supreme Being, by *praying*, *in expreſs Words*, for Your *daily Bread* only; leaving all the reſt to Providence, and your own careful Endeavours, within the Bounds of his Holy Religion. This Direction of our *Bleſſed Lord* is an infallible Guide to all his Followers, upon this Subject.

4. Laſtly, if You ſhould aſk, what is that exact *Competence*, which You are ſtill permited to deſire, and ſeek after; I muſt anſwer, not only That it is beyond *my* Power to fix it; but that I believe it impoſſible for Any One to ſetle *That* preciſely, by *one* Meaſure, which requires *Many*, according to the ſeveral Stations of Life, allotted to the ſeveral Inhabitants of our World. To ſay, It *is always Something more than a Man has already*, is the Voice of *inſatiable Avarice*; witty perhaps, but ſporting itſelf upon a moſt ſerious Subject.

There is *One* Way, I think, of coming near to the Truth; unleſs it be quite ſtopped up by the Reſolution of Men to *deceive their own Souls*. It is certain, that Almighty God cannot be ſo rigorous, as to make any Man's *Salvation* depend upon a mere Nicety, in which the moſt honeſt Mind may be miſtaken. And it is as certain that He will not be *mocked*, or put off, with the poor Excuſes of Many, who have it in their Power to know their *Duty*, and their *Happineſs*. All Men, who will conſider, may know well enough, what Manner of Life is required of them, in *Decency*, and Compliance with *Cuſtom*, according to that Station, and that Rank, in which they are placed. And by the Maintenance of *This*, without *Injuſtice*, or *Intemperance*, it is evident, They do not ſin; Nay, that They contribute to the good Subſiſtence of many honeſt and induſtrious Perſons in the World. They may alſo know, if they have a Mind to it, who They are, whom, in Conſcience, they are obliged to provide for; and what is ſufficient to place them in a proper Station, in the World; the moſt likely to prove happy to Them, at the End. And They all muſt be ſenſible that, when Theſe *two* Points are tolerably ſecured, What is over and above, is then uſed, and improved, with Glory and Honour, when it is made a Fund for *Charity*, and *Beneficence*. If men will ſtudy all Evaſions to flatter, and impoſe upon, Themſelves; Who can help it? But if They will deal ſincerely and honeſtly by Themſelves, in this Point, there is no need of a *Prophet*, to ſay to Any *One* of Them who are concerned, *Thou art the Man*. Every one will ſay it to himſelf. And this is all that can be done, by Us, in a Caſe of this Sort; to apply ſtrongly to Themſelves, and to leave it upon their Conſciences, as they will anſwer it at the ſolemn Day of Account, whether They do not inwardly know that They are happy in that *Competency*, and good Eſtate, which a Wiſe Man ought to wiſh for. This therefore, is juſtly left to their own *Determination*.

To conclude, Let us all, in the Sincerity of our Hearts, make the beſt Uſe We can, for our own Happineſs, and the Good of Others, of what has been ſaid; and ſhew a *Conduct*, worthy of *Men* and of *Chriſtians*, in that Condition of Life, whatever it may be, in which our Great and Good Governour ſhall think fit to place Us.

The GOOD SAMARITAN.

SERMON XVI.

LUKE x. 37.

Then ſaid Jeſus *unto Him, Go, and do Thou likewiſe.*

WHETHER the Verſes before this contain a *Parable*, invented for Inſtruction; or a real Matter of *Fact*; it imports little. The *Words* I have read to You, are a *Leſſon* drawn from the foregoing Story: The Occaſion of which was this. A certain *Lawyer*, one who ſtudied the *Law* of *Moſes*, and exerciſed himſelf in all the *Queſtions* belonging to that *Law*, having heard that our bleſſed *Lord* profeſſed to ſhew a ſure and infallible Way to *Life* and Happineſs, came to him to try what Anſwer he would give to that important Queſtion, *What ſhall I do to inherit eternal Life?* Our Lord's Anſwer was ſhort and plain; *viz.* that the *Summ* of all that Religion, which can make us acceptable to God, is to *love God above all Things, and our Neighbour as Ourſelves.* The *Lawyer* ſeems here not to be at all concerned about the *Former*; not doubting, perhaps, but that he had always ſufficiently demonſtrated his *Love to God*, by his ſtrict Obſervance of all the *Ceremonies* of the *Moſaical Law*. And, hoping to juſtify himſelf in the Matter of *Love to his Neighbour* alſo, deſires to know of *Jeſus*, Who that *Neighbour is*, whom he is thus to *love* as *Himſelf*.

Here We muſt obſerve, that, at this Time, the *Jews* were in Nothing more corrupted, than in their Notions about the Perſons, on whom they were to beſtow any Tokens of *Good-will*. They had, in a Manner, forgot that ſtrict Bond of *Nature*, by which all Men are allied to one another: and all the World took Notice how ſtiff and narrow in their Regards to Others; and how void of all *Charity*, They were grown. They were come to that paſs, that they denied the common Civilities, and the common Conveniences of human Life, to Strangers, and Perſons of other Religions. We are told by ſome, that they would not ſhew them ſo much as the Way to any Place they were going to; or direct them to a Fountain where they might quench their Thirſt. Here therefore, our *Bleſſed Lord* had a good Opportunity of oppoſing this narrow and inhumane Spirit that was gone out amongſt them: And We may be ſure, He was glad to lay hold on it; as he came into the World to implant other Sort of Notions in the Minds of Men, and to make their Charity as like to that of *Almighty*

God himſelf, as it could be. In anſwer, therefore, to this *Enquiry*, and to teach Him who made it, *Whom* He was to look upon as his *Neighbour*; as an Object of that *Love*, he was ſpeaking of; and in order to do this in the moſt moving and affecting Manner, he ſets his Duty plainly before his Eyes in a *Story*, here related.

A certain Man, He does not ſay, whether a *Jew*, or a *Stranger*. If a *Jew*, the good Nature of the *Samaritan*, preſently ſpoken of, was ſo much the more remarkable; there being a conſummate *Hatred* betwixt the *Two Nations*: If a *Stranger*, the Compaſſion of the *Samaritan* was peculiarly fit to be recommended to the Imitation of the *Jew*; in order to teach Him that univerſal Benevolence, from which He was utterly alienated. This Man, *in a Journey from Jeruſalem to Jericho, fell amongſt Thieves, who robbed him,* and uſed him ſo ill, that he was left *half dead.* Such an Object, lying helpleſs, and in a moſt inconvenient Place, one would have thought enough to move the Compaſſion of the greateſt *Barbarians*. And yet we find Compaſſion ſunk ſo low amongſt the *Jews*, that our *Saviour* thought their *Behaviour* in ſuch Caſes fitly repreſented by what follows. A *Prieſt*, and a *Levite*, Perſons peculiarly employed in the Service of God, and devoted to the external Offices of their *Religion*, had forgot *Humanity* ſo far, as not to be touched with the Sight. The *One ſaw him*, at a Diſtance, as appears; the *Other* came, and looked on him: but *Both* of them *paſſed by on the other Side.* What Pretenſes they had for this Neglect, our *Lord* does not ſay. Perhaps, They were in Haſte, upon Buſineſs; or going to attend upon the *Sacrifices*, or other Offices of the *Temple*; not underſtanding, nor feeling, the *Force* of that God-like Saying, *I will have Mercy, and not Sacrifice.* Or, perhaps, They found him to be a *Stranger*, a *Heathen*; and ſo fit rather for their Averſion, than their *Pity*. Something, or other, They had to lay their Conſciences aſleep: and were, without Doubt, glad of any Excuſe, or Evaſion, to that Purpoſe.

Let us ſee what follows. *But a certain Samaritan*, *One* of that *Nation* which mixed *Idolatry* with the Service of God; which *worſhiped they knew not* what; of that *Nation* which was hated and deſpiſed by the *Jews*, to ſuch a Degree that They had no Dealings with Them; a *Samaritan*, when he ſaw this miſerable Object, was *moved with Compaſſion*; ſhewed him all the Love imaginable; performed all the good Offices that his preſent Condition could demand of him; and adminiſtered every Thing that his Neceſſity required. The *Cruelty*, and unbecoming *Barbarity*, of Thoſe who neglected Him, was ſo apparent; and the Beauty and Lovelineſs of this Action of the *Samaritan* ſo bright and evident; that our *Saviour* doubted not to make the *Lawyer* himſelf judge, which of theſe *Three* had fulfilled that Command, *Thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thyſelf*; and which of theſe *Examples* was moſt fitted to direct him in the Performance of his Duty. And when he had anſwered, in favour of the *Samaritan*, that it was *He*, who had done the Duty of a *Neighbour* to this diſtreſſed Perſon; *Jeſus* recommends this Pattern to him, in theſe Words, *Go, and do thou likewiſe.* Imitate this *Samaritan*. Look upon this Example, and You will not be at a Loſs to know, *Who is your Neighbour:* but You will lay it down for a Truth, that every Perſon in the World, of what *Country*, of what *Profeſſion*, of what *Religion* ſoever, who is in Neceſſity, and ſtands in Need of your Aſſiſtance, and whom you can aſſiſt without *Injury* to *Yourſelf*, or to Thoſe for whom You are more nearly concerned; That every ſuch Man has a *Title* to your *Beneficence* and *Charity*; That You have the ſame *Relation* to *Him*, that the *Samaritan* had to the diſtreſſed Perſon before-mentioned; That He is one of thoſe *Neighbours* whom God requires you to *love as yourſelf*; and to do unto *Him*, as you might reaſonably expect Others to do unto *You*, were you in his Circumſtances. This was the main Deſign, and principal Intent of this Hiſtory.

But, becauſe in ſuch *Hiſtories*, or *Parables*, there are often *Many* other Things to be learnt and obſerved, beſides the *Main* Point; I ſhall, therefore, in my following Diſcourſe, make ſuch *Obſervations*, as offer themſelves from every Part of this *Story*, as well as from the chief *Scope* of it: but yet I ſhall name None but ſuch as We may probably enough ſuppoſe to have been intended, and hinted at, by our *Lord*. For Inſtance,

I. We cannot but obſerve, that a Whole *Nation* of Men; *Men* who have, and think They have, the greateſt Opportunities of *Religious Knowledge*; Nay, Men who are peculiarly devoted to the *Study* and publick *Offices* of Religion, may be often groſly ignorant of ſome of the plaineſt, and moſt eſſential, *moral Duties* of It: and, accordingly, their *Practice* may be moſt unreaſonable, and inexcuſable.

II. We may obſerve, how glad many Perſons are, of any *Excuſe*, or *Pretenſe*, in order to avoid the greateſt Objects of *Charity*, which will coſt them a little Trouble, or a little Money.

III. From this *Story*, related by our *Lord* himſelf, we may obſerve, that Men of an Orthodox Faith, with reſpect to *God*; and of a true, and a *reveled*, *Religion*, may ſometimes learn the *Practice* of a very great and ſubſtantial *Duty* from Men of an unſound Faith, and a *falſe Religion*; even from *Idolaters*, *Samaritans*, and *Pagans*.

IV. Laſtly, the principal Point intended by our *Lord*, in this *Story*, being to recommend *Goodneſs* and *Love* to all Men; I ſhall ſay ſomething upon the great Duty of univerſal Charity, and a moſt comprehenſive Compaſſion; and our ſtrict Obligation to the *Practice* of it.

I. From this *Hiſtory*, and the *Occaſion* of it, we may obſerve, that a whole Nation of Men, Men who have, and think They have, the greateſt Opportunities of *religious Knowledge*; nay, Men who are peculiarly devoted to the *Study* of *Religion*, and the *Offices* belonging to God's *Worſhip*, may ſometimes, be groſly ignorant of ſome of the plaineſt and important *Duties* of *Religion*; and accordingly, their Practice may be moſt unreaſonable and inexcuſable.

Here was the whole *People* of the *Jews*, to whom God had given a ſupernatural *Revelation*; and, with this *Revelation* in their Hands, not a *Man* to be found amongſt them, who was not of a narrow and confined Spirit; who had any Notion of a *Neighbour*, or of Perſons to whom any good Offices were due, out of their own *Society*, and *Church*: not a Man, who underſtood, or practiſed, the great Duty of *Charity*, though it has the cleareſt and moſt evident Dictates of *Nature*, on its Side; Or, who had Generoſity enough to perform the commoneſt Offices of *Civility* or Humanity, to *Any*, but a *Jew*. This was what the Heathen *Poets*, and *Hiſtorians*, often ſeverely condemned, and ridiculed Them for. Here was a Perſon, who had made the *Law* of *Moſes* his Study, who knew not how to expound that *ſecond* great Precept of *loving his Neighbour as himſelf*; but, as it appears, ſtood in Need of ſome farther Inſtruction, in this Point; how willing ſoever he appeared to juſtify Himſelf. And, in our *Saviour's* Anſwer, who always had regard to *Truth* and *Decency*, a *Prieſt* and a *Levite*, Attendants upon the Service of *God* in the *Temple*, and punctual, without Doubt, in every Ceremony and Mode of Worſhip, are repreſented as inexcuſably guilty in one of the chief Branches of practical Religion; paſſing by the greateſt Object of Pity imaginable, a Man in the utmoſt Diſtreſs, ſtanding in need of their immediate Aſſiſtance, and, in all probability, *periſhing* without it. So far from embracing ſuch an Opportunity of doing good, and exerciſing thoſe god-like Virtues of *Charity* and *Compaſſion*; that They are ſpoken of, as wholly unmoved at the Sight, and glad to get out of the Way of that Mercy, which might coſt Them a little Money or Trouble.

What a Devaſtation of All that is good in human Nature, muſt there be ſuppoſed; when it can forget its own manifold Wants and Neceſſities; put off it's own tender Affections; throw off all that is ſoft and apt to be moved in it: and contract, in its ſtead, the Roughneſs of a Brute, and the Hardneſs of a Rock! And how low muſt That Man have been ſunk beneath *Himſelf*, who could forget that He himſelf might have been the Man that *fell amongſt Thieves*, and was *left half dead*; and not recollect what would have been the *Anguiſh of his own Soul*, in ſuch a Condition; and what Regard He himſelf would juſtly have expected to his own Cries and Wounds, in ſo miſerable a Caſe! Yet thus it was, in our *Saviour's* Time: otherwiſe, He would not have had the Thought of repreſenting it, in this Light.

II. The next Obſervation from this *Story*, was, That many Perſons have ſo far hardened Themſelves, in Covetouſneſs, and Inſenſibility, that they are glad of any Pretenſe or Excuſe, for neglecting the moſt moving Objects of Pity, if they are likely to put them to a little Trouble, or Charge: nay, That they will often, rather than be at the Expenſe of a little Compaſſion, arm Themſelves againſt it without any Pretenſe; avoid whatever ſeems to demand their Aſſiſtance; and fly from all Opportunities of doing good.

The *Prieſt*, when he ſaw this poor Man in the moſt wretched Condition; fearing perhaps, it might be an *Object* moving enough to melt him into *Pity*, ſeems to have been contented with the Sight at a Diſtance, and *paſſed by on the other Side*. The *Levite* came, and looked upon him; viewed his *Condition*; was Witneſs to his Wounds and his Diſtreſs; ſaw him to be utterly unable to help himſelf, and deſtined to Death without preſent Aſſiſtance: and yet, was proof againſt ſuch a Spectacle of Miſery; ſhut up his Bowels of *Compaſſion* againſt Him, and *paſſed by* alſo *on the other Side*.

And, as We can obſerve of *other* Men, That, though they abound in *Riches*, and all the Superfluities of *Life*, They yet are willing to be *ignorant* of the *Wants* of their Neighbours; or, hard-hearted enough to deny them the Relief, which They could eaſily grant them: So, let us look into Ourſelves, and ſee, if we alſo are not guilty of this ſame Wickedneſs, Ourſelves, in ſome Degree, or other. How many Petitioners, ſuch as really want and deſerve our Help, have we been deaf to! How often have we avoided a Perſon in diſtreſs, merely becauſe we knew, or ſuſpected, He would beg our Aſſiſtance; and how often have We *paſſed by on the other Side*, upon a diſtant Sight of him! Have we not ſometimes found Ourſelves but too willing to take no Notice of the Opportunities, put into our Hands, of feeding the Hungry, clothing the Naked, relieving the Sick, and Afflicted, releaſing the Captive, or Priſoner? All theſe, whenever they preſent themſelves to us, are our *Neighbours*; and have a Title to our *Love*, and to, the Effects of this *Love*, all the good Offices we can afford them. And when we refuſe to hear the Cries of the Unhappy, and to adminiſter that Relief, which we have Opportunity, and Ability, to adminiſter; Or, to ſupply the Wants of Thoſe who preſent themſelves to us with the certain Marks of Diſtreſs and Miſery upon them, We do, in our ſeveral Degrees, approach to the Barbarity, and imitate the Cruelty, of Thoſe Perſons, in the Story now before Us, who could ſee a Man upon the very brink of Death, deſtitute of all Comfort; and yet not be moved ſo far as to afford him the leaſt Aſſiſtance.

III. I proceed now to a *Third* Obſervation, which, I ſaid, we might make from the ſame *Hiſtory*; *viz.* That Men of an *orthodox Faith* with reſpect to God, and of a true *Religion*, may often learn the Practice of a very great and ſubſtantial Duty from Men of an unſound *Faith*, and falſe *Religion*.

Our bleſſed *Lord*, in his Diſcourſe with the *Samaritan* Woman, (*John* iv.) in expreſs Words, preferred the *Jewiſh Religion* far before the *Samaritan*. *We know what we worſhip*; *Ye worſhip Ye know not what.* They of *Samaria* had many *Idolatries* mixed with that Worſhip of the true God, which they retained. The *Jews* worſhiped God according to the Law of *Moſes*; whoſe Inſtructions They received as the Dictates of God himſelf: And by theſe Inſtructions They were led to the ſtricteſt Notions of the *Unity* of the *Supreme Being*; and of the *Perfections* of his *Nature*. But, notwithſtanding all this, We find, in the *Hiſtory* before Us, that our *Saviour* did not ſcruple to propoſe to the Imitation of the *Jews*, in a moſt important Point of practical *Religion*, the *Example* of an *idolatrous Samaritan*, in order to throw Shame upon their ſordid and crampt Notions of *Charity*; and to inſpire them with a pious Emulation, and a Reſolution, not to be outdone, in the moſt God-like Virtue, by Thoſe, whom They ſo much outdid in their Faith, and Worſhip.

I know not how it comes to paſs, That the very Things by which God deſigns to make *Some* Men *better* than *Others*, often prove the Occaſions, through the Perverſeneſs of theſe Men themſelves, of making them *Worſe*. That peculiar *Relation* which God appeared to have to the *Jews*; that *Love* He ſhewed to their Forefathers; the fighting their Battles; the eſtabliſhing Them in a good Country; and, above all, the giving Them the Law from Heaven, and leading them into the Knowledge of himſelf: All theſe Favours, inſtead of making them generous and beneficent, ſerved to ſour their Spirits; to contract their Souls; and to ſhrink their Affections into a narrower Compaſs. So ungrateful a Return did They make to theſe Bleſſings, that They were always reflecting upon the *worſe* Condition of the *Nations* around Them; how little other Mortals were eſteemed and favoured by God, in compariſon with Themſelves; and therefore, how fit to be deſpiſed and neglected. And how many Men may we meet with, or hear of, in our own Days, who value themſelves upon the mere outward Profeſſion of This or That *Religion*; who are often thanking God that They are Members of the *beſt*, or only, *Church* in the World; whilſt they ſhamefully neglect many Inſtances of Morality, which the very *Heathens* excell in; and are boaſting of their *Faith*, whilſt They are inexcuſably wicked in their *Practice!*

What Cruelties have been exerciſed by ſome called *Chriſtians*, upon *Infidels*, merely for worldly Ends; and theſe much the more to be abhorred for being coloured over with the ſpecious Name of *Religion! Cruelties*, which are ſaid to have created in thoſe *Infidels* Themſelves an irreconcileable Hatred to the very Name of *Chriſt*. To ſpeak more plainly, what Methods have been taken by Thoſe of the *Romiſh Church*, to plant what They call *Chriſtianity*, where it was not; or to maintain, and reform it to their own Minds, where it was! *Methods*, that would make the Ears of an honeſt *Heathen* to *tingle*; ſo much beyond the common Bounds of *Barbarity* itſelf, that They can hardly be expreſſed; but will always, I fear, be remembred, to the Infamy of the *Chriſtian* Name, by Thoſe who know of no other *Goſpel*, but what ſuch Men have preached. And are there not, amongſt *Thoſe* who utterly condemn this Conduct, *Some* to be found, ſo intent upon the Goods of this World, as to forget thoſe Duties in which the Vigour and Life of *Religion* conſiſt; *Juſtice*, and *Charity*; and to retain little more, than ſo much of the Profeſſion of Religion as may help on their worldly Deſigns?

But though God certainly preferred the *Worſhip* of the *Jew*, before That of the *Samaritan*; yet, we need not doubt to ſay that He was much better pleaſed with the good and charitable *Samaritan*, than with the inhuman and unmerciful *Jew*. Nay, we may go farther, and take occaſion from hence to affirm that a Good God will make all juſt Allowances for the *Errors* of every ſuch *charitable* Man; but *None* for the wilful Wickedneſs of One who profeſſes a true and holy Religion, and tranſgreſſes the plaineſt Laws of Nature, and Reaſon, and of all *Religions* in the World. *This* admits of no Excuſe: the *Other* may, in the Eyes of *Him*, who ſees the Bottom of all Hearts, and knows the Spring from whence all the Errors in the World proceed.

So alſo, though it be certain that a *Chriſtian* of a *Right Faith* is more acceptable to Him, than *One* who is not ſo, where there is nothing to make it otherwiſe; yet, We may be as certain, That an honeſt *Heathen* is much more acceptable to him, than a diſhoneſt and deceitful *Chriſtian*; and that a charitable and good-natured *Pagan* has a better Title to his Favour, than a cruel and barbarous *Chriſtian*; let him be never ſo orthodox in his Faith. Nay, for the ſake of the *Goſpel* itſelf, whatever that Part of *Chriſtians* do, who, in the heat of their Zeal for enlarging the Bounds of their *Church*, ſeem to think it a Duty to forget all the Softneſſes of Human Nature, and to practiſe the utmoſt Inhumanity; Let *Us*, (who pretend to be reformed from them) have no hand in caſting ſuch an indelible Blot upon our Holy Religion: and, while our Mouths are making a good *Confeſſion* of *Faith*, let not our Lives be full of thoſe Vices which the *Goſpel* came to extirpate. And, particularly, Let that extenſive *Charity*, and unbounded Love and Beneficence, adorn our Lives, which make ſo great a Part of, and add ſo great a Luſtre to, that Divine Inſtitution. To this End,

IV. The principal Thing intended by our *Lord*, in the Story we are now conſidering, being to recommend *Goodneſs* and *Love* towards all Men, let us turn our Thoughts to this great Duty of *Univerſal* Charity, and our ſtrict Obligation to the conſtant *Practice* of it.

In order to fix the Nature of this, it is proper here again to call to mind, That this univerſal *Charity* is not deſigned to break in upon thoſe *Duties* which we owe to *Ourſelves*, our *Parents*, our *Children*, our *Friends*, nay, and our *Acquaintance*. It is not in the Power of Any Man to aſſiſt every One in diſtreſs: and *Nature* directs Him to prefer *Theſe* before *Strangers*, when they come in Competition, and are in the ſame Degree of Want, or Diſtreſs. Accordingly, our *Saviour* here chooſes the Inſtance of *One* in the greateſt Danger; at the very Point of Death; certainly periſhing without preſent Help. And had the Caſe been thus, that the *Prieſt*, and the *Levite*, were going to a *Father*, or a *Child*, or a *Friend*, in the ſame Neceſſity; and had it not in their Power to aſſiſt Both; We may venture to ſay that our *Lord* would not have blamed Them for neglecting a *Stranger* for One in a much nearer Relation to Them, and in the ſame Condition. And therefore, the Doctrine taught in this Hiſtory, is rightly underſtood to be this, That Whoever of the human Race ſtands in need of our Aſſiſtance; whom we can relieve without Injury to *Ourſelves*; or without neglecting *Others*, in the ſame Condition, whom we much more ought to relieve; has a Title to our Benevolence and Kindneſs: Or is *our Neighbour*, whom we are to *love as Ourſelves*; and whom we are willingly to comfort, ſupport, and aſſiſt. And this We are plainly obliged to do, as we are *Men*, of the ſame Claſs and Order of Beings; as we are obliged to imitate Almighty God; and as we are *Chriſtians*, to be guided and jndged by the Goſpel.

1. As we are *Men*; and, as ſuch, Partakers of the ſame Nature; ſubject to the ſame Accidents; placed in this World upon the ſame Conditions, with Other Men. Look up to the common Creator of all, and the common Father, from whom all had their Original; and there is no Difference. The Rich and the Poor; the Happy, and the Miſerable; the Fortunate, and Unfortunate; are of one Stock. God created the One and the Other: and placed them in the ſame World; where None of them, not the greateſt, and richeſt, and moſt *Powerful* of them all, can be ſecure that he ſhall not, one Day or other, come to be the leaſt, the pooreſt, and moſt diſtreſſed, of Men. How happy ſoever and flouriſhing we are to-day; how proſperouſly ſoever Things ſucceed with us; not many Years may, perhaps, make a great Alteration. A ſingle Act of great Imprudence; an unexpected *Loſs*; a very calamitous Accident; Envy and Malice of *Others*: One, or more, of *Theſe*, may overturn All; and deprive us of thoſe good Things, a ſmall Part of which We now think it hard to afford our Brethren in their Neceſſities. Let not, therefore, the *Wants* of your *Neighbour*, nor your own *Riches*, make ſuch a Difference between You, in your own Eyes, as to recommend him to your Contempt. Neglect not *Him*, in his diſtreſsful State, whom God has created with the ſame Faculties you poſſeſs, and placed in the ſame World which you inhabit. Remember that a ſmall Time may, poſſibly, alter the Face of Things, in ſo uncertain a *State* as This: and You will always make *their* Caſe Your own. Call to Mind often that it is not for Men to live without mutual Help, and good Offices: and that the *Richeſt* of all do, indeed, owe ſo much to the Labour and Induſtry of the *Poor*, that They may be glad to ſupply the Wants of the *Diſtreſſed*, when their own Induſtry and Labour cannot. The more frequently You entertain yourſelves with ſuch Thoughts, the greater and more conſtant will be your Regard to your *Fellow-creatures* around You.

2. We are obliged to practiſe this univerſal Charity, as we are obliged to *imitate* God himſelf. That great and all-perfect Being wants not the Aſſiſtance of any Men; nor can ever poſſibly want it: and yet He has not neglected, or deſpiſed, *their* Neceſſities. Thoſe Bleſſings, the Adminiſtration of which he reſerves to himſelf, how common and univerſal are They! *His Sun ſhines, and his Rain falls*, indifferently on All: and why then ſhould not thoſe *Bleſſings* which He has entruſted with the *Rich* Men of this World, be freely and univerſally diſtributed, as the Neceſſities of *poor* Men require? What would the *Richeſt* of them all do, were the Supreme Creator, and Governour, of all things, quite Regardleſs of *Them*, and of *their* Well-being here below? They could not breathe one Moment without his Concurrence; and he affords it them. They could not live, without his *Sun*, and his *Air*, and his *Rain*; and all theſe, by his Command, contribute to their Support. And this is a moſt powerful Argument, That, when *Others* want what they have in Abundance, and what they can ſpare; They ought, with all Readineſs to communicate it to their *Fellow-creatures*. To refuſe to do this, is indeed a moſt *ungrateful* Return to that God who ſhews himſelf, every Day and Hour, ſo good to *Them*. For to refuſe to *imitate* Him in this, is *not to thank him*. Nay, it may juſtly be taken as an Affront to Himſelf, that, when He has communicated to *Them* of the Fullneſs of his own Happineſs, *They* have ſo little a Senſe of the Beauty of ſuch Benevolence, as not to think it worthy of the moſt natural Regard of Imitation. But,

3. We are obliged to this Beneficence, as we are *Chriſtians*, to be guided now, and judged hereafter, by the *Goſpel* We pretend to embrace. In *that* We are plainly taught, That whatever we have, over and above the Neceſſities and Conveniences of Ourſelves, and thoſe in whom we are moſt nearly concerned, is intruſted to Us for the Uſe and Benefit of thoſe who want it. *To ſee our Brother have need, and to ſhut up our Bowels of Compaſſion againſt him,* is condemned by the ſame Goſpel, as a Sin: And if in *Sins* there be *Degrees*; We may ſay that *This* is One of the moſt unpardonable of all. The Duty of *loving*, that is, *doing Good* to, all our *Fellow-creatures*, when their *Diſtreſſes* call upon Us, is ſo often *there* repeated, and inculcated, that it is needleſs to be more particular. The *Example* ſet before Us, in *That*, is *Chriſt Jeſus*, who was never weary of exerting his *Power* for the Relief, and Comfort, and Support, and Happineſs, of all the World around him. The Account *there* given of the Day of *Judgement*, and the great and ſolemn Audit to come, turns all upon *Charity*; and repreſents the Caſe in this Manner: Have you fed the *Hungry*, clothed the *Naked*, entertained the *Stranger*, viſited and relieved the *Sick*, ſupplied the Wants of all Mankind, as far as you were able? If *You* have; You are Thoſe happy Diſciples, to whom our *Lord* will ſay, *Come, ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you, from the Foundation of the World.* If *You* have not; the *Other* Sentence is declared to belong to you, *Depart from me, ye curſed, into everlaſting Fire.* What can be a greater *Demonſtration* of how great Value, in the Eyes of God, this *univerſal Charity* is, and of what a heinous Nature the contrary Vice is? And what can be a greater Argument to Us, to avoid the *One*, and practiſe the *Other*?

Of the DUTY *of* CHRISTIANS *under* AFFLICTIONS.

SERMON XVII.

HEBREWS xii. 11.

Now, no Chaſtening *for the preſent, ſeemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheleſs, afterwards, it yieldeth the peaceful Fruit of Righteouſneſs, unto them which are exerciſed thereby.*

THIS, and the foregoing Verſes, certainly had reference to that Scene of *Perſecution*, to which the Profeſſion and Practice of the *Chriſtian Religion* expoſed Men, in the *firſt* Ages of the *Goſpel*. But the Application of them is ſo natural to the common Calamities and Troubles which Men meet with in this World, even when the outward Profeſſion of their Religion is ſecure and eaſy; that We may, very well, take Occaſion from them to diſcourſe of thoſe *Afflictions*, which Mortals ſeem to be born to, in this State; the ſevere Trials of their Faith and Truſt in God, *here*; and the great Inſtruments of Reward and Glory, *hereafter*, to Thoſe who bear them as They ought to do. And, in order to treat this important Subject, in a manner which may be moſt uſeful to the Perſons moſt deeply concerned in it,

I. I ſhall obſerve the little Reaſon we have, any of us all, to expect to paſs through this World without our Portion of Trouble and Affliction.

II. I ſhall endeavour to ſhew after what Manner we ought to bear thoſe *Afflictions*, which may be ſaid to be our almoſt unavoidable Portion.

III. I ſhall point out the great and prevailing *Arguments* there are, to engage us to bear them after the beſt and moſt reaſonable Manner. And

IV. I ſhall conſider the great and unſpeakable Advantages of theſe *Afflictions* to Thoſe who are exerciſed therein, and who undergo them after this good and becoming Manner.

I. I ſhall obſerve the little Reaſon we have, any of us, to expect to paſs through this World without our Portion of Trouble and *Affliction*.

Look abroad into the preſent State of Things, and extend your View as far as That will permit: and find out, if it be poſſible, thoſe happy Men, who meet with no Bitterneſs; no Misfortune; no Calamity, in this World. You would think, perhaps, that Such might moſt ſucceſsfully be ſought for, amongſt the Virtuous and Beſt Part of Mankind. But *Theſe*, if you will believe their own Words, have been moſt expoſed to the Calamities and Misfortunes of this uncertain State; and [illegible] have been exerciſed the moſt ſeverely with Trials and Afflictions, here below. It has been, in all Ages, a Sort of a Reproach which They themſelves have made to *Providence*, that their Virtue, though purſued and cultivated ſincerely, has only, at preſent, ſeemed to entitle them to more Troubles, and more Misfortunes, than *Others* have experienced; and that ill Succeſs, and croſs Accidents, have attended *Them*, when the wicked Part of the World have ſeemed to be at Reſt, and to have all that their Hearts could wiſh to enjoy.

But, though this has been ſaid, in the Heat and Paſſion, if I may ſay ſo, of *Good Men*; yet it cannot, in any tolerable Senſe, be proved that *Wickedneſs* is any more a Security againſt Troubles and Afflictions, in this State, than true Goodneſs and Holineſs. It may, indeed, often proſper, ſo far as to procure outward Grandeur, and immenſe Riches; But what is that to the State of Mind within, which is the Seat of Happineſs? How many *Projects* does the *wicked* Man often frame, that are not fulfilled, but generally brought to Nothing, when he attempts them! How many *Pleaſures* does he purſue, that end in Nothing but the *Bitterneſs* of *Diſappointment*; and often, in, what is much worſe, the *Bitterneſs* of a wounded *Conſcience*, which He always carries about with him, and from which he cannot fly! Providence has not yet ſo forſaken the preſent Condition of *Virtue* and *Goodneſs*, in this World, as to leave *Wickedneſs* wholly triumphant; or to give it the Encouragement of the *good Things* of this Life, without the common Mixture of the *Bad*. Far otherwiſe. We ſee, the *Wicked* Man often ſuffers, in this World: Nor can all his Cunning and Contrivance, in *ſome* Caſes, keep off from him the publick Diſgrace of Evils much above the ordinary and common Evils, of which He alſo has his Share, here below.

It may indeed, be ſufficient, to aſk, upon this Head, Of all the Men ordained to live in this world, Who is there; Who has there ever been; Who can there ever be, truly *Self-ſufficient?* Who, ſo fitted for *Happineſs* within himſelf, as to place no Part of it in any thing *without* him; or, to ſeek for no Part of it any-where but *within* his own Breaſt? Who, ſo perfect, or, Who framed after ſo peculiar a Manner, as not to find it unavoidably to delight in, or love, ſome particular *Good*, ſo as to make the Uncertainty, or Loſs, of it, a great *Evil?* *One* indeed, fixes upon *one* Thing; and *Another*, upon *Another*: *One*, upon the *Riches* of this World; *Another*, upon the *Honours* and Pride of it; *Another*, upon Reputation and Glory; *Another*, upon his *Family*, and his *Children*; *Another*, upon the Pleaſures of *Friendſhip*, or *Learning*: But ſtill every One, upon ſomething, or other. All find it ſo neceſſary, to ſeek Support, under the expected Evils of this Life, from ſome one, or other, of theſe, or the like, *good Things*, that They conſtantly, and univerſally, do it. And though the Beſt of them do Nothing but what Nature leads Them to; and though They make the wiſeſt Choice poſſible, in fixing upon ſomething the moſt proper of all Things *below*, for their Aſſiſtance; and though They purſue it with *Innocence*, and a due Regard to *Religion*; yet even ſtill it muſt be owned That there is Room enough left for very *ſevere* and piercing *Afflictions*. There is one ſingle Circumſtance of human Life, which is alone ſufficient to render inſipid every Thing that can be called Enjoyment. I mean, the *Habitual Want of Health*, which Many, we ſee, labour under. And much more are the frequent Returns of the moſt *violent Pains* and *Diſeaſes*, which are the *Portion* of *Others*, able of Themſelves, to ſcatter *Miſery*, where *Joy* might otherwiſe reign; and to bring to Nought the Happineſs of Thoſe who poſſeſs the greateſt of all *temporal Goods*.

Nor do I ſee a *Remedy* in this Caſe. For we muſt take our *Natures*, as God has made them; and the *World*, as we find it. We cannot pretend, by any *Self-ſufficiency*, to procure for Ourſelves, that little Happineſs which We, for a few Hours or Days, ſometimes obtain in this State; and which we cannot help deſiring, any more than we can help deſiring *to live*. And yet it is true, That, whatever it is, here below, that our peculiar Conſtitution of Mind directs us to purſue, in Aid of our Happineſs, muſt have ſo much of the *Nature* of the other *Good Things* of this State, that it cannot but be, one Time or other, the Occaſion of Uneaſineſs and Affliction. But I come now to the next Point I propoſed, which was

II. To ſhew, after what Manner it is the Duty of reaſonable Creatures, and *Chriſtians*, to bear thoſe *Afflictions*, which are ſo unavoidable in this State.

And here, I think, we are to conſider the different and various Tempers, Educations, and Diſpoſitions, of Mankind; by which it muſt come to paſs that They cannot poſſibly All ſhew themſelves equally courageous, or equally patient, in the ſame Circumſtances.

It is nothing to *one* Perſon to loſe a Summ of *Money*, who yet is ſunk by the Loſs of an exalted *Station* in Life. It is a ſmall Matter to *another* to ſuffer in this Point of *Honour*, who cannot bear the leaſt Diſappointment in *Profit*, or *Gain*. And a third Perſon, perhaps, values a *Friend*, or a *Relation*, more than the moſt covetous Man upon Earth does his Bags; or the moſt Ambitious, his *high* Eſtate. And, again, the Paſſions of Some may be ſtronger by Nature than thoſe of Others; and their perſonal Weakneſs greater: They may be of a ſofter and more tender Nature, and ſo capable of deeper Impreſſions, and more diſorderly Commotions of Mind, than their Neighbours: and the Notions They have received in their Education, may have ſtill more diſtinguiſhed Them from Other Men. Allowances are to be made for all theſe Things: and Almighty God will certainly make all reaſonable Allowances for ſuch Variety of Circumſtances, and Diſpoſitions.

It cannot be expected, that One who is poſſeſſed with the Love of Money, or Honour, can bear a *Separation* from *Them*, with as little Shew of Regret, as

One who never felt any Inclination towards them. And ſo likewiſe, in other Caſes. But, taking all theſe Conſiderations into the Account, the leaſt that can be our Duty, under the ſevereſt Diſpenſations of God's Providence towards us, in the Removal, or Diminution, of thoſe good Things, from which we have expected any Addition to our Happineſs in this World, is, To acknowledge God to be perfectly wiſe, and perfectly good; much better able to judge and to determine what is good for Us, than we are, for ourſelves; and to ſubmit to Him, as to a Governour, to whom there is all the Reaſon in the World to commit Ourſelves, and all our Fortunes.

I do not think, and therefore, I cannot teach, That this *Submiſſion* to Almighty God, which is equally the *Duty* of *All*, muſt be joined with a *rejoicing* in ſuch *ſevere Diſpenſations*. On the contrary, It ſeems to me to be perfectly conſiſtent with a deep and ſorrowful Senſe of the Loſs we have ſuſtained, and of the Good removed from us. Otherwiſe indeed, it can hardly bear the *Name* of an *Affliction*.

I know, In the Caſe of *Perſecution* for the Sake of the Goſpel, our bleſſed Lord ſpeaks, of *rejoicing*, and *being exceeding glad*; and his Apoſtles, of *counting it all Joy* to *ſuffer* for *his Sake*. But theſe are to be looked upon as *Figurative Deſcriptions* of a State of Mind, reaſonable, indeed, in itſelf; but not commanded, as the ſtrict *Duty* of every *Chriſtian*.

It is, in itſelf, I ſay, reaſonable, if we conſider only the Goodneſs of the Cauſe, and the greater Rewards of another Life, which our *Sufferings* procure us, even to expreſs a *Joy*, in the midſt of All the Pains We can undergo, for the Sake of our Religion. Nor can it be denied That there have been Inſtances of Men, who have, in this Beſt of *Cauſes*, ſhewn all the Marks of a *real Joy* in their *Sufferings* for it. I wiſh, the like could not be ſaid of *Others*, in the very *Worſt*, and moſt unworthy of ſuch an *Appearance*. But, on the other Side, conſidering the Nature and Circumſtances of Man, in this World, it ſeems impoſſible for *All* to arrive at ſuch a Perfection, as to be able *literally* to fulfil ſuch Expreſſions. And therefore, This cannot be the *Duty* of *All*. I am ſure, the Apoſtle, in the Text, expreſſly ſaith, that *no Chaſtening is, for the preſent, joyous, but grievous*; and this, with regard to our *Suffering* for the Sake of the *Goſpel*. Nay, our *Lord* himſelf not only adviſes his firſt *Diſciples*, in ſome of his laſt Hours, to *watch and pray*, that *They may not enter into* ſuch *Temptations*, or ſevere *Trials*, on account of their Relation to *Him*; but recommends to Them in *other* Paſſages, the Prudence of avoiding Them, as far as They innocently and honourably could. And if We call to mind *his own Practice*, when His *Sufferings* preſſed cloſe upon Him, for the moſt glorious Cauſe, which He knew to be his *Father's* Will, and *his own* Undertaking; We ſhall ſee that He did not think it unworthy of his Character to ſhew the ſincere Tokens of *exceeding Sorrow*, mixed with his *Submiſſion* and *Perſeverance*. So that, even in this extraordinary Caſe of *Perſecution* for *His* Sake, it may be juſtly ſaid, That an honeſt *Chriſtian* performs that *Duty* which God requires of Him, when He *patiently* ſubmits to Pain and Torment, as the *Act* of *Providence*, rather than *deny* his Maſter, or *abjure* his *Religion*.

And upon all the foregoing Conſiderations, with regard to the *uſual* Calamities attending human Life, I ſhall not ſcruple to ſay, That what the Great and Good *Ruler* of all Things expects from his imperfect Creatures, as a *Duty*, is, Not that they ſhould wiſh for, or deſire, *Calamities*; or ſhew a *Stupidity*, or *Joy*, under them: but that They ſhould have Recourſe to the Conſiderations of Religion; and make a rational and patient Submiſſion to Him, as to a wiſe and good Governour, in all the *Afflictions* which They may experience in the Courſe of this World. And now, in order to this,

III. I ſhall point out the ſtrong Reaſons there are, to induce them to bear theſe *Afflictions* with Patience, and a proper Submiſſion to Almighty God.

No one can deny that it is both juſt and reaſonable that God ſhould ſometimes try the Duty and Affections of his Creatures, provided ſuch Trials contain Nothing in them beyond their own Strength, or That which he is pleaſed to afford them. Nor can any one deny it to be highly reaſonable that Men, in ſuch a State as this, ſhould give ſome plain Evidence that they believe there is a God, a Being of perfect Goodneſs, and perfect Wiſdom, who governs and diſpoſes all Things here below. Now, What greater Evidence of This, is it poſſible for Us to give, than patiently to ſubmit all our Affairs to his Determination, and quietly to acquieſce in his Decrees? This doth not at all forbid Us to make uſe of our own Prudence, in guarding, as much as we can, our Lives here below from all the *Evils* of this *State:* but teaches Us to do this under the Inſpection of his Eye, and with a conſtant Submiſſion of *our* Wills to *His.* And the ſerious Conſideration of our own weak and imperfect Faculties, and of His infinite Perfections, will ſoon convince Us, that ſuch a *Submiſſion* is, in our preſent Condition, our greateſt Happineſs.

If We conſider ourſelves, and the *Powers* that belong to us; We ſhall find how narrow and confined they are. How many material Things are there, that we muſt be ignorant of, even of great Concern to ourſelves, and our Happineſs here below! By how many Paſſions, and how many Fancies, are We often led out of the Paths of Right Judgement about our own true *Good!* And this, to ſuch a Degree, That other Men, weak and frail like Ourſelves, can often ſee our real Intereſt, better than we can, merely becauſe They are not Ourſelves, or biaſſed by any fooliſh Self-love, when they judge in our Caſe! Experience itſelf has frequently taught Us, how miſtaken we have been in our paſt Determinations; and how little able to judge what would be the Conſequence, were all our own Deſires fulfilled: And therefore, how miſerably unfit to allott to Ourſelves our own Portion of *Good* and *Evil* in this World. If theſe Things be ſo; can there be a greater Happineſs than to be under the Governance of a Benevolent and all-wiſe Guide, who cannot be miſtaken in our real Good; and who, in all his Diſpenſations towards us, is Himſelf directed by a conſtant regard to our true and laſting Intereſt?

In the poor Condition of human Life here below, What a Bleſſing is it, to Children, and Perſons not come to the Maturity of their Judgement, to be under under the Conduct and Management of wiſer Perſons than themſelves; more experienced in the Affairs of this World; and better Judges of what is fit for them, and what not! How often might They ruine themſelves, under the Notion of Good and Pleaſure, if they were not ſo! How often would their Appetites, or their childiſh Conceits, be the Inſtruments of their Unhappineſs! And what are the beſt and wiſeſt of Us, when compared with Almighty God, but weak as Children, and as truly unfit to chooſe for ourſelves, in many Caſes of ſingular Importance to Our chief Concern! And if it be an Happineſs to *Them* to be under the Guidance of Others, whoſe Duty it is to keep them from noxious and hurtful Things, and to grant them Nothing but what is truly good for them; how much more is it happy for *Us*, that there is One above us, to train and educate us to a more bleſſed State, by the Diſcipline of Afflictions when he ſees them neceſſary: and thus to conſult our true Intereſt by denying us the Enjoyment of what is not ſo good for us as we imagine; and by not permitting us to ruine ourſelves; as, probably, we ſhould do, were our Deſires, in this World, more frequently granted us.

It is a Work of Difficulty, I confeſs, contentedly to part with That, on which we have founded any of our Hopes of Happineſs in this State. But ſee how eaſy, even for worldly Reaſons, and without any of the Aſſiſtances of Religion, many Men can be, under great and conſiderable Diſappointments; and ſee alſo how Time has performed thoſe Cures upon the moſt diſturbed Minds, which They have not permitted Reaſon and Conſideration to do: And then judge, Whether it be not much more becoming Us, to have this Cure effected by wiſe and excellent Motives, or, in other Words, by the moſt reaſonable and moſt unexceptionable Methods. And what can be of more proper Influence upon any ingenuous and well-diſpoſed Mind, than the Conſideration of God's Providence; the Thought that it is agreeable to his Will we ſhould ſuffer all we ſuffer; that the Circumſtances we are in, are what he has judged proper, for the beſt and wiſeſt Reaſons, to allott us: Or, at leaſt, that our Portion is ſo far his Determination, that, if He had ſeen it to be bad for us, all Things conſidered, He would not ſo much as have permitted it to be what it is? And this is much the ſame Satisfaction, as if He himſelf had aſſured us that it is what we ourſelves ſhould chooſe, did we know our own Good, and could we ſee all Things as they truly are.

And this leads to another Conſideration very well fitted to make us eaſy and reſigned; That, let our Condition be what it will, at preſent, it is ſuch as We ourſelves ſhould chooſe, or patiently ſubmit to, as the fitteſt and beſt, if all Things, proper to be conſidered, could be preſent to our View. For the Reaſon why We do not, at firſt Thought, acquieſce in all the Diſpenſations of God Almighty, is becauſe We do not ſee that Fitneſs and Propriety in them, which He always has before his Eyes. And this proceeds from the Imperfection of our Capacities and Underſtandings: which Defect can be ſupplied by Nothing but our Submiſſion to a ſuperior and perfect Underſtanding.

It may be an innocent Speculation to think how great our Happineſs would be, if we were ſo framed, as to ſee perfectly every Particular, and all poſſible Circumſtances, relating to our Condition here, and hereafter; what is truly our *Good*, and what is not: But this is not given to Us. We may ſeek after ſuch Knowledge, as well as we can; but we muſt be content with that Cloud of Darkneſs in which it is at preſent wrapped up; and give Repoſe to our *Souls* in the reaſonable Aſſurance that there is a Being ſuperior to us, who made us, and who governs us; that this Being ſees all Things as they truly are, in their own Natures and Tendencies; and orders Nothing for his Creatures, but what they may be ſatisfied is beſt and fitteſt to be ordered. And did we but heartily believe this, and duely conſider it, it could not but be a mighty Relief to us in all our Exigencies: And we could not but feel the Satisfaction of a rational Faith ſupplying the Defects and Imperfections of our own Natures.

But, in order to this Relief, We muſt ſtrictly guard againſt that great, and, I had almoſt ſaid, blaſphemous Error, which repreſents God, as acting, in the Government of the World, and in the Diſpoſition of the Fortunes of his Creatures, after an arbitrary and tyrannical manner, in order to ſhew his Power and Greatneſs: and always think of Him, as a *Being* who delights in Nothing more than in doing Good; and eſteems Nothing ſo much his Glory, as to act conſtantly, and without Interruption, according to the eternal Rules of Juſtice and Goodneſs. And if we would often thus repreſent to Ourſelves Almighty God, as the Beſt and Wiſeſt of All Beings, who could have no End in creating us, ſeparated from our own Happineſs; This would be a ſolid Ground of inward Satisfaction and Contentment, amidſt all the Unhappineſſes and Pains, and Diſtreſſes, of this World: eſpecially, if we added to the Argument, That this ſame God has aſſured Us of *Another* future and unchangeable State, in which He will reward the Patience and Reſignation we have exerciſed in *This*; and make us ample Amends for all the temporal *Evils* we have here ſuſtained. This is what leads Me, as I propoſed,

IV. To ſpeak of the great Advantages of *Afflictions* to thoſe who *are exerciſed therein*; and who bear them with a due Chriſtian Patience, and Submiſſion.

To paſs through an uncertain miſerable World well, has the greateſt Encouragement, when it is known to be the Road to a certain and happy State; a State, in which we ſhall receive infinitely more Good than ever we have loſt here; if we preſs towards it with a manly and Chriſtian Greatneſs of Mind. And this Encouragement We cannot be without, if We truly believe That there are *Treaſures* in *Heaven*, ſufficient to make the Want of all the Gold of *this* World tolerable; Honours and Glories, ſufficient to make the Diſgraces of this State ſit eaſy; and Happineſs in ſuch Perfection, as to make all the *Miſeries* experienced here below, appear of little Moment, when compared with what is to come.

How then ſhould this Thought contribute to the enduring any temporal Evils and Calamities with a decent Patience, That, in the other State, if we make ourſelves worthy of the Rewards of it, All will be exactly what we could wiſh; the Loſs, or Want, of the good Things of this World made up to us a thouſand Fold, by large Communications of unmixed Happineſs; *Sickneſs*, and *Pain*, exchanged for *Health*, and *Vigour*, of Body and Mind; Infirmities of every Sort, far removed from Us: and this happy Condition made more happy by the Certainty and Stability of It; free from the uneaſy Suſpicion of any future Alteration, or any the leaſt Decay in the Favour of God towards Us!

And, Is it not worth while to be Patient under the tranſient Evils of this World, which you muſt ſuffer whether you will, or no; and which are made much more intolerable for want of a reaſonable Submiſſion? Nay, to ſhew a proper Degree of Contentment under them, when this will certainly procure you a higher Place in the Love of God, and a greater Portion of the Rewards of Heaven, than you could hope for without them? It is indeed, for this Purpoſe, that God layeth his afflicting Hand upon Some; not to cruſh or oppreſs them, into a ſtupid, unactive, and deſponding Condition; but to give them an Opportunity of demonſtrating their Faith in *Him*, and of practiſing thoſe Precepts of *Religion* they have treaſured up in their Minds.

And that this does not proceed from any Want of Love, and paternal Benevolence, towards Them, the *Final* Iſſue of theſe *Corrections*, when *Patience ſhall have had its perfect Work*, will openly prove: when the great *Ends*, propoſed by Him, will appear to have been, That He might more effectually take their Thoughts off from this wretched World; and fix them more firmly upon another and better State, to which They are haſtening apace: That They might do the more Service to true Religion, by their Examples, *here*; and deſerve more of his Favour, and receive a brighter Crown of Glory, *hereafter*: That He might make their Virtue and their Faith *to ſhine* more bright *before Men*, in *this* State; and Themſelves more *illuſtrious* Inſtances of his Love, before his Angels, in Heaven. And we may add to what I have ſaid, That thus it has pleaſed the ſame God to deal with Some of the greateſt Examples of *Virtue*, (always amiable in his Eyes,) which have appeared in the *Heathen*, *Jewiſh*, and *Chriſtian*, World: and even with his own *Son*, *in whom* He declared Himſelf *well pleaſed*.

The mention of this *Divine Perſon*, who, when in our Form, was a *Man of Sorrows*, *and acquainted with Grief*; and who is both our Maſter, and our great Original to copy after, leads Me to think, I can conclude with Nothing better, than this ſhort Exhortation. Let every one of us, with reſpect to the *Evil Things* of this Life, have His Example always in Our View. This will teach Us that, *before* any Affliction is actually come upon Us, We may becomingly ſay, with Him, *Father*, *remove this Cup from me*; but it will teach Us alſo to add, in *his* Words, *Nevertheleſs*, *not as I will*, *but as Thou willeſt*. And *after* the Time is come when we ſee it to be *God's* Will that we muſt ſuffer Affliction, in ſome Point or other; let us learn, from the ſame perfect Pattern, to endure it after ſuch a Manner, as that, being made like unto *Him*, in Suffering, and in Patience, in *this* World, We may be made *like unto him* alſo, in the Glories of That which is *to come*.

The CHRISTIAN RACE.

SERMON XVIII.

1 CORINTHIANS ix. 24, 25.

Know ye not, that they which run in a Race, *run all, but one receiveth the Prize? So run, that ye may obtain. And every Man that ſtriveth for the Maſtery is temperate in all Things. Now* They *do it to obtain a* corruptible *Crown, but* We *an* incorruptible.

THESE Words are an *Alluſion* to thoſe publick *Races*, which were much in Uſe amongſt the *Heathens*, in St. *Paul's* Days, and drew together a great Concourſe of People from all Parts. And as it was His Cuſtom to draw Arguments for Care, and Diligence, and Patience, in *Chriſtians*, from what paſſed in the World about Him; ſo we find Him frequently referring to all the Other *Sports*, and *Conteſts*, then in Uſe: ſuch as *Fighting*, *Wreſtling*, and the like. Thus, ſpeaking of the *Chriſtian Conteſt* He ſays, *We* wreſtle *not*, or, as it is in the *Original*, *Our* wreſtling *is not*, againſt *Fleſh and Blood*, *but againſt Principalities and Powers*, &c. Eph. vi. 12. And immediately after the *Text*, ſpeaking of Himſelf, He ſays, *So fight I*, *not as* One *that beateth the Air*; or, more literally, *as One who is not beating the Air*, in a feigned Fight, merely to exerciſe his *Arms* and *Hands*: But, like One in earneſt, *I keep under*, or rather, *beat my Body*, *and bring it into Subjection* as an *Adverſary*: which He expreſſes by Words taken from the *Bruiſes* and *Marks* of thoſe ſevere *Blows* given to *Adverſaries* in the publick *Fightings* of his Days; and the Inſults over Them when conquered. And, in the triumphant Review of his own Conduct, He particularly makes uſe of the Expreſſions peculiar to theſe Games, and Conteſts, 2 *Tim.* iv. 7, I have *fought* a good *Fight*; I have finiſhed my *Race*: A *Crown* of *Glory*, *is laid up for me*. So alſo, in other Places of his Writings.

In the Words of the *Text*, He entirely confines his *View* to the publick *Races*, then much frequented: And They may be thus interpreted. "You know that They who pretend to *run* in the *Stadium*, or Place in which the publick *Races* are performed, *All* indeed *run* for the *Prize* propoſed; but that *One* only obtains it; *He*, that outdoes the reſt, in Activity, and Swiftneſs. And the like may be ſaid of the *Chriſtian Race*. They who profeſs *Chriſtianity*, or pretend to be aiming at the Rewards promiſed to *Chriſtians*, *All* pretend likewiſe to *run* the Chriſtian Courſe, or lead the Life of *Chriſtians*. But it is *one* Sort only of *Theſe*, who obtain the Prize propoſed; only *They*, who come up to the Conditions required by their great Maſter and Judge. *So run that ye may obtain*; that is, Since there is but *one* Sort of Profeſſed *Chriſtians*, who can obtain the *Crown* of *Life*, contended for, it ought to be your Endeavour *ſo to run* the Chriſtian Race, that you may be of that Number. But in order to this, You muſt conſider That *Every one who ſtriveth*, in theſe *Races* amongſt the Heathens, undergoes a great deal of Pains, and exerciſes the ſevereſt Inſtances of Command over his Appetites, in order to the preparing his Body, and going through the Fatigue of his Undertaking. *Now* They *do all this to obtain a Garland* of fading Leaves, and the *Acclamations* of Men periſhing like themſelves: How much more ſhould *We* Chriſtians willingly undergo the like Care and Labour, who expect a far greater Reward; an *incorruptible Crown* of never-fading Glory, and eternal Honour, in the Preſence of God!"

Thus we ſee what the *Apoſtle* aims at, in this *Alluſion* to the Preparation, Care, and Labour, of Thoſe who ſtrove in the Sports and Games of the Heathen. And from theſe Words, thus interpreted, I propoſe,

I. To conſider the Nature of the Chriſtian *Race*, repreſented to us in this Alluſion; and what is neceſſary in order to Succeſs in it: under which will appear the main Intention of the *Apoſtle* in this Paſſage. And,

II. To take occaſion from hence to enlarge the *Apoſtle's* Argument, by adding an *Inſtance* or Two, of that Care, and Labour, and Pains, which the Men of the *World*, by their own Choice, undergo, for the obtaining as great a Portion as They can, of the good Things *below*; in order to ſtir up an Emulation and Zeal, in *Chriſtians*, who profeſs to ſeek after nobler Enjoyments *above*, to equal, if not excell, Them, in all the like Care, and Labour, and Patience.

I. We are led to conſider the *Nature* of the *Chriſtian Race*, repreſented to us in this *Alluſion*, and what is requiſite to our Succeſs in it: not excluding what St. *Paul* often alludes to, and argues, relating to the *Other* publick *Games* and *Conteſts* for Glory, amongſt the Men of his *Age*.

Let us ſee, then, what was thought requiſite, at that Time, towards finiſhing thoſe *Races*, to which the Apoſtle alludes, ſo ſucceſsfully, as to obtain the Garland, or *corruptible Crown*, He here ſpeaks of; and conſider whether this will not lead us into ſome proper Thoughts about the Nature of the *Chriſtian Life*; and what is requiſite towards the obtaining the *End* propoſed by all who are really *Chriſtians*. Now,

1. In order to the ſtriving and contending ſucceſsfully, in theſe *Races*, or other Exerciſes, it was thought abſolutely neceſſary for the *Contenders* to undergo a ſevere *Preparation*, by which they were made fit for the Fatigues of their *Conteſts*. And this is one Thing principally aimed at, by the *Apoſtle* in the *Text*, when He ſays, *Every one that ſtriveth for the Maſtery*, or that pretends to *run*, and contend, for the Prize, *is temperate in all Things*; performs every Inſtance of *Self-denial*, and Command of all his Appetites, neceſſary to fit him for the ſucceſsful finiſhing

of his main Undertaking. And from hence the *Apoſtle* takes occaſion to argue, *Much more* ſhould *You Chriſtians* go through the *Diſcipline* of a due *Preparation*; as the *Prize You* contend for, is infinitely more excellent: and then goes on, in the Words following the *Text*, to let the *Corinthians* know that He himſelf found great Neceſſity of *ſubduing his Body*, leſt his *Bodily Appetites* ſhould hinder Him in that extraordinary *Courſe*, which He, as an *Apoſtle*, had to *run*. And, certainly, whatever any *Chriſtians* may find neceſſary, in order to the having a perfect Command over thoſe *Bodily* Paſſions, and Appetites, which are the great Enemies They have to ſtrive againſt, ought to be ſtrictly performed, if They would *run* their Chriſtian *Race* with Succeſs.

But This was not the only *Preparation They* were to undergo, who of old contended for Victory in the publick *Races* and *Games*. There was another *Preparation* alſo neceſſary, without which they could not hope ſucceſsfully to finiſh their Courſe: A *Preparation*, by which they were inſtructed in the *Nature* of their *Courſes*; the *Rules* of their own Conduct; the *Stratagems* of their Antagoniſts; and animated with a Deſire of the Glory of Conquerours. And as, without ſuch a *Preparation*, it was in vain for *Them* to enter upon their Work: ſo, likewiſe, it is in vain for *Chriſtians* to enter the Liſts againſt the Enemies of their Souls; and to undertake ſo laborious a Taſk as the *Chriſtian Life*, which is ſurrounded by *Adverſaries* on every Hand, and admits no Reſt till They are come to the End of their *Race*; it is in vain, I ſay, for Men to undertake this, without the like *Preparation*, of conſidering and knowing, what is neceſſary for their great Undertaking.

For inſtance, They muſt be inwardly convinced that *Jeſus Chriſt* was ſent by God, and reveled eternal Rewards and Puniſhments to Mankind: or elſe, They will be greatly in danger from every Temptation that allures them; and too apt to yield to the inviting Scenes of Pleaſure, Profit, or Honour, always ready to be preſented to their View. They muſt be forewarned of all the *Dangers* in their Way; all the *Wiles* and *Stratagems* of their *Enemies*, ſo often ſpoken of in *Scripture*, the *World*, the *Fleſh*, and the *Devil*: otherwiſe, They may be apt to be *ſurprized* by the *Images* of *Good*, which may be unexpectedly placed in their View, to turn them aſide from their *Courſe*. They muſt alſo be perfectly inſtructed in the *Conditions* required of them; and in all thoſe *Rules*, that are neceſſary for the running their Chriſtian *Race* aright: otherwiſe, They may miſtake fatally, in Matters eſſential to their Succeſs; and embrace *Evil* for *Good*, and *Wrong* for *Right*; and find themſelves, at laſt, going backward rather than advancing forward. A *Preparation* of themſelves in theſe and the like Particulars, by conſulting and conſidering the *Goſpel* itſelf, and not the *Phanſies* of Men, is what all *Chriſtians* muſt undergo, before they can hope to finiſh their Courſe with Glory. But

2. In the performing of the *Races* of Old, to which St. *Paul* here alludes, there was a Courſe of Labour, and Care, and Diligence, continued without the leaſt Interruption of Idleneſs, or impertinent Trifling. And This leads us to conſider the *Chriſtian Race* likewiſe, as a Buſineſs of conſtant Care, and Diligence, never to be interrupted, if we deſire to arrive ſucceſsfully to the End of it. And indeed, To imagine that *Chriſtianity* can ever diſpenſe with the greateſt Degree of ſerious *Attention* and Care, is to contradict the *Deſign* of it, and to undervalue the *Rewards* it propoſes. For the *Chriſtian* is never quite ſecure on this Side Heaven; becauſe He is never in a State free from dangerous Enemies. He is nearly joined to His own deceitful and flattering Appetites, which are, upon all Occaſions, endeavouring to ſeduce Him; He lives in a World which, every

Hour, furniſhes him with new Scenes of *Trial*; and with *Objects* framed to terrify Him from *Virtue*, and to allure him to *Vice*. And has ſuch a Perſon any Reaſon to think of remitting his *Diligence*, or looſening the Reins of *Government* over himſelf; when one fatal Miſtake, or Slip, through an inadvertent Negligence only, may involve him in Circumſtances, from which He may never be able to extricate himſelf? Let the *Chriſtian* only remember That it is the *Habit* of *Virtue* which is the very *Race* He is obliged to run; and then conſider that this *Habit* is the continual repeated *Practice* of every particular *Duty*, as often as Occaſion offers; and he can have no doubt That the moſt conſtant and ſerious Care is requiſite towards the keeping and preſerving ſuch an *Habit*, as well as towards the obtaining it.

The Importance, therefore, of the Matter; and the Dangers that encompaſs a *Chriſtian*, through every Portion of his *Time*, make his *Race* alſo, like Thoſe of Old, a continued Courſe of watchful *Labour* and *Care*: But not of *Labour*, and *Care*, without even preſent *Pleaſure* and *Satisfaction* mixed with it. For it is not poſſible for us to conceive a greater inward Pleaſure, than what the good *Chriſtian* enjoys, in the Teſtimony his own Conſcience gives to the Uprightneſs and Reaſonableneſs of his Conduct; or a truer *Satisfaction* than He finds in the Thoughts of the Favour of his great Judge, and in the Proſpect of the Rewards of Heaven.

3. In order to the right Performance of thoſe *Races*, antiently ſo much in uſe, there was a Neceſſity of *laying aſide every Weight*, or *Burthen*, in order to make the *Body* as active, and light, and unmoleſted, as poſſible. So, likewiſe, in order to the ſucceſsful running of the *Chriſtian Race*, every *Burthen*, or *Impediment*, which may make us the leſs fit for our Courſe, is to be laid aſide, and thrown from us.

Thus St. *Paul*, in the *twelfth* Chapter of his *Epiſtle* to the *Hebrews*, alluding to the ſame *Games*, ſays, *Let us lay aſide every Weight*, in order to *run with Patience the Race that is ſet before us*: And this very properly, becauſe, the more free Men are from *Weights*, the more likely to perform their *Race* ſucceſsfully. What the *Apoſtle* particularly meant by *every Weight*, He explains by adding immediately, *and the Sin which does ſo eaſily beſet Us*: or rather, *every Weight*, even *Sin* which is always cloſe to Us; and is certainly, the heavieſt *Weight*, and ſtrongeſt *Impediment*, to a *Chriſtian* in his *Race*; And a *Weight* therefore, which He muſt of neceſſity *lay aſide*, if He has one Thought, in earneſt, of *running*, *ſo as to obtain the Prize*.

4. Our Lord himſelf, in ſpeaking of the *Chriſtian Life*, and what is neceſſary in order to it, goes ſtill farther; and often mentions the removing out of the Way, every thing which may *offend*, or, which may be the Occaſion of our *Stumbling* in our *Chriſtian Courſe*; and ſo, of *loſing the Prize*, by falling before We come to the End. And this, let it be of what Nature it will; never ſo neceſſary to our Comfort and Happineſs in *this* World; never ſo dear, or uſeful to us; never ſo painful in the Removal of it; though it be our *right Hand*, or our *right Eye*, if we cannot keep it without *ſinning*, We are to *cut it off*, or *pull it out*, and *caſt it from Us*. Otherwiſe, we cannot overcome in the Chriſtian Conteſt.

How ridiculous a Thing would it have been for any Perſon, in the *Races* of Old, to have pretended ſo much as to enter upon his *Courſe*, without having firſt removed from himſelf all that might *hinder* him in it! And how much more unaccountable is it, in any *Chriſtian*, to think of arriving, with Glory, at the End of his *Race*, or of being victorious in his ſpiritual Conteſts, whilſt he is reſolved againſt parting with any thing grateful at preſent to his Senſes; though never ſo prejudicial to his Virtue, and of never ſo fatal Conſequence to his *Pretenſions!*

And yet, *This* is what we ſee every Day amongſt profeſſed *Chriſtians*, That Men can hope and expect to be ſaved by *Jeſus Chriſt*; and ſeem to aim at that *incorruptible Crown* which He has promiſed; and yet are moſt unwilling to part with Thoſe beloved *Vices*, which They themſelves know to be inconſiſtent with all *Hope* of it: as if They were determined to arrive at *Heaven* in their own Way, or not at all; and thought to take it by Storm, without thinking once in earneſt, of the *Conditions* required of them. But *Theſe* are *Chriſtians* who little deſerve that Name; nor ſeem at all to live under the Influence of ſuch an *Inſtitution*; who have undertaken the *Race* of *Chriſtians*, and yet are diſpoſed to multiply upon Themſelves, more and more of thoſe *Hindrances* which They find agreeable at preſent, rather than to part with *Every*, or *Any*, *Weight* that is likely to *preſs* Them down; or to remove out of their Way, *Every*, or *Any Stumbling-block*, that may hinder the *Succeſs* of their Courſe. Again,

5. It was thought neceſſary for the ſucceſsful Performance of thoſe *Races* and *Conteſts* of Old, that They who *ran* and ſtrove in them ſhould be inflamed and animated with the Proſpect of *Victory*, and the Glory conſequent upon it; that They ſhould ever have the *Crown* of Leaves (*fading* as it was) before their Eyes, and the Shouts and Acclamations of the *Spectators*, (*vain* as They were) in their Ears. And from hence We *Chriſtians* may be taught, That, in order to our ſucceſsful running the *Race* that is ſet before us in the *Goſpel*, and contending for another Kind of *Victory*, it is highly neceſſary that We ſhould always have in our Thoughts the juſt Expectation of that *incorruptible Crown* of *Glory* hereafter, which is to be the Reward of our *Victory* here. This our bleſſed *Lord* himſelf judged worthy of his own Character. To whom St. *Paul* therefore, directs our View, in the *Chapter* juſt now cited, *looking unto Jeſus, who, for the Joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the Shame*, Hebr. xii. 2. This all the *Apoſtles* of our *Lord* thought highly requiſite, in the extraordinary Courſe They had undertaken to run, and the *Fight* They had to fight; to conſider the *Rewards* They were at laſt to inherit; and that all their Conflicts, in this World, were *not worthy to be compared with the Glory* that *ſhall be reveled.* And They owned that This it was which kept Them firm and faithful to their great Maſter, in the difficult Office he had called them to. It may well, therefore, become *Us*, who ſtand in need of all Supports, and all moving Conſiderations, to enlarge our Proſpect beyond *this* Scene of Things, and to take into our View the *Glories* of the *Other*, which is to open after this is broken to pieces; and thence to draw *Arguments* for reſiſting all the Temptations here below, which are but for a Moment; and for preſſing forward, without any Intermiſſion, towards *the Mark of the Prize of our high calling*. When We conſider this incomprehenſible Reward; according to our *Faith*, ſo will our *Endeavours*, and our *Conduct* be, in our *Chriſtian Race:* And, if we truly believe that there is a *Crown* reſerved for Thoſe who bear up againſt all Oppoſition, in a conſtant Courſe of Righteouſneſs, We ſhall think no Enemies here below inſuperable.

There is another Conſideration peculiar to the *Chriſtian Conteſt*, and not belonging to thoſe Others which we have been ſpeaking of; and it is *this*, That, as the *Chriſtian* who *runs his Courſe* with all Care, and Diligence, and good Conduct, is ſecure of a glorious *Reward:* ſo, the *Chriſtian* who, through his own wilful Careleſſneſs, and Neglect, fails and ſinks in his Chriſtian Courſe, not only loſes that *Reward* which the Other obtains, but inherits unſpeakable Puniſhment, proportionable to the *wicked Folly* of One, who profeſſes to have the moſt glorious *Reward* in his Eye, and yet of his own Choice neglects to obtain it; and is ſhamefully contented to fall ſhort of it. This is a Conſideration which muſt work upon the meaner Souls, as the other attracts the more ingenuous and beſt diſpoſed Minds.

6. I ſhall mention one *Inſtance* more of what was thought requiſite to the glorious Performance of the *Conteſts* and *Races*, to which the *Apoſtle* in the Text alludes; and that is, a *Perſeverance* to the End.

Many may be apt to think, that it was a glorious Thing to begin, and to proceed happily a good Way, after the beſt Manner: and ſo it was, conſidered as it tended to a happy Concluſion. But if the *Contenders* of Old ſtopt or failed, in the Middle, or even within view of the *Bound* to which they were to come; *All* was nothing, and They failed likewiſe, of their *Glory*, and of their *Crown*. And ſo it is in the Chriſtian Life. It is a happy Thing to *begin* well; and happier ſtill to make a conſiderable Progreſs in the Paths of the *Goſpel*. But if the *Chriſtian* does not *perſevere* ſteddily to the *End*; if, when he comes within View of the *Crown* of *Glory* in the other World, he relapſes into the Life of *Infidels*, and *Sinners*, He ſtains all his former *Luſtre* with a baſe and ignominious Dye; He forfeits all his Title to the Heaven and Happineſs of *Chriſtians*; Nay, he renders himſelf much more inexcuſable, than if he had never moved one Step in the Paths of *Righteouſneſs*; by ſuffering Himſelf to be conquered by thoſe very Enemies which he had before found he could ſubdue; and by falling voluntarily from a State of the moſt deſirable Freedom, into an inglorious *Slavery* to *Sin*; and thus bringing Contempt and Shame upon the Religion of *Chriſt* itſelf.

Thus have I conſidered the *Parallel* between the publick *Conteſts* and *Races*, ſo much celebrated and frequented in St. *Paul's* Time; and the *Chriſtian Race:* and from hence have endeavoured to ſhew the Nature of the *Latter*; and what is neceſſary for the happy Succeſs of it. I muſt juſt obſerve, as We paſs, That the whole Intention of the *Apoſtle* may be plainly expreſſed thus, agreeably to what has been ſaid: “If theſe Men, of whom I ſpeak, can come, by Patience and Self-denial, to conquer their *Bodies*, and their ſtrongeſt *Appetites*; and enſtate themſelves in a perfect Command over themſelves; and endure ſo much, and perſevere ſo long, for the Sake of a *contemptible Prize*, a Garland of fading Leaves; Much more ought *You* to be willing to *labour*, and *ſtrive*, and *exerciſe* the greateſt Government over Yourſelves, who aim at a much nobler Prize, an *incorruptible Crown* of eternal Glory.” I come now,

II. To take occaſion from hence to enlarge the *Apoſtle's* Argument, by adding an *Inſtance* or Two, of that ſolicitous Care, and inceſſant Labour, with which Men purſue after the Things of this Life; in order to ſhame Ourſelves (if we have any Shame left,) into a greater Concern for the Rewards of another never-ending State.

1. Look on the Man that follows the Alarms of War, and ſee what He can undergo, for the diſtant View of future *uncertain* Honours, or Riches: to what Dangers He willingly expoſes his Life; in what Fears, and Cares, and perpetual Tumult, his Breaſt is exerciſed; his *Mind* continually upon the Rack, ever projecting Evil to his Enemies, and guarding Himſelf againſt All their *Deſigns*; and filled with all the Uneaſineſs of various Paſſions; and his *Body* worn out by all the Extremities of Heat and Cold, and more Hardſhips than we can number. What would Men ſay, were all this required of Them, in order to obtain the Kingdom of Heaven? And how hard a Taſk-maſter would they repreſent Al-

mighty God to be? And yet *all this* Men often voluntarily chooſe, for what brings along with it Nothing of laſting Good and Happineſs; and chearfully undergo it, for the Sake of thoſe worldly Advantages, which they often do not obtain; and which, if obtained, are never truly ſatisfactory, and at beſt, but of a very ſhort Continuance. For *ſuch* Rewards, *Men* are often ſeen to bear what one would think intolerable to human Nature: and yet *Theſe* are but the Shadows of *Good*, which often betray Men into Exceſs and Miſery, and can never afford a conſtant and laſting Satisfaction. On the contrary; the Rewards of Heaven, though of an infinite Duration, carry very weak Charms along with them; and few think it worth their while to *labour*, and *contend*, for them. If they will fall to their Lot, without the Pain of ſeeking after them; well and good: They are contented to be made happy, if it may be without any Expenſe of their own: But they have little Zeal or Heart to take much Pains for it. So abſurdly do many profeſſed *Chriſtians* behave themſelves, and ſo unequally, with reſpect to the *corruptible* Crown below, and the *incorruptible* Crown above. And,

2. Once more, Behold the Man that follows the Arts of Gain and Advantage, after a more ſedate and leſs tumultuous Manner. The Man, I mean, that has propoſed to himſelf, as his chief End, the *Treaſures* of this World, by the more peaceful Methods.

What Care and Labour, in *his* more ſilent way, will he refuſe to undergo, for the Sake of the wretched *End* He has in view; though He is uncertain of obtaining it, at leaſt before he comes to be almoſt incapable of enjoying it? He will riſe up early, and late take Reſt, and eat the Bread of Carefulneſs, and run all Hazards, and watch all Opportunities, and catch at every Handle, and uſe all Tricks, and think no Pains ill employed, that He may poſſeſs himſelf of what he can never be ſure of keeping; and of what, he knows, he muſt certainly, in a very ſhort Time, leave behind him.

And ſhall not the Thought of this kindle an Emulation in the Breaſts of Thoſe who ſeek after other *Treaſures*, and other *Riches*; *Treaſures* that cannot deceive thoſe whoſe Hearts are truly ſet upon them; and *Riches* from which Nothing can ever ſeparate the Man who is once poſſeſſed of them. They are perfectly ſatisfactory to a reaſonable Creature; they are of eternal Duration: out of the Reach of all Accidents; guarded by Almighty Power; and diſpenſed by infinite *Goodneſs*. And is not the Motive of ſuch *Riches* able to inſpire us with another Sort of *Covetouſneſs* than is ſeen here below? a *Covetouſneſs*, not *the Root of all Evil*, but the *Principle of all Good*; not a ſordid Deſire of what cannot profit, but a glorious Thirſt after true and everlaſting Happineſs? How can we hope to anſwer for our Want of Zeal and Induſtry, in this Purſuit, at the laſt Day, when our own Zeal and Care, about the Concerns of this Life, ſhall *perhaps* witneſs againſt us; and the *Labours* and *Toils* of Others, the *Children of this World*, ſhall *certainly* ſerve to confound and abaſh us, for our Inactivity and Negligence in a much nobler and more glorious Cauſe?

This *Argument* is ſo reaſonable, that I ſhall leave it to your own Determination: and return to the *Compariſon* uſed in the *Text*; and ſo conclude.

We have a *Race* of Labour and Care, to *run*; *that is*, a *Life* of ſtrict Virtue to *live*. We have a *Prize* in view, to contend for, ineſtimable, and worthy of all our Pains and Induſtry; *that is*, *eternal* Glory and Happineſs. We have a *Day* ſet, in which we muſt finiſh this Courſe; the preſent Life; and, after this ſhort *Day*, the *Night* of *Death* cometh, in which *no Man can run*. We have a *Judge*, infinitely knowing and righteous, to determine our *Condition* according to our *Endeavours* in this *Race*, *viz.* the great God, who is not to be impoſed upon, and cannot be biaſſed: and, *after* Judgement given, there is an Eternal State for us to live in, either of *Reward* or *Puniſhment*. And theſe are not *light* Matters; but ſuch as deſerve many of our Thoughts, and much of our *Time*. Let us behave ourſelves like Men under the Influence of ſuch momentous Truths; and then, We ſhall *ſo run* our Chriſtian *Race*, that we ſhall obtain that *incorruptible Crown*, which is the *Prize* we are contending for.

The Beſt CHRISTIANS, *unprofitable* SERVANTS.

SERMON XIX.

LUKE xvii. ver. 10.

So likewiſe ye, when ye ſhall have done all thoſe Things which are commanded you, ſay, We are Unprofitable Servants, *We have done that which was our Duty to do.*

THERE are two *Extremes* Men have run into, in the Matter of *Good Works*, and in their rating the *Service* They pay, and the Duty They perform, to Almighty God. On the *one* Side, Some have put ſuch a Value upon the *Good Works* of *Chriſtians*, as to make them *meritorious* of that *Salvation*, which is promiſed in the *Goſpel*. And, on the *other* ſide, Some, who have thought this impious, and injurious to the Mercy of God, and the *Merits* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, have departed as far from it as they could; and have brought down the Price of *Good Works* ſo low, and made them to bear ſo inconſiderable a Part, in the great Affair of *Salvation*, as almoſt inevitably to lead incautious Men of bad Inclinations to think them hardly worth the *Care*, or to deſerve any of the Regard, of a *Chriſtian*. The *Church* of *Rome* teaches the *Merit* of *Good Works*, in our Claim to the Rewards of *Chriſtians*: And Others, in oppoſition to *That*, teach us, in effect, that *Good Works* ſignify ſo little to our Juſtification, that we are not ſo much as to bring Them into the *Account*; nay, That We muſt caſt them from Us, when we would plead our Title to *Heaven*.

The Truth apparently lies betwixt theſe *Two*, and may be thus expreſſed; That, though our good Actions do by no means deſerve the *exceeding Happineſs* promiſed in the *Goſpel*; and come greatly ſhort of ſuch a *Reward*, as is ſet before Us in *That*: yet, They are not ſo inconſiderable, or of ſo little account, but that our Title to the *Heaven* of the *Goſpel*, cannot be pleaded without them; nor our Station in it be aſſigned Us, without the Conſideration of them. The *Merits* of *Chriſt*, indeed, *that is*, His Obedience, and Life and Death here below, are ſaid to purchaſe this *Reward* for us; and, if He had not humbled himſelf for our Benefit, our *Good Works* could have given us no Expectation of ſuch Rewards, as He propoſes. He *ſuffered*, that We might be exceedingly happy, upon the *Terms* of his *Covenant* with Mankind; and that *Covenant* is, That we ſhould abound in *Good Works*, or, in all the Inſtances of Virtue and Righteouſneſs. Nay, whatever it be, that *He* has merited for *Us*; it is all ſufficiently declared to be of no Importance to Us, but on Condition that we ſhew forth in our Lives ſuch *Good Works* as He has commanded. And therefore, though We are ſaid to arrive at *Heaven* for the Sake of *Him*, who came to reſtore Us to the Favour of God; *yet*, we muſt arrive at it, through ſuch a *Life* of *Good Works*, as He himſelf has made indiſpenſably neceſſary to the obtaining of it; and no otherwiſe, as far as He has reveled his *Father's* Will to Us.

Which of the *Two Errors* I have mentioned, is of the worſt Account before God, may be judged of, by conſidering which of them leads to the moſt pernicious *Conſequences*.

It is a fooliſh and groundleſs Boaſt, to ſay that all the beſt Works, of Any Man, collected together, can poſſibly *merit*, at the Hands of God, thoſe eternal *Rewards* promiſed to *Chriſtians*, which bear too great a Proportion to the poor Services of our whole Lives, to be comprehended by us. But then it is worſe than *fooliſh* and *groundleſs*, to make ſo little Account of thoſe *Good Works* which the *Goſpel* inſiſts upon, in every Page, as tends to render Men careleſs and unconcerned whether they perform any, or no. *All* that We can do is not worthy indeed, to be compared with the *Glory that ſhall be reveled:* But, the very End of Chriſt's Appearance being to *teach* Men to *deny Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly, in this World*, and expreſly ſo declared, To ſpeak meanly of thoſe *Good Works*, which are in ſuch manner commanded, ſeems to oppoſe the declared Purpoſe of the Son of God's appearing in the Fleſh; and may unhappily lead Men into a State, firſt of *Careleſſneſs*, and then, of *Sin*. For, as the Doctrine is ſometimes explained, the Obligation to *Virtue* is almoſt imperceptible to common Capacities; and requires ſuperior Faculties, and ſome Subtleties, to find it out: And if it does not directly encourage many to neglect what is declared to be of the utmoſt Importance, by the plain Words of the *Goſpel*; yet, at beſt, it never can be thought to excite Men to the *Good Works* required in it.

Both theſe *Errors* are carefully to be avoided: and, in order to our avoiding them, the Conſideration of the *Words* I have now read to you will, I think, be of ſome Service: *So likewiſe ye, when ye ſhall have done all thoſe Things which are commanded you, ſay, We are unprofitable Servants, we have done that which was our Duty to do.* They are an Inſtruction given by our *Lord* to his Followers, immediately after a *Parable* he had ſpoken to them, about a common *Servant* amongſt Men, who, though he did all that his *Lord* commanded him, and performed his *Duty* faithfully, yet could claim no *extraordinary* Favour from him; nor any thing more, than to be treated as a *Servant* ſtill. Our *Lord* then adds, *So likewiſe ye,* who are my Diſciples, when you have done your Duty to God; and performed the Service He has commanded; You cannot claim that Happineſs, as a Reward in *Juſtice* due to your Services, which God will in *Mercy* give you; but ought to acknowledge yourſelves *Unprofitable Servants.* You have, indeed, performed your Lord's *Commands*; and *done what it was your Duty to do*, even for your own ſakes conſidered as *Servants:* And from This you may reap the Satisfaction of thinking, That you cannot have incurred the Diſpleaſure of your *Maſter*, or deſerved any *Puniſhment*; nay, That You have a ſtrict Right to whatever *Wages* You contracted for, or whatever Advantages inſeparably belong to your *Offices:* But You cannot claim, from hence, any *extraordinary* Favours, as due to ſuch Servants; and cannot juſtly pretend to have merited that exceeding Glory which I am come to ſet before You.

If we apply theſe *Words* to all *Chriſtians*, to whom They belong much more than to the *Apoſtles* of *Chriſt*, whoſe whole Lives were ſpent in the greateſt Inſtances of Service and Obedience; We may draw ſome uſeful Leſſons from *Them*. At preſent, I propoſe,

I. To obſerve, from them, That there is a *Service* and Obedience indiſpenſably due from all *Chriſtians* to Almighty God; or, That they are ſo obliged to do all that He has commanded in the *Goſpel*; that they cannot hope for Heaven and Happineſs without it.

II. To obſerve that, when we have ſincerely practiſed all the Laws of Virtue and Righteouſneſs, given to Us by God, We ought to acknowledge that we are *unprofitable Servants*; and that we cannot claim the *Rewards* of the *Goſpel*, as due to us upon the Account of thoſe Services, but muſt own ourſelves unworthy of them. This will naturally lead Us,

III. To conſider, on what Account, the *Beſt* of *Chriſtians* may be juſtly ſtiled *Unprofitable Servants*; and to have little Reaſon to over-value their beſt Services.

I. That there is a *Service* and *Obedience* indiſpenſably due from all *Chriſtians* to Almighty God; or, that all *Chriſtians*, according to their Abilities and Opportunities, are ſo ſtrictly obliged to do all that is commanded them in the *Goſpel*, that They can have no Ground for any Expectation of the Rewards of *Heaven*, without it. This is plainly ſignified in the *firſt* Part of the Words read to You, *ſo likewiſe Ye, when ye ſhall have done all thoſe Things which are commanded you*; in which there is ſtrongly implied an indiſpenſable Obligation to the Performance of all the Commands of the *Goſpel*, in order to our future Happineſs promiſed in it.

The Meaning of this, is not, That there are no *Hopes* of *Salvation* to a Man, if He ſhall ever fail in any Point of Evangelical Obedience; or that God will be ſo rigorous as never to forgive any Neglects, or Tranſgreſſions, of the moſt ſincere, and honeſt, of his Servants: But that there is ſuch an Obligation upon *Chriſtians*, That, if they wilfully and habitually neglect the Duties of the *Goſpel*, and allow themſelves in any known Sin; that, if they do, even under Pretenſe of magnifying the Mercy of God, *continue in Sin*; nay, That, if they do not, in a regular and ſetled Courſe, *follow after Righteouſneſs*; They cannot hope to ſecure themſelves an Intereſt in the Favour of God, or the Rewards of another Life.

They are all the Creatures of an Almighty Creator, and the higheſt Obligation to *do his Will* reſults from that *firſt*, and cloſe Relation. They are all the Subjects of a moſt powerful and merciful *King*; and therefore, obliged to obey, both out of *Love*, and out of a juſt *Fear*. They are all tied to his Intereſt by the moſt endearing Inſtances of Mercy and Kindneſs; and therefore, are bound in *Gratitude* to return him all the Duty He can expect from them. They owe all They have, and all They can hope for, to Him, and his Favour; and therefore, They cannot pay him back too much Regard and Obedience. They are all to be conſidered, as under *his* Authority, and *He*, as their great *Lord* and *Maſter*: and from hence reſults all poſſible Service to ſuch a Maſter. By theſe, and many more, *Ties* are They moſt ſtrictly obliged to love, honour, and ſerve Almighty God; whether He had called upon them in an extraordinary Manner to do it, or not. But He has thought fit to *ſpeak unto them by his Son*. And by this *his beloved Son*, and his *Apoſtles*, it has been declared, conſtantly, in a multitude of the ſtrongeſt Expreſſions often repeated, That without our Practice of all Virtue, and Obedience to all his holy Commandments, here *below*, We ſhall never arrive at the Place of *Reward*, and Glory, *above*. This is, indeed, ſo plainly the uniform Voice of the *New Teſtament*, that it alone may juſtly be thought a ſufficient proof that the *Unprofitableneſs* of our *Services*, affirmed in the Text, cannot be intended to ſink the Value of Moral *Good Works*, ſo as to make them appear of little Importance in the Affair of Chriſtian Salvation. This therefore,

fore, being certain, in the Diſpenſation of the *Goſpel,* That a *ſincere* Obedience to all God's *Commands,* is abſolutely neceſſary to our *Salvation;* I ſhall now proceed to what I next propoſed from the Words of the Text, *viz.*

II. That the *Beſt Chriſtians,* when They *have done all that is commanded them,* or, their whole Duty, in the Service of God; and have ſincerely practiſed all Virtue and Righteouſneſs; ought, after this happy Conduct, to confeſs Themſelves to be *Unprofitable Servants;* and to acknowledge that They cannot claim ſuch *Rewards,* as the *Goſpel* propoſes, as of *Right* due to their utmoſt Endeavours. *So ye, when ye have done all that is commanded you, ſay, We are unprofitable Servants.*

In which Words We muſt not imagine that our Lord declares, or inſinuates, that the beſt *Chriſtians,* and ſuch as have exerciſed themſelves in all the *Good Works* of his *Holy Religion,* ought to acknowledge Themſelves to have done Nothing in what is called the Service of God, or for the Good of Mankind; or of any Significancy to their own Salvation; or That any thing like this is the *Meaning* of the Words *unprofitable Servants.* Far be ſuch Thoughts from Us, concerning *Him,* who, in another *Parable,* repreſents Himſelf, or his *Father,* as ſpeaking to Every Chriſtian of this Sort, *Well done, good and faithful Servant; enter into the Joy of thy Lord,* Matth. xxv. 21, 23. And from this Paſſage it may juſtly be inferred, That a Man may be a *good* and *faithful Servant,* in the Senſe of the *Goſpel;* and yet be an *unprofitable One,* as the Word is intended in the *Text.* For the *Name, unprofitable Servant,* here uſed, is ſo far from being oppoſed to *One* who has faithfully performed all due Obedience and Service to his Maſter, that it is actually given to Thoſe who are ſuppoſed to have *done all thoſe Things which are commanded them.*

Nor can the *Unprofitable Servant,* in the *Text,* be the ſame with the *Unprofitable Servant, Matth.* xxv. 30. For the *Unprofitable Servant,* in the *Text,* is expreſly deſcribed as *One* who has ſerved God ſincerely, and actually *done what it was his Duty to do:* and the *Unprofitable Servant,* in the other Place, is as expreſly declared to have, knowingly and willfully, neglected his Duty; and called, by his *Lord, a wicked and ſlothful Servant;* and by his Appointment, ordered to be *caſt into outer Darkneſs, where there is weeping, and gnaſhing of Teeth.* But the Meaning of the *Words* of the *Text* muſt be, that, as *that Servant,* of whom Our Lord had been ſpeaking, in a *Parable* before, though he had been ſerving his Lord well in the *Field,* either *plowing, or feeding his Cattle,* could not at his Return home, claim, as his Right, any extraordinary Favour from his *Maſter;* could not, for inſtance, demand, or expect, to be invited by his Maſter *to ſit down to Supper* before He himſelf had ſupped, as it is expreſſed in the Parable; or to be treated otherwiſe than as a *Servant* who had done what it was his Buſineſs *to do:* So, the beſt *Chriſtians,* Thoſe who have ſerved God moſt faithfully, in all the Duties of their ſeveral Stations, cannot claim, as their juſt Due, the extraordinary and unconceivable Joys and Happineſs of Heaven; but muſt acknowledge that They are *unprofitable Servants;* and that the *Duty* They have performed bears no Proportion to Thoſe incomprehenſible Rewards They are to enjoy. I come now, as I propoſed,

III. To conſider on what Accounts the *Beſt* of *Chriſtians* may be juſtly ſaid to be *Unprofitable Servants;* and to have little Reaſon to overvalue their *Services.*

1. They may be ſaid to be *Unprofitable Servants,* becauſe they cannot, with all their Services and all their Labours, make any the leaſt Addition to the Well-being, or Happineſs, of Almighty God, their great *Maſter.* And, in *this,* the *Servants* of *God,* and the *Servants* of *Men,* differ; that the *Servants* of *Men* can, by their Diligence and their honeſt *Service,* contribute greatly to the Increaſe of

their *Maſters* Riches or Honour; and, in ſome Inſtances, very much promote their Happineſs in this World. But the *Servants* of *God* can only, by their Service, do Themſelves good, and increaſe their own true Happineſs. And the Reaſon is, That the richeſt and moſt powerful of Mankind are frail and imperfect Beings; liable to many unfortunate Accidents; ſtanding in need of many Supports; and owing much of their Greatneſs to the meaner Sort who are under them: But Almighty God, being moſt perfect in himſelf, and enjoying all poſſible Happineſs, is therefore, utterly incapable of the leaſt Addition or Increaſe of Glory, or Pleaſure. What therefore, can our *Services* demand of *Him*, to whom they add not one Grain of *Greatneſs*, or *Happineſs?*

Every *Maſter* amongſt Men would account *him* but an *unprofitable Servant*, who, with all his Pains and Care, could not poſſibly do any thing for his Advantage, or for his Satisfaction; and hardly think himſelf obliged to reward him, in an extraordinary Manner, for a *Service*, out of which He could reap no real Benefit. And that *Servant* himſelf would hardly have the Face to expect or demand the leaſt *Favour* from his Lord, on that Account. Thus it is with Us, conſidered as *Servants* to the great God. We are truly *unprofitable Servants*, to *Him*; utterly uncapable of doing any thing that can increaſe or improve his Happy Eſtate.

It is true indeed, That, as we are his *Creatures*, brought into Being by his Almighty Decree; and willing and deſirous to fulfil his Will; We may claim the Protection of his *Providence*, and his paternal Regard to Us, as long as He continues us in being; and cannot but enjoy the *Reward* of an inward Satisfaction of Mind ariſing from this Conſideration. And again, the great God, whoſe Creatures We are, may condeſcend, as He does in the *Chriſtian Revelation* of his Will to the World, to call our beſt *Endeavours* by the Name of *Services* to Himſelf; and ſpeak of them as promoting his *Glory*, and increaſing his *Honour*; and by promiſing Us more than We can deſerve, may oblige himſelf to *Performance* ſo, as to give Us a *Right* afterwards to expect and demand it, if We have not failed on our own Part. But, ſince it is moſt evident That we cannot, by all our Services, add the leaſt Increaſe to infinite *Perfection*; it cannot but become Us to own, and ſay, *We are unprofitable Servants*; We have, indeed, endeavoured *to do what it was our Duty to do*, which is a Comfort to Ourſelves, but we have contributed Nothing to our great *Maſter*. But

2. The *Beſt* of *Chriſtians* may be ſaid to be *Unprofitable Servants*, if we conſider the many Failings, and Faults, they are liable to, in that *Service* which They really intend to perform; and the Mixture of many *Imperfections* in their very beſt Actions.

The ſincereſt *Chriſtians* in the World, though They do what God will, at the laſt day, accept, for the Sake of *Chriſt*; yet, They cannot be ſaid, in the Strictneſs of Juſtice, always to do whatſoever They can, in what They call God's *Service*. They have their Intervals of Coldneſs and Indifference, or of Careleſſneſs, when it may be ſaid that *the Spirit is willing, but the Fleſh is weak*. And they have, in Every State of Life, ſtrong *Temptations*, to ſtrive againſt; which they do not always entirely overcome. They ſometimes yield; or, if they do not, yet they often overcloud the *Victory* with the Attendance of ſome *Imperfection*, or other: and frequently experience in Themſelves, what They cannot excuſe even to the Judge within their own Breaſts. And if ſo imperfect *Servants*, who are ſometimes diverted from their Duty; and cannot command Themſelves, upon every Occaſion, to attend to their Duty: If *ſuch* Servants as theſe ſhould claim the unſpeakable *Rewards* of *Chriſtians*, as due, in *Juſtice*, to their imperfect and *interrupted Endeavours*, They would juſtly incur the Imputation of *Arrogance*.

And beſides that the *Beſt* of Men are guilty of *Failings*, and *Negligences*, in the ſeveral Branches of their Duty, They do alſo, ſometimes, mix ſo much of human Imprudence, and of the *Imperfections* of their Nature, with their beſt Actions, that They ſpoil the Good they intend, and fruſtrate the very End they propoſe to Themſelves, by their own Weakneſs and Inadvertency: ſo that, if one were to examine into the *Events* of ſuch Matters, it is a *Queſtion*, concerning ſome very well-deſigning *Chriſtians*, whether their *Zeal* and *Devotion*, intended for God's Service, has more conduced to the promoting the great Ends of *Religion*, and the *Glory* of God, in the World, than their *Imperfections* and *Imprudences*, (the Characters of which they have ſtamped upon their beſt Undertakings) have contributed to the *Prejudices* of other Men, and the *Hurt* of Religion itſelf. And, though we have to do with a merciful God, who will not rigorouſly puniſh theſe Mixtures of *Imprudence* which are to be found in the Conduct of good Men; yet, when He grants the exceeding Rewards of Heaven, and the unexpreſſible Glories of a *future* State to ſuch *Servants*; this muſt be accounted a *Favour*, and not a *Debt*; promiſed to Them by the unmerited Goodneſs of a merciful God; and given to Them, as *Due* on Account of that Promiſe, and not for any thing done by Them previouſly to it. Certainly, were They themſelves, who are encompaſſed with ſuch Imperfections, and give daily proofs of ſuch Imprudences, made Judges in their own Caſe, and ſet to determine what Name They themſelves deſerve; whether the Name of *Meritorious*, or of *Unprofitable*, Servants; They would, with all Humility, acknowledge that the *Latter* Title was their due; and That, though They had, in the main, truly intended the *Service* and Honour of God, in the Courſe of their Actions, yet They had not always proſecuted their Deſign, or done their Duty, after ſuch a Manner as to deſerve any better Word, or Character.

3. The *Beſt Chriſtians* may, in no very improper Senſe, be called *Unprofitable Servants*, conſidered in Themſelves, and their own *Merits*; and juſtly be ſaid to have little Reaſon to boaſt of any thing They can do; becauſe They have received their whole *Capacity*, even of doing any Duty at all, from that *Maſter* himſelf, whom They *ſerve*.

If We carry our Thoughts back, and conſider our *Creation* only, We may truly ſay that *Almighty God* endowed us, at our firſt coming into Being, with all the Powers and Faculties we have; and gave us even the *Poſſibility* of ſerving Him: and if we have any Strength, by our original Frame, to do any good Actions, This very Power is the Gift of our *Creator* and *Maſter*. And, if We go farther, in our Thoughts, as *Chriſtians*, We ſhall find That God, after having given Us theſe Capacities of Good, did not ſtop here, but, in Mercy to Us, ſent his *Son* into the World, to make us freſh Offers of his Favour, and to promulgate the ſtrongeſt Motives and Arguments for the Performance of our *Duty*, which is his own *Service*; and that, in order to this, his *Holy Spirit* is repreſented, in the *Goſpel*, as procured by *Chriſt*; and given to the *Prayers* of thoſe *Chriſtians*, who duly and heartily aſk it.

If therefore, God communicated to us, at firſt, all the Powers and Faculties of Moral Agency, which We enjoy; and if the ſame God affords us all the Aſſiſtance in our Service to Him, which is proper and neceſſary for Us; with what *Right* can We ſet ſuch an immoderate Value upon our Services to *Him*, as cannot poſſibly be juſtified, unleſs We could evidently demonſtrate that our *Good Works* are altogether *Our own*, in this Senſe, *that We Ourſelves* were the Original

Framers of All the *Capacities* We are endowed with; and the Givers of all the *Powers* We find in our *Conſtitution*; which is the higheſt *Abſurdity*: and that God our great *Creator*, and *Chriſt* our merciful *Redeemer*, have no part in Them; which is the greateſt *Impiety*.

We find St. *Paul*, who, in that *Fooliſhneſs* of *Boaſting* which He excuſes from the *Provocation* of his *Enemies*, declares that *He had laboured* more abundantly than *All* the Other *Apoſtles*, ending his triumphant Speeches with Acknowledgments of what was due to the Aſſiſtance of God; and laying the Glory of his Labours at the Feet of his *great Maſter*. And, in Imitation of ſuch an *Example*, the *Beſt* of *Chriſtians*, who have been the moſt exemplary in all *Virtue* and *Goodneſs*, and the moſt abounding in all *the Fruits of the Spirit*, have been always found the moſt ready to refer the Glory and Praiſe of their well-ſpent Life to that *Lord*, who taught and led them; and to attribute the Succeſs of their Labours to a kind *Providence*, and to a *Conductor ſuperior* to Themſelves. Conſidering therefore, under whoſe Diſcipline, and Direction, Chriſtians act, in the *Service* of their Maſter; and to whom They owe the very *Capacity* and *Power* of acting at all, in that *Service*, They have too juſt Reaſon to ſpeak of Themſelves as *Unprofitable Servants*; and as utterly void of any *Claim* to *extraordinary Favours* from God, for having performed that *Duty*, which He himſelf gave them the *Power* of performing.

I have now done what I propoſed from the *Words* of the Text; and have ſhewn, I hope, That there is an indiſpenſable Obligation upon all *Chriſtians* to perform all that is commanded them in the *Goſpel*, and that when they have done all that is commanded them, They ought to confeſs and ſay, *We are Unprofitable Servants*: And laſtly, That on *ſeveral* Accounts They may truly be ſaid to be *Unprofitable Servants*.

I will now add an *Obſervation* or *Two*, not foreign to what I have been ſaying; and ſo conclude.

1. The Subject We have been treating, may naturally lead Us to a *Queſtion* which has been ſometimes aſked by Thoſe, who, I fear, are much more willing to know what is *not* their ſtrict Duty, than to practiſe what they *know* to be ſo: And that is, Whether any *Chriſtian* can do more than He is commanded, or, than it is his *ſtrict Duty*, to do?

To this, I think, it may be anſwered, That no Chriſtian can poſſibly do more, in the great Points of Moral *Duty*, rightly underſtood, which are the *Good Works* required in the *Goſpel*, than He is ſtrictly obliged to do; becauſe *Theſe Points* are always indiſpenſably neceſſary, and the Obligation to Duties never releaſed or abated: But that, in other Points, and theſe not diſpleaſing to God, which may be ſaid to belong to his Religious *Service*, as Circumſtances of it, a *Chriſtian* may do more than what is ſtrictly enjoined, as abſolutely neceſſary to his Salvation.

This may be the better underſtood from what St. *Paul* ſays of *Himſelf*; *viz.* That He choſe to preach the *Goſpel* to the *Corinthians* without any *Charge* to Them, in order to have a greater Influence, in the Exerciſe of his *Office*, amongſt Them; and that this was *more* than He was ſtrictly obliged to do. For it is plain that He (as well as all others) was obliged to do whatever He apprehended to be moſt for the Honour of God, and the Intereſt of his Goſpel: And yet it is alſo as plain, from his own Words, That, had He taken a Maintenance of Them, He could have juſtified Himſelf before God; and had ground for *boaſting*, that He did not. He expreſsly diſtinguiſhes between his ſtrict Obligation to preach the *Goſpel*; and the *Circumſtance* of preaching it without Charge to Them. —*Wo to Me, if I preach not the Goſpel.* This is my indiſpenſable *Duty*. But

whether

whether I ſhall take a *Maintenance* for doing this, or *not*; *This* is left free to Me: and I have choſen *not* to do it: This is the Ground of my Boaſting. 1 *Cor*. ix. 6, 19.

I might mention alſo what is written of the firſt Believers, that Thoſe amongſt them, who had Poſſeſſions, ſold them, and laid the Price at the Feet of the *Apoſtles*, to be diſtributed, in common, to All who wanted. It is evident, of Theſe Perſons, that They were ſtrictly obliged to the *Duty* of Charity to their *Brethren* in want: and yet, it is alſo plain that This particular *Behaviour* of Thoſe who voluntarily and honeſtly performed this *Service*, in ſo extraordinary a Manner, was *more* than was *commanded* Them by their great *Maſter*. Nay, it is declared, by St. *Peter*, *Acts* v. 4, that it was not their *ſtrict* Duty, but a Matter left to their own Choice. From whence it appears, that, in *this*, They did *more* than it was their ſtrict *Duty* to do.

2. From what has been ſaid may appear the abſurd *Vanity*, to ſay no worſe, of the *Romiſh Doctrine* of the *Merits* of the Beſt Works of any *Chriſtians*. Nay, the *Words* themſelves of the *Text*, without any *Comment*, are ſufficient to ſhew it. For, in *them* We are ſuppoſed *to have* actually *done all that is commanded Us*, and, in another Expreſſion, All that *it is our Duty to do*; which is the moſt favourable Suppoſition poſſible concerning the *Beſt* of Men: and, after all this, with ſuch a *Treaſure* of Good Works accompanying Us, We are taught and directed to ſay to our Judge, with our own Mouths, "*We are unprofitable Servants*." And how our utmoſt *Services*, imperfect and *unprofitable* as They are, can merit the immenſe Happineſs offered Us, in the *Goſpel*, it is impoſſible for the *Wit* of Man to prove.

3. From what has been ſaid, We may farther learn, not only the *Vanity*, but the *Wickedneſs*, of another *worſe* Doctrine of the ſame *Church*, which, (for fear, one would think, that Men ſhould not be careleſs enough in the great Affair of their own Salvation,) encourages Them in all Negligence, by pretending to *transfer* the *Superfluous Merits* of *Saints* (ſo called) to the Account of the greateſt *Sinners*; *that is*, to *give*, or perhaps *ſell*, the *Kingdom* of *Heaven* itſelf to the *Worſt* of Men, void of all *Good Works* of *their own*, for the Benefit of procuring Them a Quantity of ſuch *Good Works* as can be ſpared from the Stock of *Others*, according to this *Invention*.

You will, I hope, recollect, That the *Inſtances* I mentioned, from Scripture, of Good Men who have done more than their ſtrict Duty, related to the *Circumſtances* only of ſome Religious Duties; and not at all to what was *eſſential* to the *Duties* themſelves; or to any Branches of *Chriſtian Morality*: and obſerve from thence, That no Man, amongſt the moſt Perfect, was ever thought to have too many of ſuch *Good Works*; or, for Inſtance, was ever ſaid to be more *Charitable*, more *Temperate*, more *Pure*, more *Peaceable*, or more *Humble*, than the Dictates of Reaſon, and the *Commands* of God, rightly underſtood, made it his *Duty* to be. No Works of *Supererogation*, therefore, are to be found in *theſe*, or any of the *Moral* Virtues. And theſe being the only *Good Works*, of any Account, at the Great Day; No *Chriſtian*, who is deſtitute of them, *Himſelf*, can poſſibly be ſupplied by Others; becauſe, of *theſe* truly and neceſſary *Good Works*, the *Beſt* Man in the World, has *none* to ſpare; but rather juſtly fears he has not enough for *Himſelf*, and for the Security of his own eternal Intereſt. And as to any Miſtakes of *Ignorance*, or *Enthuſiaſm*; ſuch as the *Romantick Exceſſes* of Some, in the *Rigours* of *Abſtinence*, or the *Severities* of *Penances*, and the like; They may, by a good God, be *pardoned* to well-meaning Men; but can never be acceptable or pleaſing to Him. Conſequently, ſuch as theſe, though, in truth, *Works* of

Supererogation, yet cannot be thought, by any Man in his Senſes, to be the *Good Works* of the *Goſpel.* They may indeed be granted, or ſold, to Thoſe upon whom the Managers of ſuch Merchandiſe can impoſe. But it is impoſſible They ſhould do any real Service to thoſe deluded Men who depend upon Them, becauſe They are not the *Good Works* required of *Chriſtians*, as neceſſary to Salvation.

4. Laſtly, if, from what has been ſaid, We are truly Convinced of the *Neceſſity* of *Good Works*, as the indiſpenſable *Condition* of our future Happineſs; though not of their *Merit*, as the adequate Foundation of our Claim to it; Let this induce us not to be ſo incenſed againſt the *Doctrine* of the *Merit* of *Good Works*, as to avoid Them, for fear of being tainted by it; and not to dwell ſo much upon the *Merits* of *Chriſt*, as to forget the *Conditions* which he abſolutely requires at our Hands. For it may, I think, juſtly, be ſaid, That we had much better believe the *Merit* of *Good Works*, than have None at all to produce for Ourſelves at the laſt Day: And that it will be found a more pardonable Error, at that Time, not to have conſidered ſo much as We ought, the *Merits* of *Chriſt*, than to have neglected that *Obedience* to all his Commands, which He ſo ſtrictly requires of us, in his *Goſpel.*

May We all be ſenſible, both of what we owe to God, and to his Son *Jeſus Chriſt:* and alſo of the great *Work* We ourſelves have to do; that ſo We may do it, and be bleſſed in our Deed!

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The Nature of CHRIST's *Bleſſing.*

SERMON XX.

ACTS iii. 26.

God having raiſed up his Son Jeſus, ſent Him to bleſs You, in turning every one of you from his Iniquities.

THE Doctrine plainly delivered by St. *Peter*, in theſe Words, is this, That the *Bleſſing*, with which *Jeſus Chriſt* was ſent by his *Father* to bleſs the World, conſiſts in *turning Men from their Iniquities.* This I deſign to make the Subject of my following *Diſcourſe.* And, in order to give all the Light and Evidence I am able to this great and important Truth, I ſhall conſider it under theſe following *Propoſitions*; which will, I hope, form a ſtrong *Argument* in Support of it.

I. That the promiſed *Meſſiah* was to be the greateſt Inſtance poſſible of the *Love* of God to the World; and the Deſign of his coming, to bleſs Mankind with the moſt perfect Bleſſing which God could beſtow on Man, or Man receive from God.

II. That the greateſt *Bleſſing* Men are capable of, conſiſts, either, in never tranſgreſſing the *Laws* of *Virtue*; or, if they have unhappily tranſgreſſed, in their being *turned from their Iniquities*, to the Practice of all *Virtue* again.

III. That therefore, if *Jeſus* be the *Meſſiah*, as we believe Him to be, upon the ſtrongeſt Grounds; the great Deſign of his coming muſt be, to *turn* the

World from *their Iniquities*; to reſtore *Reaſon* and *Religion* to their rightful Authority over Mankind; and to make all Virtue, and true Goodneſs, flouriſh in the Earth.

I. That the promiſed *Meſſiah* was to be the greateſt Inſtance of the *Love* of God to the World; and the Deſign of his coming, to bleſs Mankind with the moſt perfect Bleſſing, which God could beſtow on *Man*, or *Man* receive from God.

This is ſo univerſally acknowledged by all, who either believe that the *Meſſiah* is already come, or have any Expectation of the Appearance of ſuch a Perſon; that it may juſtly be taken for granted, without any Injury to the preſent Argument.

The Deſcriptions of this great *Perſon*, from the Beginning of the World to the Appearance of Our *Bleſſed Lord*, were ſo framed, as firſt, to raiſe, and then, to ſtrengthen, this Notion in the Minds of Men. The Marks and Characters, by which He is deſcribed through the Books of the *Old Teſtament*; the Names, and Titles, and Attributes, beſtowed upon Him by the Mouths of the antient Prophets; the *Accounts* given, in the ſame *ſacred Writings*, of that *grand Revolution* which was to attend upon his Appearance in the World: *All* theſe conſpire to lead *Them* who receive thoſe Books, to look on the promiſed *Meſſiah*, as the moſt conſummate Bleſſing God could beſtow, or *Man* receive: and this, whether They believe *Jeſus* to be that *Meſſiah*, or not.

Accordingly, the *Unbelieving Jews* themſelves conſtantly maintained, and never could forſake, this certain and undoubted *Principle*, though they drew a falſe and fatal *Concluſion* from it; and ſo argued themſelves into *Infidelity* and *Ruine*. This they were ſure of, that, whatever it was, in which the chief Happineſs of Man conſiſted, *That* they might, and ought to, expect from their *Meſſiah*. But then, the great Evil was, that the whole Body of That which alone They eſteemed their *Religion*, was of ſo low and earthly a Nature; their *Notions* of higher Matters ſo totally corrupted; and their *Minds* and *Morals* ſo univerſally debauched; That, at the Time when our bleſſed *Lord* lived, They did not, or would not, know any *greater* Happineſs than what ariſes from *Riches*, *Honours*, *Pomp*, and *Luxury*; *Revenge* upon their temporal *Enemies*, and *Triumphs* over the *Adverſaries* of their worldly Greatneſs. And the *Conſequence* was this, That, ſince our bleſſed *Lord* appeared in a low and mean Condition, and was ſo far from flattering their *Pride*, or *Revenge*, or *Senſuality*, that all he did, and ſaid, manifeſtly oppoſed and condemned their moſt beloved Notions; *They* reſolved to reject him, and ſhut their Eyes againſt all the Evidence he brought along with Him. One of the *Principles* They went upon, could not be denied, *viz.* That the Deſign of God, in ſending the *Meſſiah* to his choſen People, was to bleſs *Them* with the greateſt Bleſſing They were capable of; which was the firſt Thing I propoſed. But the *Other* is moſt certainly falſe, *viz.* That the *chief Happineſs* of Man conſiſts in the Gratification of his *Appetites*, his *Pride*, or his *Revenge*: As will, I hope, be very evident from the *ſecond Propoſition* I laid down, which was This,

II. That the greateſt *Bleſſing* of which *Men* are capable, conſiſts, either, in never tranſgreſſing the *Laws* of *Virtue*; or, if they have unhappily tranſgreſſed Them, in their being *turned from their Iniquities*, to the Practice of *Virtue* again.

For the making ourſelves ſenſible of this, We are to conſider,

1. That *Man*, as a reaſonable Creature, has a *Principle* in him, interwoven with his very Nature, which is plainly deſigned to direct and adviſe his Practice

before Action; and to judge Him *after* it; which calls him back, when he is going aſtray; and reproves and reproaches Him when He has acted unreaſonably. And this is what we call *Reaſon*; or, which is the ſame Thing, *Conſcience*.

2. The next Step is, That the proper *Happineſs* of ſuch a *Being* as *Man* muſt conſiſt in acting agreeably to this *Reaſon*, or *Conſcience*. *This* follows from the *Former*. For if the *Author* of his Nature has made him ſo, that He finds within his own Breaſt a conſtant *Monitor* and *Director*, pointing out to *Him* his *Duty*; then certainly, this *Duty* muſt be his *Happineſs*; and the acting contrary to it, his *Miſery*. The ſame *Reaſon* which tells him the *firſt*, has *Power* enough to make him very ſenſible of the *Laſt*. For, as it is a Guide and Director *before*, ſo it is a ſevere Judge *after* Action: *Reflexion*, upon what a *Man* has done being the inſeparable Companion of his *Reaſon*.

What I would ſay, is almoſt ſelf-evident. A reaſonable *Being*, not acting reaſonably, muſt be miſerable at preſent, *before* his *Reaſon* be quite laid aſleep; becauſe it is his profeſſed Enemy, and a very powerful one: and He muſt be miſerable *afterwards*, becauſe his *Reaſon* can never die, and whenever it *wakes* (as it moſt certainly will) muſt be a very uneaſy Companion to Him. The *Happineſs* of *Men*, therefore, or of underſtanding Beings capable of *moral Agency*, muſt neceſſarily depend upon their acting according to the Rules of *Reaſon*: and the laſting Satisfaction of Creatures, endowed with *Reflexion* and *Conſcience*, muſt conſiſt in the behaving themſelves ſo, that *Reflexion* and *Conſcience* may not be armed againſt them. It is not *Riches*, or *Honours*, or any thing *without*, that can give a laſting Eaſe of *Mind*, which is *Happineſs*, to ſuch Beings; but *That* muſt always be founded upon ſomething *within* their own Breaſts. If they have not their own *Reaſon*, their *Boſom-friend*, they cannot be *happy*; and this They cannot have, without acting reaſonably: And if They have their own *Reaſon*, which is always preſent with them, their internal Enemy, They muſt be *miſerable*; and this They cannot but have, if they act *unreaſonably*. I proceed to obſerve,

3. That what the *Goſpel* calls *Sin*, and *Iniquity*, is, in every particular Inſtance of it, the Tranſgreſſion of the Laws of *Reaſon*; and that what is there called *Righteouſneſs* and *Holineſs*, is always, truly ſpeaking, *reaſonable*, and becoming. For, if that *Reaſon*, which diſtinguiſhes us from Beaſts, aſſures of any one thing, it aſſures us of this; That the *Imitation* of *God*, who is the moſt perfect underſtanding Nature, in all his moral Perfections, is what we ought to ſtudy. And this is what our *Bleſſed Lord* came to teach Men; to become the *Children of God*, by being (according to their Capacity) *perfect as he is perfect*, and *holy* as he is *holy*, and *merciful* as he is *merciful*; and in their whole *moral* Behaviour, as *like* to *Him* as poſſible.

What I mean is, that every Particular of thoſe *Moral Duties* which our *Saviour* and his *Apoſtles* lay ſo great a ſtreſs upon, has the Voice of *Reaſon* on its ſide; and *this*, not now and then, but conſtantly. There never was, nor ever can be, a Time ſuppoſed, when uncorrupted *Reaſon* does not determine that *Juſtice*, *Piety*, *Temperance*, *Chaſtity*, *Humility*, *Beneficence*, *Placability*, and the like, are what we ought to ſtudy and practiſe; and that *Injuſtice*, *Oppreſſion*, *Intemperance*, *Impurity*, *Pride*, *Unmercifulneſs*, *Revenge*, and the like, are what we ought to abhor, and fly from. And, what very much confirms the Truth of this, He who moſt attends to, cultivates, and improves, his *Reaſon*, is always moſt ſtrongly perſuaded of this: and None are found to be of the contrary Opinion, but Such as had firſt ſacrificed their *Reaſon* to their *Appetites*; Such as make their own Luſts and wordly *Affections* the Meaſure of their *Actions*, and aſk their *Paſſions* what is *reaſonable*. And thus, if we conſult our own Breaſts, we ſhall find the Matter to be, That this *inward Companion* never fails to applaud us every Step we take in the Paths of *Virtue*: and, on the other hand, till we have made ourſelves inſenſible, never fails, not only to warn and recall us, when we are going into the Paths of *Vice*; but, *after* we have tranſgreſſed the Laws of *Virtue*, to give us all the Uneaſineſs the *Reflexion* upon the greateſt Act of *Imprudence* can give an underſtanding Being.

And, even ſuppoſing it ſtrictly *poſſible* that conſidering Perſons might have learnt their *Duty* and their *Happineſs*, competently well, from this *Book* of *Reaſon* duly ſtudied; yet, with regard to the whole Body of Mankind, the *Beſt* not excepted, We ought always to eſteem it, as a moſt divine Part of the Deſign of our *Bleſſed Lord's* appearing in the World, to call upon Men in an extraordinary Manner, the more effectually to awaken Them to a due Senſe of what *Prejudice*, *Education*, and the *Temptations* of a wicked World, might, otherwiſe, too probably hide from their View. And now,

4. The plain and natural Conſequence from what has been ſaid is this, That *Sin* and *Iniquity* are the proper *Unhappineſs* of *Man*; and *Virtue* and *Goodneſs* his only laſting and ſubſtantial Happineſs. For, ſince Man is a Creature endowed with *Reaſon*, which directs and judges; acquits, or condemns Him; and therefore, cannot be *Happy* without the *Approbation*, and muſt be *miſerable* under the *Condemnation*, of it: And ſince what the *Goſpel* calls *Sin* and *Iniquity* is the Tranſgreſſion of the *Laws* of *Reaſon*, and ſtands condemned, and Righteouſneſs approved, in our own Breaſts; it follows, that *Iniquity* muſt lay the Foundation of *Miſery* in *Man*, becauſe it arms his *Reaſon* againſt him; and that the Practice of Virtue muſt be his only proper, or true, *Satisfaction*, becauſe it is what his own *Mind*, *that is*, He himſelf, never fails to recommend and applaud. I come now to the *Concluſion* of the Argument, which is the *Laſt* of the Propoſitions I laid down at the Beginning of this Diſcourſe: *viz.*

III. That, therefore, if *Jeſus* be the *Meſſiah*, as We juſtly believe, the great *Deſign* of his coming *muſt be to turn Us* from our Iniquities; to reſtore Reaſon and Religion to their rightful Authority over Mankind; and to make all Virtue and true Goodneſs flouriſh in the Earth.

For, ſuppoſing the Nature of *Man* to be ſuch as is before deſcribed; and his *Reaſon*, or *Conſcience*, to be the Judge of his Happineſs; and ſuppoſing Him to be working out *Miſery* for Himſelf, by tranſgreſſing the plain and expreſs Laws of his *Reaſon*, (which is too true;) *This* is the greateſt *Happineſs* he is capable of; abſolutely neceſſary to his inward *Peace*; and the only proper Method of *Salvation* to be wiſhed for by ſuch a *Being*. If there be any Force in all that has been ſaid, To *turn him from his Iniquity*, is to *turn* him from his *Miſery*; To *ſave him from his Sins*, is, to *ſave* him from his greateſt *Enemy*; To direct him to the Paths of *Virtue*, is to put him into a certain Method of being at *Peace* with his own Mind, which is *Himſelf*: And to lay the Foundation of his Happineſs upon this Rock, is to deal with *Man*, as *Man*; as a reaſonable and thinking Creature, who lives a few Hours in a World where every thing is uncertain but what he poſſeſſes *within* himſelf; and is haſtening to *Another* never-ending State, in which the good Temper of his own Soul muſt be the Meaſure of all the Happineſs He can hope for.

We may, then, very ſafely conclude, That no Deſign but *This* could have been ſo much for the Happineſs of *Man*; or ſo certain a Demonſtration of the

Love of *God* to Him; or ſo worthy of the great Undertaking of the *Meſſiah*, and of the Character he was to bear, of being the *greateſt Bleſſing* God could beſtow, or Man receive.

Nay, if We may have leave to make a *Suppoſition* ſo unbecoming, and yet ſo agreeable to *Jewiſh* Prejudices: If our *Lord* had come, on any other Errand; and appeared with all that Pomp of Majeſty the *Jews* expected: If He had confirmed *Them*, in all temporal Proſperity; led captive *Nations* in Triumph through their Streets; and made Them drunk with the Blood of their *Enemies*: If ſuch as theſe, I ſay, had been his Deſigns; the *Jews* of that Age (if they had argued aright) might have found ſtrong and reaſonable *Prejudices* againſt Him; and rejected him without that *Guilt* which They then brought themſelves under. For, truly ſpeaking, what a poor *Attempt* would *This* have been, and how ſmall an Advance to their true Happineſs! What a mighty Bleſſing would it have been to ſuch a Creature as *Man*, to be put in Poſſeſſion of all the Earthly Honour and Grandeur imaginable, to have lived a few Days in *Pomp* and *State*, and then gone off the *Stage*, not only with the more Unwillingneſs, but with a Mind quite unprepared for the Good things of *Another* State, in which no ſuch vain Appearances can have any Place! Or, to have been encompaſſed with all the *Riches* the greateſt *Luxury* could deſire, in a World from which He himſelf was ſoon to be ſeparated! Or, what great *Satisfaction* could it be, to *Him*, to ſee all his *Temporal Enemies* conquered; if He himſelf is ſubdued by *worſe* Enemies; and is that miſerable Slave, who is every Day doing thoſe things which He cannot but condemn himſelf for doing; and which arm his own Conſcience againſt Him?

Thus far, then, we have proceeded; and the Argument ſtands thus. The *Meſſiah* was to be the Author of the *Greateſt Bleſſing* Men are capable of. The *Greateſt Bleſſing* human Nature is capable of, conſiſts in the *Practice* of all that is good and virtuous. Therefore the great Deſign of the coming of *Jeſus Chriſt*, into the World, muſt be *to turn every one of Us from our Iniquities*, as St. *Peter* in the *Text* affirms.

I ſhall now make ſome *Obſervations*, and draw ſome *Inferences*, which ſeem naturally to offer themſelves from what has already been ſaid.

1. The *firſt* is, That our *Bleſſed Lord* himſelf, and his immediate Followers, give an Account of the *Nature* of his *Bleſſing*, exactly agreeable to what has been already argued, from the *Frame* of *Man*, and the *Voice* of *Reaſon*.

As for *Himſelf*; He profeſſed himſelf indeed, a *King*, by profeſſing himſelf the *Meſſiah*. But then, He took all Occaſions to avoid whatever might look as if He thought of erecting an *Earthly Kingdom*; and very ſeverely to rebuke his *Diſciples* for their groſs Notions of the *Nature* of his Deſign; and to aſſure them, before hand, that, inſtead of earthly Glory and Grandeur, He himſelf was to meet with Scorn, and Contempt, and Reproaches, and Death; and that *They* muſt not think to eſcape better than their *Maſter*. Agreeably to this, when he was accuſed before *Pilate*, He acknowledged, indeed, that He was that very *King* the *Jews* were taught to expect; but, at the ſame time, He ſolemnly profeſſed that *His Kingdom was not of this World*, (*John* xviii. 36.) And his whole *Life*, and *Doctrine*, ſpake the ſame thing.

And his *Apoſtles*, who were to preach the *Goſpel* of *His Kingdom* to all Nations; how carnal ſoever in their Apprehenſions of things They were, at firſt; as ſoon as He had opened their Eyes, and taught them the Truth, and poured forth his *Spirit* upon Them, we find Them ſo far from expecting worldly Pomp and Glory, as *his Diſciples*, that They looked for nothing but *Perſecution, Bonds, Impriſonment*, and even *Death* itſelf. And their *Notions* of their *Maſter's Kingdom* were ſo altered, that their conſtant *Declarations*, after his *Reſurrection*, were, That the great Deſign of the appearing of the Son of God was, *to deſtroy the Works of the Devil*, the great Adverſary to all Virtue; That the great End of the *Life*, and *Death*, and *Reſurrection*, of *Chriſt*, was to *teach* all Men *to deny Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent World*, as an abſolutely neceſſary Condition of their *future* Happineſs. Theſe, and the like Declarations, ſcattered through every *Page* of the *New Teſtament*, evidently ſhew, that neither our *Lord*, nor his *Apoſtles*, knew of any greater *Bleſſing* He was to beſtow upon *Men*, than the *turning them from their Iniquities*; and that *This* was really the *Bleſſing*, with which He was ſent by God to *bleſs* the World.

2. From what has been ſaid, it appears, that the *Jews*, who rejected our Lord, had but a very *ſlender* and weak Excuſe to make for this, from the Manner in which the *Prophets* ſpake of this great Perſon.

It cannot indeed, be denied that their Antient *Prophets* ſet forth the *Meſſiah* ſometimes in a moſt *lofty* and exalted Style; and repreſent *Him*, as a *King*, the Extent of whoſe *Kingdom*, ſhould be the whole Earth; and as a Prince, ſitting upon the *Throne* of *David*, with a *Sceptre*, and all the *Enſigns* of Royal Authority; veſted with ſufficient Power to deſtroy the Enemies of his People; and the like. But it is true alſo, that, in the ſame Prophets, there are ſo many *Paſſages* allowed to belong to the ſame Perſon, which either deſcribe his Kingdom as of quite another Nature than the *Kingdoms* of this World; or *Himſelf*, as a *Man* in a *low* and *ſuffering* Condition; that Many of the *Jews* themſelves were reduced to the *Neceſſity* of inventing *Two Meſſiahs*, to anſwer to theſe different *Deſcriptions*; when, by a due Conſideration, They might reaſonably have applied all to One and the ſame Perſon. And *this* They would naturally have done, if They had not been too much debauched in all their *Principles*, and *Practice*, to be diſpoſed to conſider either the Nature of God; or the Frame of Man, and the Dictates of the common *Voice* of their own Reaſon, in Matters of ſuch a Kind.

For Proof of this, it may be obſerved, That it would not have been very hard for ſerious Perſons to have accounted for all ſuch lofty and figurative *Deſcriptions* of their *Prophets*, after ſuch a Manner as this. There is a *Spiritual Kingdom*, as well as a *Temporal* one: And He who reigns in the Hearts of his Subjects is a *King* and *Lord*, as much as the greateſt *Potentate* on Earth: There are *Enemies* to the *Spiritual* and *Eternal* Happineſs of Man, as well as to his *preſent* Eaſe and Proſperity: And theſe are the ſame, with regard to the true and proper Happineſs of *Man*, that earthly Tyrants are, to his worldly Peace and Quiet: and *He*, who ſubdues theſe, and delivers us from them, is the ſame, with reſpect to our real and ſubſtantial Happineſs, as a *good Prince*, who reſcues us from the Tyrants of this World, is, with reſpect to all our temporal Enjoyments. And therefore, if their antient *Prophets*, in repreſenting the ſpiritual Kingdom of the *Meſſiah*, make uſe of *Words* which ſignify the greateſt *Bleſſing*, and *Glory*, in *ſenſible* Matters; if He be ſaid to have his *Throne* and his *Sceptre*; if the Enemies he is to ſubdue, are ſpoken of by the *Prophets* in the ſame *Terms* by which *Temporal Enemies* are deſcribed; if his redeeming us from their Power is repreſented by ſuch *Words*, as *Conqueſts*, *Victories*, and *Triumphs*; this is juſtified by the Uſe of very high *Figurative* Expreſſions, upon many Occaſions, in *all*, but eſpecially the *Eaſtern*, *Languages*; without the Thought that ſuch Expreſſions would be taken *literally*; or that Thoſe, who were moſt concerned in them, would not make uſe of their *Common Senſe*, in the Interpretation of Them. The *Jews* indeed knew this *Figurative Style* to be almoſt always the *Prophetic Style*; and not to be interpeted, in other Caſes, according to the *Letter*: and therefore, might have learned another, and a true, Doctrine from ſuch *Figures of Speech*. And this they were ſtill more directed to do, in the preſent Caſe, by many *plain Expreſſions* in ſeveral Paſſages of the *Prophets*, mixed with the *Lofty* and *Metaphorical* ones, and neceſſarily interpreting them: Such, I mean, as repreſented the Diſpenſation of their *Meſſiah* to have been deſigned *to make an End of Sin*, and *bring in everlaſting Righteouſneſs*; and ſuch as give *This* peculiar *Character* of *it*, that under it God would *write his Laws in the Hearts* of his *People*; and *remember their Sins no more*; and Others of the like Sort. All which is fully ſufficient to ſhew the Guilt of that Infidelity of the *Jews*, which was owing to their total and wilful Neglect of ſuch Conſiderations, as ought to have directed their Thoughts, and influenced their Conduct, upon this Occaſion.

3. It will not be improper to obſerve, That what has been ſaid may lead Us to the true Senſe of thoſe *Figurative* Expreſſions in the *New Teſtament*, relating to this ſame *Bleſſing* of the *Meſſiah*, which have cauſed great Variety of Sentiments and Debates. I mean particularly ſuch ſeemingly hard *Phraſes* as, *being born again*; *being created again to good Works*; *renewed in our Minds*; *putting off the old Man*, or *the whole Body of Sin*; and *putting on the new Man*, in all *Holineſs* and *Righteouſneſs*; being *dead* with *Chriſt unto Sin*, and *ariſing* again with *Him* to a *new Life*: and other extraordinary *Forms* of *Speech* to the ſame Purpoſe. All theſe are juſtly and truly explained by the plain *Phraſes* of *ceaſing from Sin*, and *learning to do Righteouſneſs*; and, in the Words before Us, by being turned *from our Iniquities to all Virtue*; by leading a *new Life* of habitual Holineſs: and ſet forth no other Doctrine than that *the Bleſſing* of the *Meſſiah* conſiſted in calling the World from their former cuſtomary *Sins*, to the *Practice* of all the *Duties* of *moral Righteouſneſs*.

4. From what has been ſaid may juſtly be concluded the *Preſumption* and *Iniquity* of that *Church*, which aſſumes to itſelf the Privilege of *bleſſing* Chriſtians in a way abſolutely contradictory to what is laid down in the *Text*, and other Places of the New Teſtament. What I mean is This. Our *Lord* and his *Apoſtles* declare his *Bleſſing* to conſiſt in the making Us happy, by *turning* Us from all our *Iniquities*. A Body of Men, calling themſelves *his Diſciples*, and even *his only Diſciples*, ſtand forth, and openly undertake and promiſe to *Sinners*, That *They* will *bleſs* and *ſave* them, *without* their being *turned from their Iniquities*; without *one* Mark of their *Converſion* through their paſt Lives; or one Mark of it, in their laſt Hours, unleſs it be a Declaration of their Sorrow. And *this*, which has no Relation to their *Converſion* from their *Iniquities* to a Courſe of *Righteouſneſs*, They profeſs to make *Equivalent* to a paſt good Life; and, by ſome Methods invented by themſelves, warrant the Arrival of their Diſciples at *Happineſs*, as effectually as if they had ſpent many Years in Obedience to the Laws of God. *This*, and the like *Doctrines* of *Indulgences*, and *Pardons*, for the Encouragement of *Sinners* in not *being turned from their Iniquities*, are ſuch manifeſt and direct Contradictions to the whole Tenor of our *Lord's* own *Declarations*, that there cannot be the leaſt Need of one Word to recommend ſuch *Blaſphemy* to the Abhorrence of all *Chriſtians*, beſides the bare Mention of them.

5. Others, who have ſeparated from ſo polluted a *Church*, may learn not to imitate, in the leaſt Degree, One of the worſt Practices in that Communion which they have forſaken. And how near to this *Preſumption* of the *Church* of *Rome* They come, who take upon them to adminiſter the Comforts of God's Mercy in *Chriſt*, under the Terrors of Death, to Thoſe who have willfully ſtood out againſt all the moſt powerful Motives to Amendment through their whole paſt Lives, let themſelves judge: but let Them firſt conſider how fatal to *Living Sinners* it may prove, to ſee ſuch Encouragement given to the *Hopes* of *Dying Ones*; and how naturally This muſt lead Thoſe who are Witneſſes to it, to think aſſuredly of *Salvation* and *Mercy* at laſt, without being *turned from their Iniquities* in any Part of their former Life. Who muſt anſwer for This great *Injury* to the *Goſpel*, and to the *Men* themſelves chiefly concerned, but *They*, who are at any Time guilty of proſtituting the *Doctrine* of *Salvation* from *Sin*, to the Service of *Sin* itſelf; and ſubſtitute a *Repentance*, which is only a *Sorrow*, and *Dread* of *Puniſhment*, into the Place of that *Repentance*, which is *Amendment* of Life; and which *alone* their Lord and Maſter declares to be acceptable?

6. Laſtly. Let this practical Argument be ever in our Minds. If this *turning of Us from our Iniquities* be the *Bleſſing* which Reaſon itſelf teaches us to expect from *Him*, who was to be the greateſt Inſtance of God's Mercy to *Sinners*; if This be what the *Jews* themſelves had Reaſon to look for, from their *Meſſiah*; if This be the ſerious and conſtant Declaration of our *Lord* himſelf, and the ſetled Doctrine of his *Apoſtles*; it follows moſt certainly, That *We* are not to hope for any *Bleſſing* from our *Saviour Jeſus*, the *Chriſt*, or *Meſſiah*, but as we are *turned from our Iniquities* to the Practice of all *Virtue*; That, without this indiſpenſable Condition, we have no Title to the Rewards promiſed by Him; nay, That againſt thoſe profeſſed *Chriſtians* who ſtill keep their *Iniquities*, the *Meſſiah* himſelf will pronounce the *Wrath* of God; *Depart from Me, ye Workers of Iniquity.*

The *Concluſion* of the whole, and the *Summ* of all that moſt nearly concerns Us, We muſt always remember to be This, *If we know theſe Things, happy are We* only, *if we do them.*

A PLAIN
ACCOUNT
OF
The NATURE and END
OF
The Sacrament of the *Lord's-Supper*.

IN WHICH

All the Texts in the New Teſtament, relating to it, are produced and explained;
and the Whole Doctrine about it, drawn from Them alone.

To which are added,

FORMS of PRAYER[a].

* * *

PREFACE.

IN the following *Treatiſe*, I have endeavoured to eſtabliſh and explain the true *Nature*, *End*, and *Effect*, of the *Sacrament* of the *Lord's Supper*. The *Subſtance* of it is What I preached, many Years ago, in ſeveral *Sermons*, when I had the Care of a *Pariſh* in *London*.

In that *Relation*, I thought it my Duty always to have a View to the particular Demands of Thoſe I was to inſtruct. Eſpecially, I eſteemed myſelf obliged to have a very peculiar Regard to the *Wants* of Some of the Beſt and moſt ſincere *Chriſtians*: whom I found often in danger of great Errors, or great Superſtition; and too commonly diſturbed and perplexed by ſuch Fears and Terrors, as indeed made their Deſire of being truly Religious, the Burthen and Miſery, inſtead of the Delight, of their Lives.

As therefore, for the ſake of *One* Sort of *Chriſtians*, I never ceaſed to inculcate the Neceſſity of Univerſal Obedience to the Will of God; that there might be no Hope left to Them of Acceptance, without This: So, for the Defence and Support of Others, in their ſincere Endeavours to pleaſe God againſt all thoſe uneaſy Impreſſions of *Superſtition*, which They had a Right to be freed from, I made it my Care to ſtate and explain the Commands peculiar to *Chriſtianity*, from the firſt Declarations of *Chriſt* himſelf, and his *Apoſtles*, in ſuch a manner, as that They might appear to Honeſt Minds to have as little Tendency to create Diſtreſs and Uneaſineſs, as They were deſigned, in their firſt Simplicity, to have. Amongſt theſe, I found that, in no one inſtance of *Chriſtian* Duty, there was more need of Aſſiſtance, than in this of their *Attendance* upon the *Lord's Supper*; which had been rendered very Uneaſy to Them by the *Notions* They had, by ſome means or other, embraced about it.

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[a] Theſe Forms of Prayer were promiſed in the *Biſhop's* Anſwer to Dr. *Snape's* Letter. See vol. II. p. 415.

What I then preached, not without ſome Succeſs, I now publiſh with the ſame honeſt Deſign of inſtructing Thoſe who want Inſtruction; and have no better at hand. I have thrown the Whole into a new Form; and made ſeveral Additions to what I firſt preached, in order to a more clear underſtanding of this Subject: and this, in ſuch a manner, that All who are concerned may, I hope, be led into the right way of judging about it. To this I have endeavoured to guide Them by directing and confining their *Attention* to all that is ſaid about this Duty by Thoſe, who alone had any *Authority* to declare the *Nature* of it: neither on one hand diminiſhing, nor on the other augmenting, what is declared by Them to belong to it.

It ought certainly to be far from the Thoughts of Every Chriſtian, to leſſen any *Privileges*, or undervalue any *Promiſes*, annexed by *Chriſt* to any Duty or Inſtitution of his Religion. It is an inexcuſable Fault wilfully to attempt it: and an inexcuſable Careleſſneſs to do it for want of Due Conſideration. It is indeed, a Fault, to which No Chriſtian can have the leaſt Temptation: All ſuch *Privileges* and *Promiſes* being of equal Comfort, and of Equal Importance, to all; and the Nature of them ſuch, as that no One can be ſo much his own Enemy, as not to be willing to find the Truth and Certainty of them, if He can.

But this, I think, may with Truth be ſaid, that an Error of this ſort, (ſhould it be ſuppoſed) does not *really hurt* any *Chriſtian*; nor alter the Effect of the Duty at all. GOD will certainly perform what he has *promiſed* to Every One who partakes of the *Lord's Supper* worthily, notwithſtanding that One Man may think He has promiſed leſs, than Another thinks He has. But on the other hand, to magnify the Meaning of *figurative* Expreſſions into *Certain Benefits* never ſpoken of *plainly* in other places; ſo as to annex to this *One Duty* ſuch *Bleſſings* and *Privileges* as belong only to the whole Syſtem of *Chriſtian Practice*, is an Error (ſuppoſing it one) of quite another Nature. It ſeems to me to pervert the Deſign of the Goſpel; as it leads Men to make Themſelves eaſy in the Performance of *This*, as diſtinct from *Thoſe Duties*, upon which our *Acquittance* at the Day of *Judgement* is conſtantly and uniformly put. It is apt to make Them expect what GOD has never promiſed: and, not reſting here, it tends to make Them negligent of thoſe great Matters of the *Goſpel*, without which He has declared None to be entitled to the *Promiſes* and *Privileges* of it.

If therefore, the Manner, in which I have choſen to treat this ſubject, ſhould appear to ſome to ſtand in need of any Apology; This is the only One I can perſuade Myſelf to make, That I have no Authority to add to the Words of *Chriſt*, and his *Apoſtles*, upon this Subject; nor to put any Meaning or Interpretation upon Thoſe Words, but what is agreeable to the *Common Rules* of *ſpeaking* in like Caſes, and to the declared Deſign of the *Inſtitution* itſelf: Nay, That it would be, in *Me*, a *ſinful Preſumption* to amuſe Chriſtians with greater and higher Expectations, than They, who alone can be depended on, as far as I can judge, have given them any reaſon to entertain. If I have arrived at the full Meaning of what our *Lord*, and his *Apoſtles*, have taught about it; I have what alone I ought to aim at: and it will be of little importance, from how many and how great Men I differ. This I can ſay with Truth, that, whenever

ever I differ from Them, I do it with a great Concern on my own part, and a great Reſpect towards Them: ſo far from being inclined to it, or pleaſed with it, that it would have been a *Pleaſure* to Me not to have found a neceſſity for doing it; and will now be a Satisfaction to Me to be ſet right in any Point, ſmall or great, in which I may have judged amiſs.

But how different ſoever from Mine, the Opinions of Any may be; through the ſtrength of a long Prepoſſeſſion, or of a Superior Judgement: yet certainly, All who (in the *Apoſtle's* phraſe) *love our* Lord Jeſus Chriſt *in ſincerity*; (or, as the word is, *in Incorruption*;) and who deſire to be no wiſer about *his* Appointments, than *He* himſelf was; and are content to expect no more from *his* Inſtitution, than *He* himſelf put into it; will join with Me, at leaſt in the one only Method of Examining into the Nature and Extent of it. And all ſuch perſons will be candid in judging *Another*, even ſuppoſing Him in an Error: when it is ſo plain in this Caſe, that Nothing could lead him into it but a ſincere Deſire that the *Doctrine* of *Chriſt* alone ſhould prevail, in a matter, which muſt depend upon *His* Will, as far as He has declared it; and can depend upon Nothing elſe.

In a word, I have here endeavoured to repreſent One of our Lord's *Inſtitutions*, in its original *Simplicity*. And if what I have done ſhall prove at all ſucceſsful in removing any *Error*, or *Superſtition*, from this part of *Chriſtianity*; I ſhall eſteem my Pains well beſtowed. The beſt *Preſervative* againſt the chief attempts of *Unbelievers*, I am perſuaded, is to ſhew the *Religion* of *Chriſt* to the World, as He left it: and the greateſt Service to *Chriſtianity*, is to remove from it whatever hinders it from being ſeen as it really is in itſelf. Nor can I think any time more truly *ſeaſonable* to guard againſt *Superſtition* of any ſort, than when *Infidelity* is making its Efforts: Which is ever ſeen to draw its main Strength from the Extravagancies and Weakneſſes of *Chriſtians*; and not from the Declarations of *Chriſt*, or his *Apoſtles*.

* * *

A PLAIN ACCOUNT, &c.

MY preſent Deſign is, to give as good Inſtructions as I can, to honeſt and well-diſpoſed Chriſtians, for the right Performance of that Duty, which is now generally called, *Receiving the Sacrament*: but, in the moſt antient Phraſe, was called *partaking of the Lord's Supper*. And, as what I am now writing is intended for Thoſe who have a ſincere Deſire of knowing what is their Duty, in this Caſe, in order to practiſe it in a Manner ſuitable to the original Deſign of it; and a Will to exerciſe, with all due Serioufneſs, their *Right* of judging for Themſelves in This, and all other Duties of *Religion* in which They are concerned: I ſhall endeavour to lay down what I have to ſay, in ſo plain and intelligible a Manner, that every Chriſtian, capable of thinking at all upon this Subject, may be able immediately to ſee whether it conveys to Him the true Notions of this *Duty*, left us by *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, or not; and ſo either receive it, or reject it, as He ſhall find Cauſe.

PROPOSITIONS.

I. The partaking of the *Lord's Supper* is not a Duty of itſelf; or a Duty apparent to Us from the Nature of Things; but a Duty made ſuch to *Chriſtians*, by the poſitive Inſtitution of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

My Meaning is not, That this particular Duty was inſtituted by *Chriſt*, without any previous *Reaſon* inducing Him to do it; but that without, or before His poſitive Inſtitution, no Reaſon could appear, to oblige *Chriſtians* to this particular Rite; and that there cannot be now Any Obligation upon Us to the conſcientious Obſervation of it, but from *His* Will, and *His* Inſtitution.

II. All *Poſitive Duties*, or Duties made ſuch by *Inſtitution* alone, depend entirely upon the Will and Declaration of the Perſon who inſtitutes or ordains them, with reſpect to the Real *Deſign* and *End* of them; and conſequently, to the due *Manner* of performing them.

For, there being no other Foundation for them, with regard to *Us*, but the Will of the *Inſtitutors*; this *Will* muſt of neceſſity be our Sole *Direction*, both as to our underſtanding their true Intent, and practiſing them accordingly: becauſe We can have no other Direction in this ſort of Duties, unleſs We will have recourſe to *Mere Invention*; which makes Them *Our Own* Inſtitutions, and not the *Inſtitutions* of *Thoſe* who firſt appointed them.

III. It is plain, therefore, that the *Nature*, the *Deſign*, and the Due *Manner* of partaking, of the *Lord's-Supper*, muſt of neceſſity depend upon what *Jeſus Chriſt*, who inſtituted it, hath declared about it.

This follows from the *two* foregoing *Propoſitions*. This Duty is made ſuch by *Chriſt's* Inſtitution only: *that is*, It is a *Poſitive* Duty, to which we are obliged by *his* Will alone. All Duties of this ſort cannot be known but from the Will of Thoſe who appoint them. And therefore, as *He* appointed this Duty, *His* Will alone is to Direct us in the Knowledge and Practice of it.

IV. It cannot be doubted, that He himſelf ſufficiently declared to his firſt and immediate Followers the whole of what He deſigned ſhould be underſtood by it, or implied in it.

For, this being a *poſitive Inſtitution* depending entirely upon *his* Will; and not deſigned to contain any thing in it, but what He himſelf ſhould pleaſe to affix to it; it muſt follow that He declared his Mind about it, fully and plainly: becauſe otherwiſe, He muſt be ſuppoſed to inſtitute a Duty, of which no one could have any notion without his Inſtitution; and at the ſame time not to inſtruct his Followers ſufficiently what that Duty was to be.

V. It is of ſmall Importance, therefore, to *Chriſtians*, to know what the many Writers upon this Subject, ſince the time of the *Evangeliſts* and *Apoſtles*, have affirmed. Much leſs can it be the Duty of *Chriſtians* to be guided by what Any Perſons, by their own Authority, or from their own Imaginations, may teach concerning this Duty.

The reaſon is plain: Becauſe in the matter of an *Inſtituted Duty*, (or a Duty made ſo by the poſitive Will of any Perſon) no one can be a Judge, but the *Inſtitutor* himſelf, of what He deſigned ſhould be contained in it; and becauſe, ſuppoſing Him not to have ſpoken his mind plainly about it, it is impoſſible that any other perſon, (to whom the *Inſtitutor* himſelf never revealed his deſign) ſhould make up that defect. All that is added, therefore, to Chriſt's Inſtitution, as a neceſſary part of it, ought to be eſteemed only as the *Invention* of Thoſe who add it: and the more there is added, (let it be done with never ſo much Solemnity, and never ſo great pretences to Authority) the leſs there is remaining of the Simplicity of the *Inſtitution*, as *Chriſt* himſelf left it.

I am the more ſolicitous to obſerve this, and to impreſs it upon the minds of *Chriſtians*, becauſe it is the only thing that can either prevent, or cure, the miſtakes and uneaſineſſes of Many ſincere *Chriſtians*, upon this Subject: it being very certain, that they are owing to the Accounts given of this Religious Duty, in many Books of Devotion; and not to the *Original Account* of it, laid down in the *New Teſtament*; and therefore, that nothing can remedy this Evil for the future, but perſuading *Chriſtians* to have recourſe to *Jeſus Chriſt*, and to Thoſe to whom He himſelf declared what his Deſign was in this *Inſtitution*.

VI. The *Paſſages* in the *New Teſtament*, which relate to this Duty, and They alone, are the Original Accounts of the *Nature* and *End* of this *Inſtitution*; and the only Authentick Declarations, upon which We of later ages can ſafely depend; being written by the Immediate Followers of our Lord; Thoſe who were Witneſſes themſelves to the *Inſtitution*; or were inſtructed in it, either by Thoſe who were ſo, or by *Chriſt* himſelf; and conſent in delivering down one and the ſame Account of this Religious Duty.

Whatever was truly neceſſary at firſt, towards a right Underſtanding of this *Inſtitution*, was without doubt contained in the firſt and earlieſt Accounts of it. Otherwiſe, It muſt be ſaid that the *very firſt* Chriſtians, who were called upon to perform this Duty, and who actually did perform it very frequently, were not fully inſtructed by the *Apoſtles* in it. Whatever is neceſſary for Us of *later* ages to know of this Duty, muſt be contained in the *Earlieſt Accounts* of It, tranſmitted to Us; Otherwiſe, it muſt be ſuppoſed that Thoſe who could beſt inform Us of the full Intent and End of It, were not permitted or enabled by Almighty God to do it; and that *their* Account of the *Inſtitution*, delivered down to Us, is imperfect, who alone had it in their Power to convey it to Us in the fulleſt and moſt perfect Manner. But theſe things cannot be conceived. The Writers of the *New Teſtament* being the Earlieſt of All upon this *Subject*, and the moſt certainly acquainted with it (whether they be conſidered as *Witneſſes* to the *Inſtitution* itſelf, or inſtructed by Thoſe who were ſo; or, as afterwards receiving what they taught from *Chriſt* himſelf;) muſt be the *Beſt*, or rather the *Only* Writers for us to depend upon. *Others* who followed, whether *ſooner* or *later*, have no pretences to the ſame regard from Us. A *very few* Years make a great alteration in Mens Notions, and Language, about ſuch Points of Religion. And the diſtance of *Many* Years makes a ſtill greater Alteration; whilſt Men of Various Opinions, and Strong Imaginations, are continually going on to comment

ment and enlarge upon ſuch Subjects. The *New Teſtament* therefore, in this Caſe, is alone to be depended on: from which We ought, with the greateſt care and honeſty, to take all our Notions of this Duty.

VII. The Writers of the *New Teſtament* give an Account of the *Inſtitution* of the *Lord's Supper*, in the following *Paſſages*; which, therefore, are *principally* to be regarded: *viz.*

St. Matth. xxvi. 26. *And as they were eating, Jeſus took bread, and bleſſed* it, *and brake* it, *and gave* it *to the Diſciples, and ſaid, Take, Eat; This is my Body.*

27. *And He took the Cup, and gave thanks, and gave* it *to them, ſaying, Drink ye all of it:*

28. *For this is my Blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for many, for the remiſſion of ſins.*

St. Mark xiv. 22. *And as They did eat, Jeſus took Bread, and bleſſed, and brake* it, *and gave to Them, and ſaid, Take, Eat; This is my Body.*

23. *And He took the Cup, and when He had given thanks, He gave* it *to them: and they all drank of it.*

24. *And He ſaid unto them, This is my Blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for many.*

St. Luke xxii. 19. *And he took Bread, and gave thanks, and brake* it, *and gave unto them, ſaying, This is my Body, which is given for you: This do in remembrance of me.*

20. *Likewiſe alſo the Cup, after Supper, ſaying, This Cup* is *the New Teſtament in my Blood, which is ſhed for you.*

St. *Paul*, upon Occaſion of the Indecent and Unchriſtian Behaviour of Some amongſt the *Corinthians*, at the time of their meeting together to partake of the *Lord's Supper*, lays before them, as the moſt effectual Cure of their Diſorders, the following Account of the *Original Inſtitution* of this Holy Rite.

1 *Cor.* xi. 23. *For I have received of the Lord, that which alſo I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jeſus, the ſame night, in which He was betrayed, took bread:*

24. *And when He had given thanks, he brake* it, *and ſaid, Take, Eat; This is my Body, which is broken for you: This do in remembrance of me.*

25. *After the ſame manner alſo,* He took *the Cup, when he had ſupped, ſaying, This Cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood: This do ye, as oft as ye drink* it, *in remembrance of me.*

After this the *Apoſtle* adds, as his own Obſervation drawn from the *Inſtitution* itſelf,

Ver. 26. *For as often as Ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, Ye do ſhew the Lord's death till He come.*

A few Remarks upon the Expreſſions made uſe of in theſe *Paſſages*, will be uſeful; in order to lead Us to their true Meaning, and to a Right Underſtanding of the *Duty* appointed in them.

1. In the Words of St. *Matthew*, here cited, in which it is ſaid of our Lord—*He took Bread, and bleſſed* it, the word *it*, (which perhaps may have been the occaſion of ſome groundleſs notions) is added by our *Tranſlators*, without any thing in the *Original* to anſwer to it, or to require it: for which They themſelves thought They had ſo little reaſon, that they did not add it to St. *Mark* xiv. 22, though the very ſame *Greek* Word is uſed by *Him*. If, inſtead of this, They

had added the word *GOD*; the Meaning of the *Evangeliſt* would have been truly expreſſed thus: Jeſus *having taken Bread*, and having *bleſſed* GOD, *brake it*, &c. That this is the one *natural* Senſe of the *Word* [εὐλογήσας] in this Place, is plain from the *Word* uſed by St. *Luke* and St. *Paul*, in their accounts of this *Inſtitution.* They *both*, after ſpeaking of our *Saviour's* having taken *Bread* into his Hands, add, εὐχαριςήσας, *having given thanks* [viz. to GOD] *He brake it*, &c. And all the *Four* now cited ſpake of the ſame *Action* of Our Lord, after the taking of the *Bread.* Since therefore, the *Word* which St. *Paul* and St. *Luke* uſe can ſignify nothing but *having given thanks* to GOD: and the *Word* uſed by St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* naturally and eaſily ſignifies the ſame: and ſince *both* the words [εὐλογήσας and εὐχαριςήσας] are applied and deſigned to ſignify one and the ſame particular Action of Our *Saviour*; it follows, that the *word* uſed by St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*, muſt ſignify *having bleſſed* GOD, in the Senſe of *giving thanks* and *praiſe* to Him; and not *having bleſſed* the *Bread*, in any other Senſe, but that of ſpeaking over it words of *Praiſe* and *Thankſgiving* to GOD.

Nay, St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* themſelves direct Us thus to interpret their own word, relating to the *Bread*, by their uſing the word [εὐχαριςήσας, i. e. *having given Thanks*] when They ſpeak of the *Cup*; the very ſame word which St. *Luke* and St. *Paul* uſe of the *Bread.* For no one, I ſuppoſe, will ſay that *Bleſſing* the *Bread*, in any Senſe different from what I have now laid down, was any more needful, or agreeable to our *Saviour's* Deſign; than doing the ſame to the *Cup*, which contained what He calls his *Blood:* or that any thing was to be conveyed to the *one*, which was not to the *other*. If therefore, this ſame Action of *bleſſing*, in ſpeaking of the Cup, is expreſſed, in St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*, by a word which can ſignify nothing but *giving praiſe and thanks*; this is an Argument that nothing more than this was implied in the Word *Bleſſing*, uſed of the *Bread*, by the ſame *Writers*. And indeed, ſo many *Manuſcripts* of good Note read this very word [εὐχαριςήσας], in this paſſage of St. *Matthew*, concerning the *Bread*, inſtead of [εὐλογήσας], that this latter word may well be thought to have been tranſplanted hither from St. *Mark*, by ſome of the *Tranſcribers.*

2. We cannot but obſerve the Different Expreſſions, made uſe of by theſe Different Writers, in this ſhort Account of the Words ſpoken by our Lord himſelf, in the very *Inſtitution* of this Rite.

Take, Eat, This is my Body, is all that St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* relate, as ſaid by our Lord, concerning the *Bread.* St. *Paul* and St. *Luke* are larger, *This is my Body which is given, (broken) for you:* and both add, *This do in remembrance of Me.* In the Account of the Cup, *Chriſt* is repreſented by St. *Mark* as ſaying, *This is my Blood, of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for Many:* St. *Matthew* adds, *for the remiſſion of Sins.* St. *Luke* expreſſes it, *This Cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood, which is ſhed for You.* St. *Paul* ſays the ſame: and adds, as our Saviour's own words, *This do ye, as oft as ye drink* it, *in remembrance of Me.* From this *Different* Manner of Expreſſion, it is evident that the *Apoſtles* and *Evangeliſts*, even in giving an Account of an *Inſtitution*, which depended entirely upon our Lord's own Declarations, and was to be a ſtanding Rite in the Chriſtian Church, were not ſuperſtitiouſly ſcrupulous in numbering his Words; nay, nor ſolicitous to relate the very Words, and thoſe only, which He made uſe of. Some record fewer Words, and ſome more: and all plainly think it ſufficient to repreſent exactly the *Intent* of the Whole.

It was enough to record theſe Words concerning the Bread, *Take, Eat, This is my Body*; at a time, when all Chriſtians could not but know, from the Mouths of the Apoſtles themſelves, that this Rite was to be continued in the Church as a Memorial of Chriſt. But St. *Luke's* and St. *Paul's* addition of theſe Other Words, as ſpoken by our *Saviour* upon the ſame occaſion, *This do in remembrance of me*; which Words St. *Paul* adds alſo to the *Inſtitution* of the *Cup*: This, I ſay, is of great uſe, to put that matter out of all doubt, in later ages. For, if This was appointed to be done in *remembrance* of Chriſt, *after* his Death, or, *after* his *Body* ſhould be broken, and his *Blood* ſhed; it follows that the *Inſtitution* was deſigned and ordained equally for all Ages of the Church, and for all *Chriſtians* in every *Age*. If to this We add the Practice of the *Corinthian Chriſtians*, who plainly thought Themſelves obliged to meet for this purpoſe; and St. *Paul's* Inſtructions already cited, with relation to the Original *Inſtitution* and Deſign of ſuch *Meetings*, the Truth of this will be ſtill more confirmed. For, in theſe, He is ſo far from permitting Them to lay aſide their Attendance upon the *Lord's Supper*; that He urges the Authority and End of the *Inſtitution* itſelf, as an argument for their attending upon it in ſuch manner as to anſwer that End: and indeed ſtrongly in words aſſerts our obligation to *ſhew the Death of* Chriſt, in this particular way, *till his coming again* to Judgement.

Again, with regard to the Cup; *Two of* Theſe Writers report the Words to have been, *This is my* Blood of *the New Teſtament*, or rather, *Covenant*. The *other Two* ſay, *This* Cup *is the* New Covenant *in my* Blood. Which of the two was the very Expreſſion, is of little importance: ſince They both (as will appear by and by) tend to the ſame End; and deſign the ſame thing. And in the mean while, theſe inconſiderable Differences in Expreſſion will furniſh Us with an argument that the *Apoſtles* and *Firſt Writers* did not underſtand the Words of the Inſtitution to relate to Chriſt's *Body* and *Blood* in a literal Senſe. For,

3. This is particularly to be obſerved, That the whole Tenor and Form of this *Inſtitution* is in the *Figurative* Way of Speaking; and that All Expreſſions in it, of the ſame ſort, ought to be underſtood in the ſame manner. For inſtance, The *Cup*, in the Words recorded by St. *Luke* and St. *Paul*, is allowed not to ſignify the *Cup*, but the *Wine* in the *Cup*. This *Wine* is allowed by all, not to be itſelf the *New Covenant*; nor to be changed (or tranſubſtantiated) into the *New Covenant*; but only to be the *Memorial* of the *New Covenant*. If, therefore, the *Cup*, in the words of the *Inſtitution*, be not the *Cup*; but the *Wine* in it: If the *Wine* in it be not itſelf the *New Covenant*; though declared to be ſo as expreſſly as the *Bread* is declared to be Chriſt's *Body*, or the *Wine* his *Blood*: it follows, by all the Rules of Interpretation, agreeably to the Way of ſpeaking throughout the Whole, that the *Bread* and *Wine* are not the Natural *Body* and *Blood*, of Chriſt, but the *Memorials* of his *Body* and *Blood*. To ſay the contrary, is to affirm that the ſame manner of Expreſſion, in the ſame ſhort Inſtitution of a Religious Rite, in *one* part of it muſt be interpreted *figuratively*, merely to avoid Abſurdities; and in *another* part of it, muſt be interpreted *literally*, notwithſtanding the greateſt heap of the ſame ſort of Abſurdities.

The truth is, Theſe *figurative* Expreſſions are not only what were then agreeable to the Expreſſions uſed amongſt the *Jews*; but what have been, and are ſtill, common to all Countries and all Languages: and uſed without ſcruple by all Speakers, in Every Caſe, in which the plain Abſurdity of a *literal* ſenſe is ſuppoſed to make it impoſſible for the Hearers to underſtand them literally. No Chriſtian in the World, Learned or Unlearned, ever thought that Our *Saviour* was a *Vine*, or a *Door*; though he expreſſly affirms Himſelf to be both. [*John* xv. 1. x. 7.] Nor could the Expreſſions now before Us ever have come to ſtand in need of This, or any other, Explication amongſt *Common Readers*; had not the *Teachers* in the Church of *Rome* endeavoured to throw a Cloud of Darkneſs over them. This made me think it not amiſs to put a plain and eaſy Argument into the Mouth of every Chriſtian of common ſenſe, taken from the *Inſtitution* itſelf: *viz.* That as what is ſaid about the *Cup* is acknowledged to be *figurative*; ſo what is ſaid of the *Bread* and *Wine*, in the ſame Inſtitution, muſt alſo be allowed to be ſo, by the ſame Rule of Interpretation: and that therefore, as the *Cup* containing the *Wine* is a *Memorial* only of the *New Covenant* in Chriſt's *Blood*, and not the *New Covenant* itſelf; ſo the *Bread* is the *Memorial* only of his *Body*, and the *Wine* the *Memorial* only of his *Blood*, and not his *Natural* Body and Blood. To remove all abſurd and ſuperſtitious Notions from this plain Inſtitution, is the firſt *Step* towards a Due Attendance upon it, in its original Simplicity.

4. From hence We may be led to the true Interpretation of all the Expreſſions made uſe of, in the ſeveral Apoſtolical Accounts of this Inſtitution. If We put them all together; and conſider them all as ſpoken by our Saviour Himſelf; the ſenſe of them may be thus expreſſed: "*Take*, and *Eat*, this "*Bread* now broken: which I call *my Body*, at this time conſidered by Me as "actually *given*, *broken*, and deprived of life for your good; though not yet "done, as You certainly know, who now ſee Me. But I now give you "this *Bread*, and call it my Body, in order to ſhew You that You are to "*take* and *eat* Bread, in this manner, after my Death; and to introduce "my Command to you, to *do this*; to *break and eat Bread*, in *remembrance* "of Me, and my of *Body* broken, after it ſhall be broken, and after I ſhall "be removed from You. In like manner, Drink ye All of this Cup, i. e. "of the *Wine* in it, which I now call my *Blood*, though I have not yet *ſhed* it; "in order to ſhew you that you are to drink of *Wine*, in this manner, in *re*"*membrance* of my *Blood*, after it ſhall be *ſhed* for your good, and the good of "Many others, whoſe Sins ſhall be forgiven according to the Terms of my "Goſpel. Upon this account, I now call this *Cup*, i. e. this *Wine*, *My blood of* "*the new Covenant*, as it is to be drunk by you hereafter in Remembrance of "my *Blood*, ſhed by me, in teſtimony to the Truth of All that I have declared "as the Will or *Covenant* of God; containing what He promiſes on *His* part, "and what He requires all Believers to undertake, on *their* part. And for the "ſame reaſon, I ſtile this *Cup*, or this *Wine*, *the New Covenant in my Blood*; "becauſe you are hereafter thus to drink *Wine* in a Religious Remembrance of "my *Blood*, in, or *through* which, after it ſhall be ſhed, this *New Covenant* will "be confirmed, as by a Seal or Teſtimony to the truth of It; in order to aſſure "You the more undoubtedly of the *Remiſſion* of your Sins, ſtipulated in that "*Covenant*, upon true Repentance and Amendment. When therefore, You "ſhall meet together, as my Diſciples, after I ſhall be taken from you, *Drink* "*ye all of Wine* for this purpoſe, Perform this Action of *drinking Wine*, in "Memory of my *Blood* thus ſhed for you: And, [b] As often as ye ſhall meet to "*drink* Wine, profeſſedly for This purpoſe; take care that ye always do it, "not as drinking at a common Meal, but in a Religious *remembrance* of *Me*." To return,

Theſe *Paſſages* from *Four* of the firſt Writers, which I have now ſet before the *Reader*, in their natural Meaning, are All the *Paſſages* in the *New Teſtament*, which give us an Account of the *Inſtitution* of the *Lord's Supper*. And

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certainly,

of the Apoſtles themſelves, that this Rite was to be continued in the Church as a Memorial of Chriſt. But St. *Luke's* and St. *Paul's* addition of theſe Other Words, as ſpoken by our *Saviour* upon the ſame occaſion, *This do in remembrance of me*; which Words St. *Paul* adds alſo to the *Inſtitution* of the *Cup*: This, I ſay, is of great uſe, to put that matter out of all doubt, in later ages. For, if This was appointed to be done in *remembrance* of Chriſt, *after* his Death, or, *after* his *Body* ſhould be broken, and his *Blood* ſhed; it follows that the *Inſtitution* was deſigned and ordained equally for all Ages of the Church, and for all *Chriſtians* in every *Age*. If to this We add the Practice of the *Corinthian Chriſtians*, who plainly thought Themſelves obliged to meet for this purpoſe; and St. *Paul's* Inſtructions already cited, with relation to the Original *Inſtitution* and Deſign of ſuch *Meetings*, the Truth of this will be ſtill more confirmed. For, in theſe, He is ſo far from permitting Them to lay aſide their Attendance upon the *Lord's Supper*; that He urges the Authority and End of the *Inſtitution* itſelf, as an argument for their attending upon it in ſuch manner as to anſwer that End: and indeed ſtrongly in words aſſerts our obligation to *ſhew the Death of* Chriſt, in this particular way, *till his coming again* to Judgement.

Again, with regard to the Cup; *Two of* Theſe Writers report the Words to have been, *This is my* Blood of *the New Teſtament*, or rather, *Covenant*. The *other Two* ſay, *This* Cup *is the* New Covenant *in my* Blood. Which of the two was the very Expreſſion, is of little importance: ſince They both (as will appear by and by) tend to the ſame End; and deſign the ſame thing. And in the mean while, theſe inconſiderable Differences in Expreſſion will furniſh Us with an argument that the *Apoſtles* and *Firſt Writers* did not underſtand the Words of the Inſtitution to relate to Chriſt's *Body* and *Blood* in a literal Senſe. For,

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Theſe *Paſſages* from *Four* of the firſt Writers, which I have now ſet before the *Reader*, in their natural Meaning, are All the *Paſſages* in the *New Teſtament*, which give us an Account of the *Inſtitution* of the *Lord's Supper*. And certainly, one cannot imagine any *Poſitive Inſtitution*, of greater plainneſs and ſimplicity. The *Original Account* of it, We ſee, (and We may be ſure, That is the beſt,) takes up but *two* or *three* ſmall *verſes*, in any One of the *Evangeliſts*; or in St. *Paul*, who had more occaſion, from the Abuſes of ſome Chriſtians, to enlarge upon it. Put the *four* ſeveral Accounts together; (though, in truth, they are only the ſame Hiſtory repeated four times;) They will, all united, hardly make up *a few pages* of the Leaſt of Thoſe many *Treatiſes*, which have been written upon this Subject, ſince the firſt ages; and Some of which have indeed, but too much helped to render *That* a matter of Intricacy and Terror, (and this chiefly to *honeſt Chriſtians*,) which their Maſter left in the greateſt plainneſs and ſimplicity. Let any ſincere Chriſtian, of the loweſt Underſtanding, judge, whether more regard ought not to be paid to our *Bleſſed Lord* himſelf, in a point which depended entirely upon *his* will, than to any of thoſe, who cannot pretend to have had their inſtructions immediately from Him; or, Whether it be not more *pious* (as well as more *reaſonable*,) to believe that our *Lord* himſelf declared His mind ſufficiently, about *his own* Inſtitution, to his own immediate Followers; than to imagine that He left it to be declared for Him, by Men who ſhould live, one hundred, or five hundred, or a thouſand, or near two thouſand Years, after the firſt *Inſtitution* of this Duty. I ſay not this to reflect upon any Well-meaning Writers, or any Men of ſincere piety: but merely becauſe ſo much of Superſtition and Terror has been infuſed into the Minds of Many Honeſt Chriſtians; that it is become highly proper, and indeed neceſſary, to put them in mind that the *Lord's Supper* is the *Inſtitution* of *Chriſt* himſelf, and not of Any of their *Fellow-Chriſtians*; and that they muſt ſeek, in *His* words, and the Declarations of his *Apoſtles*, for all that is contained in it, or can be neceſſary towards the due partaking of it. This being now laid down; and the *Paſſages* of the *New Teſtament*, relating to the *Inſtitution* of this Duty, having been before produced and explained; I proceed to Another Propoſition.

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VIII. It appears from theſe *Paſſages* that the End for which our Lord inſtituted this Duty, was the *Remembrance* of Himſelf; that the *Bread*, to be taken and eaten, was appointed to be the *Memorial* of his *Body* broken; and the *Wine* to be drunk, was ordained to be the *Memorial* of his *Blood* ſhed: Or, (according to the expreſs Words of St. *Paul*) That the One was to be eaten, and the Other to be drunk, in REMEMBRANCE of *Chriſt*; and this to be continued, until He, who was once *preſent* with his Diſciples, and is now *abſent*, ſhall *come again*.

This alone may furniſh even the unlearned Chriſtian with a ſhort but plain Argument, to prove the Abſurdity and Falſhood of the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, or Change of the *Bread* and *Wine* into the *Natural Body* and *Blood* of Chriſt; or of any *Bodily Preſence* of Chriſt in this Rite.

The doing any *Act*, in *remembrance* of a Perſon, implies his *Bodily Abſence*; and if He is corporally *preſent*, We are never ſaid, nor can We be ſaid, to *perform* that Action in order to *remember* Him. And therefore, it being declared, in the places before-mentioned, that the End of this *Inſtitution* was the *Remembrance* of Chriſt; it muſt follow from hence that to *eat* and *drink*, in the Lord's

Supper, muſt be, To *eat* and *drink* in a ſenſe conſiſtent with the Notion of this *Remembrance*: and therefore, that to ſuppoſe, or teach, that *Chriſtians* eat his *Real Natural Body*, in *remembrance* of his *Real Natural Body*; and drink his *Real Blood* in *remembrance* of his *Real Blood*; is to teach that They are to do Something, in order to *remember* Him, which at the ſame time ſuppoſes Him corporally *preſent*; and deſtroys the very notion of that *Remembrance*, and ſo directly contradicts the moſt important Words of the *Inſtitution* itſelf.

Add to this that St. *Paul*, from his own Account of the *Inſtitution*, delivered to the *Corinthians*, concludes expreſly that, *as oft as* Chriſtians *eat this Bread and drink this Cup*, They (He does not ſay, feed upon Chriſt now *corporally preſent*; but the contrary, They) *ſhew*, or *tell forth*, by theſe Actions, his *Death*, *till he come*: that is, until the time when He ſhall again be *corporally preſent* with Them. This ſtrongly implies the Belief of his *Bodily Abſence* to be even neceſſary to this *Duty*: and that his *Bodily Preſence* is utterly inconſiſtent with it; and whenever it ſhall be, will but an End to a *Rite*, inſtituted only for the *Remembrance* of him, during his *Abſence*. They therefore, who require Chriſtians to believe, that They feed, in the Lord's Supper, upon *Chriſt's* natural Body *preſent*, do in effect forbid them to eat this Bread in *remembrance* of his Body. Neither will They ſuffer them to ſhew forth *Chriſt's* death, *till* He ſhall come again and be *preſent*, whilſt They teach them that He is now *corporally preſent* with them.

The ſame may be ſaid of the Doctrine, taught by the ſame *Perſons*, of a Real *Sacrifice* of Chriſt's Body, offered by the Prieſt, in this Holy Ceremony: *viz.* That it contradicts the very *Words* of the *Inſtitution*; in which the *Remembrance* of an *Abſent Body* broken, not the *offering* of a *Preſent Body*, is declared to be the End of this Religious Action. I ſay, the very *Words*: for this is not left to be deduced by *Conſequences* drawn from *Scripture-words*; but declared in the *Words* themſelves.

Theſe *Arguments*, drawn from the great End of the *Inſtitution* itſelf, are more plain and Eaſy to Common Underſtandings, than Thoſe which are taken from the Abſolute Impoſſibility of the Thing itſelf: which, though They are ſtrong, and never to be truly anſwered; yet, give the Adverſaries a much greater opportunity of perplexing and confounding the Ignorant with diſputes about the Power of an *Almighty* GOD, and the Nature of *Body*. For, in the preſent Caſe, I hope, Every Common Underſtanding will ſee the Force of what I have been arguing from the *Words* of the *Inſtitution* itſelf: viz. "The Lord's Supper was "expreſly deſigned for the *Remembrance* of Chriſt, after He ſhould be taken "away: Therefore, Chriſt, who is to be *remembred*, cannot at the time of ſuch "*Remembrance* be corporally preſent." Again, "The *Bread* and *Wine* were "ordained for *Memorials* of his Body broken, and Blood ſhed, for us. Therefore, "his *Natural* Body and Blood muſt be *abſent*, in order to be *remembered* by means "of ſuch *Memorials*." And again, "They themſelves cannot be the *Memorials* "of themſelves, in this Rite. For nothing can be eaten, or drunk, in *remembrance* of itſelf. The contrary Notion is a plain Abſurdity. Therefore, It "cannot be the *Natural* Body and Blood of Chriſt which is eaten and drunk in "the *Lord's Supper*: but Something elſe, [*viz.* Bread and Wine] in *remembrance* "of Them." All this is founded upon the plain Notion of the word *Remembrance*, as uſed in this *Rite*: and this *Remembrance* is expreſly mentioned, in the original *Inſtitution*, by St. *Luke*; and more remarkably by St. *Paul*, as a part of the *Inſtitution*, received by Him from our Lord himſelf: and conſequently, it is this *Remembrance* which conſtitutes the very Nature of this *Holy Rite*. It cannot therefore, be an Offering, or Sacrificing, a *preſent Body*; becauſe This is not doing (as we are commanded) *One* thing, in order to *remember* and celebrate *Another*; but is in truth pretending to do a Thing, in *remembrance* of itſelf: which is an Abſurdity.

It ought to be remarked alſo that the phraſe of *Feeding* upon *Chriſt's Body* and *Blood*, and all like to it, when uſed by Thoſe who diſclaim the notion of eating his *Natural Body*, are very figurative Expreſſions; and not ſo peculiarly proper to this Rite, as Thoſe Expreſſions which ſtrictly preſerve that eſſential Notion of *Remembrance*, without which This part of *Chriſtian* ſervice ceaſes to be what it was deſigned to be by its Great Inſtitutor: And indeed, We ſo long only ſtrictly keep up to the *Original* Inſtitution, whilſt We conſider it as a *Rite* to be ſeriouſly performed in *remembrance* of an Abſent Saviour; and take the *Bread* and *Wine*, as *Memorials* of his *Body* broken, and his *Blood* ſhed; and not as the Things themſelves in *Remembrance* of which They were ordained to be received.

IX. Whoever therefore, in a ſerious and Religious ſenſe of his Relation to Chriſt, as his Diſciple, performs theſe Actions of *eating Bread* and *drinking Wine* in *remembrance* of *Chriſt*, as of a Perſon *corporally abſent* from his Diſciples, moſt certainly performs them agreeably to the End of the *Inſtitution* declared by Chriſt Himſelf, and his immediate Diſciples.

The Behaviour of our *Bleſſed Lord*, before his Crucifixion, whilſt he was alive and preſent with his Diſciples; I mean his taking *Bread* and *Wine*, and diſtributing Them to be eaten and drunk; and his adding this Direction, *Do this in* remembrance *of Me*; His declaring *One* to be deſigned by Him as a *Memorial of* his *Body* actually *given* and *broken*, and the *Other* to be a *Memorial* of his *Blood* actually *ſhed*; as the Words uſed exactly ſignify: This part, I ſay, of our Lord's Behaviour muſt relate to what His Diſciples were to do, *after* He ſhould be taken from them. They could not do the Actions here named, in *remembrance* of *Him*, whilſt He himſelf was corporally preſent with Them: nor in *remembrance* of any thing *done*, which was not then *done* and *paſt*. But after his *Death*, They could. For *then*, though not before, They could eat *Bread*, and drink *Wine*, in remembrance of his *Body* actually *given* and *broken*; and of his *Blood*, actually *ſhed* and *poured forth*, for the good of his Followers. This *Remembrance* of *Chriſt*, during the time of his *Bodily Abſence*, was by Himſelf and his Apoſtles, declared to be the *End* of this *Poſitive Inſtitution*. Thoſe ſincere Believers therefore, who *eat* and *drink* for this purpoſe, or, in *Remembrance* of Him, certainly do theſe actions agreeably to the *End* propoſed in it. On the contrary, I fear, it muſt follow that They who have attempted to introduce into this Rite, the *natural* Body and Blood of *Chriſt*; and a Real Sacrifice of a *preſent* Body; have not only endeavoured to introduce Endleſs *Abſurdities* into a plain Duty: but have preſumed to deſtroy, as far as they can, the Whole Nature and End of our *Lord's* own *Inſtitution*; and cannot be ſaid to celebrate the *Lord's Supper*, agreeably to the *Inſtitution*, in *remembrance* of Chriſt; but only to act over a *Ceremony* of their own Invention, and of quite another ſort.

X. There being *Other* Paſſages of the *New Teſtament*, beſides thoſe already cited, which *occaſionally* relate to this ſubject: It is of importance to all Chriſtians to conſider them: and to examine what farther Inſtructions They contain about this Holy Rite.

1. The firſt of thoſe I mean, is in 1 *Cor.* chap. x.

Ver. 16. *The Cup of Bleſſing, which We bleſs, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Chriſt? The Bread which We break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Chriſt?*

17. *For we being Many, are one Bread and one Body: for we are all Partakers of that One Bread.*

18. *Behold Iſrael after the Fleſh: Are not They which eat of the ſacrifices partakers of the Altar?*

19. *What ſay I then? That the Idol is Any thing, or that which is offered to Idols is Any Thing?*

20. *But* I ſay *that the things which the Gentiles ſacrifice, They ſacrifice to Devils, and not to God: and I would not that Ye ſhould have fellowſhip* (or Communion) *with Devils.*

21. *Ye cannot drink the Cup of the Lord, and the Cup of Devils. Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's Table, and of the Table of Devils.*

This whole *Paſſage* was occaſioned by the State of the *Corinthian* Chriſtians, with regard to the *Heathens* then all around them. And the *Intent* of it, I think, may be truly expreſſed in the following *Paraphraſe*. Ver. 16. “When We
“Chriſtians, in our Religious Aſſemblies, partake in common of the *Cup* of
“*Bleſſing*; or, *the Thankſgiving-cup*, the *Cup* [c] over which We ſpeak good
“Words of Praiſe and Thankſgiving to GOD; do We partake of this, as drink-
“ing *Wine* provided for an ordinary Entertainment? No certainly; but as Wine
“appointed to be a *Memorial* of the *Blood* of *Chriſt* ſhed for Us. Is it not there-
“fore, in its plain Deſign, the *Joint-partaking* (or *Communion*) of That which
“brings to *Remembrance*, and in his Inſtitution is called, his *Blood?* When in
“the ſame Solemnity We *break* and eat *Bread*, Is not this the *Joint-partaking*
“(or *Communion*) of That which is appointed for the remembrance of his *Body*,
“and is therefore by Him called, His *Body*; and not the Eating Bread as at an
“ordinary Meal [d]? Ver. 17. I ſay, The *JOINT-partaking*: For ſuch is the
“Nature of this Rite, that it is a Common *partaking* of Bread in an Aſſembly,
“and not the particular Action of every *Man* in private. And for this very

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[c] Thus the words, the *Cup of Bleſſing* [εὐλογίας] *which we bleſs* [ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν] appear to ſignify, beyond all reaſonable doubt. Our Bleſſed Lord's *giving thanks* over the *Bread*, at the *Inſtitution* of this *Rite*, is expreſſed by St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* by the ſame word [εὐλογήσας]. This *Cup* in the *Lord's Supper* anſwered to the *Cup* ſolemnly drunk at the *Paſchal Supper*, and called by the *Jews* the Cup of *Thankſgiving*, or the *Thankſgiving-cup*. And thus St. *Chryſoſtom* and *Theophylact*, (who both lived after much Ceremony and high Language were brought into this *Inſtitution*) interpret theſe Words of St. *Paul* to ſignify, “The *Cup* over which We give Praiſe and Thankſgiving to him who “poured out his Blood for Us, *&c.*”

[d] Dr. *Clarke*, in his *Expoſ.* of the *Ch. Cat.* p. 314. ſpeaking of the *Lord's Supper*, “We enlarge, *ſays He*, by “this Communion of Chriſtians, that ſacred Bond of Univerſal Love,—Charity. For, *the Bread which We break, is* “*it not the Communion of the Body of Chriſt?* the Communion of all the Members of Chriſt's Body, one with another?” Yes, certainly it is ſo. But when that *Great Man* gave this as the ſenſe of this particular Expreſſion in this place, He did not call to mind theſe Words immediately going before, in the ſame verſe, “*The Cup*—is it not the Com-“munion of the Blood of Chriſt?” From whence it is plain that St. *Paul* was here ſpeaking of the *Two* things, (the *Wine* and the *Bread*,) of which Chriſtians partake in this *Rite*. And therefore, though, in *other* paſſages, the whole *Body* of *Chriſtians* is called the *Body of Chriſt*; and though St. *Paul* here goes on to prove *Chriſtians* to be *One Body* from this *Social* partaking of *One* and the ſame *Bread*; yet, in *this* particular verſe, the *Body* of *Chriſt* no more ſignifies that *Society*, than the *Blood* of Chriſt does: no more indeed, than the Words, *My Body*, in the *Inſtitution* itſelf, can be ſuppoſed to ſignify, *My Society of Diſciples*. For St. *Paul* is not in this verſe ſpeaking of the *Body* of *Chriſt* (i. e. *Chriſtians*) *partaking* of the *Lord's Supper*; but of that *Body* of *Chriſt*, of which *Chriſtians partake*, in it.

“ reaſon, becauſe it is One Bread, or Loaf, of which We thus jointly partake in common, We, though many particular Perſons, do in effect by this declare ourſelves to be One Body or Society. *Or*, As the Eating Bread together is the uſual Symbol of *Union* in *Society* amongſt Men; ſo We, gathered together in One company, and partaking of the ſame Bread, acknowledge Ourſelves by this Act, to be One Body; and as Chriſtians, by this We declare Ourſelves and our *Fellow-Chriſtians One* ſociety, (diſtinct from the Body of the Heathen World,) devoted and ſubject to *Chriſt*, as our common *Head*. Ver. 18. In the ſame manner, amongſt the *Jews*, the Perſons, who eat Any part of what has been *ſacrificed* upon the *Altar* of the true God, by this Act, are ſuppoſed, and profeſs Themſelves, in effect, to partake of this Fleſh, not as at an Ordinary Meal, but as of *Fleſh* that has been offered upon the *Altar* of the *True God*; and conſequently, own Themſelves by This, to be *His* People, and Worſhipers of *Him*, in a peculiar Senſe, as truly as if they themſelves had offered this very Fleſh, as a Sacrifice, upon his *Altar*. Ver. 19. When I apply this to the *Heathens* around You, and the *Sacrifices* to their *Idols*, I do not mean to affirm that the *Idols* in their Temples, to which they offer *ſacrifice*, are any Real Beings; or that what They *ſacrifice* to Them is in truth, even after ſuch *ſacrifice*, at all different in itſelf from any other Common Fleſh; or that You may not, with regard to the True Nature of things, and to Your own Conſciences only, as lawfully and as innocently eat of this Fleſh thus ſacrificed, as of any other. Ver. 20. But this I ſay, That the *Heathens* themſelves certainly think of theſe Offerings, and intend them, as Sacrifices, (not to Nothing, but) to ſome Real Beings, to whom they imagine them to be acceptable. And ſince it is not to the *One* only ſupreme God, that theſe *Sacrifices* are made in their *Temples*; but profeſſedly to ſome *Inferior Beings*, or *Dæmons*, whom they thus honour as *Gods:* upon this account it is, that I would not that Ye ſhould be *Joint-partakers*, or appear to be *Communicants*, with the *Heathens* around you: by eating of thoſe things, in common with Them, which have been ſacrificed in Religious honour to Thoſe ſuppoſed *Dæmons*. For, though by this Action (as You think rightly about their *Idols*, and their *Sacrifices*,) You would mean Nothing but what is in itſelf innocent; Yet, You would appear to join publickly with Thoſe who really intend it as an Honour to ſome *Dæmon*, in derogation to the Worſhip of the *ſupreme God*; and, by eating with Them, will be ſuppoſed, in common conſtruction, to perform the ſame Religious honour to the ſame ſuppoſed Being; and will thus give Encouragement by your Example to their *Idolatry*.

“ This behaviour cannot be juſtified in You. Ver. 21. For You, who are Chriſtians, and therefore, are obliged to diſcourage Every Appearance of that Worſhip of *Dæmons* which *Chriſt* came to aboliſh, cannot, without a great crime, drink at the *Lord's Supper*, in remembrance of Chriſt's *Blood*; and drink alſo with the *Heathens*, of the *Cup* which They drink at their Feaſts in honour to their Falſe Gods. You cannot without guilt partake of the Lord's *Table*; by eating *Bread* in remembrance of Him; and by this action profeſſing Yourſelves His Diſciples, and in Fellowſhip with Him: and alſo partake of the *Tables* of theſe Falſe Gods, by eating of the *Sacrifices* offered to Them. You cannot be really the *Diſciples* of *Chriſt*, and of any of theſe *Falſe Gods*, at the ſame time. Nor can You perform One Religious Action in honour to *Him*; and another of the ſame kind, which (whatever your own Thoughts be) will appear to all around you to be performed in honour to the *Idols* of the

" Heathens without great Inconſiſtency, and very bad Conſequences from ſuch " a Behaviour."

The Apoſtle's argument in ſhort, is this. " By eating and drinking together, " at the *Lord's Table*, You pay a Religious Honour to *Chriſt*, by jointly partak- " ing of *Bread* and *Wine*, in a Religious Remembrance of *Him*, as your *Maſter*; " and by this Participation, in common with one another, profeſs yourſelves to " be One *Body*, under Him the One *Head*. Theſe very Actions of your *Religion*, " therefore, having plainly this Intent and Signification in them, make it utterly " abſurd and inexcuſable for You to perform the like Actions, underſtood to be " done in honour of thoſe Falſe Gods whoſe Worſhip He came to deſtroy; and " to join with the Heathens, in feaſting in their Temples, upon what has been " Sacrificed by Them in honour to theſe Falſe Gods."

I thought, it might be of uſe to be very careful in explaining the *Apoſtle's* Argument in this paſſage, becauſe it does not appear to have been rightly underſtood. Particularly, I find theſe Words—*The Cup—which we bleſs, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Chriſt? The Bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Chriſt?* interpreted by many Learned Men to ſignify a *Communion*, or partaking, of *all* the *Benefits* of *Chriſt's Body* broken, and *Blood* ſhed; A Point which, it ſeems to Me, St. *Paul* could not have in his Thoughts, as at all proper for his preſent Argument. On the contrary, I think, that the Words here made uſe of, cannot have this Signification; and that in this place particularly, St. *Paul's* Argument neither requires it, nor admits of it.

The *Greek* Word [κοινωνία] uſed by the Apoſtles, and the Word *Communion*, which is *Latin*, both ſignify a *Joint-partaking*, or a partaking of ſomething in *common* with Others of the ſame *Society*. And this *Joint-partaking* of Chriſt's *Body* and of Chriſt's *Blood*, can ſignify no more than *Eating* his *Body* and *Drinking* his *Blood*, as a Society of his *Diſciples*. So that if St. *Paul* had here made uſe of the very Expreſſions which our Lord uſed in the *Inſtitution* of this Rite, They would have appeared thus: When We *Chriſtians*, aſſembled in a Body, drink *Wine* at the Lord's Supper, Do we not *drink* the *Blood* of *Chriſt?* and when we eat *Bread*, Do we not *eat* the *Body* of *Chriſt?* And the meaning of this would plainly have been, that, in the Lord's Supper, we do not *eat* and *drink Bread* and *Wine*, as at an ordinary Meal; but as *Memorials* of the *Body* and *Blood* of *Chriſt*; in Honour to *Him*, as the *Head* of that *Body* of which We are all *Members*. And the very ſame Senſe ſeems the only Senſe in which the *Communion* or *Joint-partaking* of his *Body* and *Blood* can reaſonably be *here* underſtood.

If we obſerve the *Apoſtle's Deſign* in this Argument; it will appear that He had not the leaſt occaſion to ſpeak here of the *Benefits* of Chriſt's Death. His *Deſign* was to incite the *Corinthians* to *flee from Idolatry*, ch. x. 14, by ſhewing Them what a Crime it muſt be in a *Chriſtian*, to do (what was accounted) Honour to the Gods of the Heathens, by feaſting upon, and *partaking* of, their Sacrifices. In order to do this, it was not to his purpoſe to ſay, " By eating *Bread* " and drinking *Wine* in the *Lord's Supper*, You partake of all the *Benefits* of " *Chriſt's* Death; and therefore, You cannot eat of the Heathen Sacrifices." Neither do I ſee that this is any Argument at all to the Point in his View. But to ſay, " By eating *Bread* and drinking *Wine*, in the Lord's Supper, You " eat and drink, or partake of, *Bread* and *Wine*, not as at a Common Meal; but " of *Bread* and *Wine*, called The *Body* and *Blood* of *Chriſt*, in *remembrance* of " which They are appointed to be eaten and drunk: You perform this Reli- " gious Rite in honour to Him, and acknowledgment of Him for your Maſter: " Therefore, You cannot, without great abſurdity and guilt, appear to pay the

“ ſame ſort of Honour to any Falſe *Gods*, by feaſting, with their Votaries, upon “ their Sacrifices:” This, I ſay, is an Argument to his purpoſe; and proves all that He aimed at.

The ſame thing appears from the Argument the *Apoſtle* draws from the *Jews*: In which He cannot be ſuppoſed to have in his thoughts the *Benefits* to which they were entitled who offered the *Sacrifices* ſpoken of; becauſe this has nothing to do with his preſent Deſign; which was plainly to ſhew *Chriſtians* that it was a Crime, not only to offer *Sacrifices*, but to join with the *Heathens* in feaſting in their Temples, upon thoſe Sacrifices ſo offered, and ſo eaten, in Honour to ſome falſe God. For this He appeals to the *Jews*: amongſt whom, thoſe who *partake* of what had been *Sacrificed*, though not at the very *Altar*, nor offered by themſelves; yet are accounted *Partakers* of the *Altar* itſelf; or accounted to do an Act of Honour to their God, juſt as if Themſelves had offered theſe Sacrifices, and eaten at the *Altar* itſelf. The Concluſion is, “ So it muſt be with you *Chriſtians*, “ if you *feaſt* with the *Heathens* upon their *Sacrifices* in their Temples, though “ not offered by yourſelves.” But it quite alters the whole Intent of this, to repreſent the *Apoſtle* as arguing thus; “ The *Jews* partaking of the *Sacrifices*, “ partake of all the Benefits accruing to the *Offerers* themſelves: therefore, it will “ be the ſame with you in the Heathen *Feaſts*.” Nor can I ſee what Argument can be formed from this. For, in the laſt place,

Here is nothing to anſwer to theſe *Benefits*, in the oppoſition made, in the *Concluſion*, between the *Table* and *Cup* of the *Lord*, and the *Table* and *Cup* of the *Dæmons* worſhiped by the Heathens. *Ye cannot drink the Cup of the Lord, and the Cup of Devils: Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's Table, and of the Table of Devils.* This is the Concluſion of the *Apoſtle's* reaſoning. And this cannot poſſibly ſignify, “ Ye cannot be partakers of the *Benefits* of the *Lord's Table*, “ and of the *Benefits* of the *Table* of the *Heathen Deities*:” for no *Benefit* could poſſibly be ſuppoſed by Him to accrue from Theſe, even to the *Heathen-worſhipers* themſelves. But the Inference is, “ Ye cannot, without abſurdity and a Crime, “ feaſt in the Lord's *Supper* to the honour of *Chriſt*; and feaſt alſo with the “ *Heathens*, in their Temples, upon their *Sacrifices*.” Conſequently, when at the beginning of the *argument*, and to introduce only this *Concluſion*, He aſks, *The Cup—Is it not the Communion*, (or Joint-partaking) *of the* Blood *of* Chriſt? *The Bread—Is it not the Communion* (or Joint-partaking) *of the* Body *of* Chriſt? He muſt be ſuppoſed to mean, what alone was to his purpoſe, “ Is not our *Joint-partaking* of *Bread* and *Wine*, in the Lord's Supper, a Religious partaking of “ what are *Memorials* of Chriſt's *Body* and *Blood*; and a *Rite*, by which we “ profeſs to pay Honour to Chriſt as our Lord and Maſter?” For this was only in order to infer, “ If ſo, we ought not to feaſt with the *Heathens* upon “ their *Sacrifices*, or appear to pay the like honour to any *falſe God*.”

That this therefore, is the full meaning of the former part of this *paſſage*, appears from hence, That it cannot be ſuppoſed to contain in it, what has no relation to the *Concluſion* drawn from it. In this *Concluſion*, *viz. Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's Table, and of the Table of Devils*: it muſt be allowed that nothing is ſaid about theſe *Benefits*; becauſe otherwiſe, in the latter part of the Sentence, the *partaking* of the *Table* of *Dæmons*, muſt ſignify and imply that *Benefits* were conveyed, by ſuch participation, to their *Worſhipers*; which cannot be ſuppoſed. In the *Premiſes* therefore, which lead to this, it was not the *Apoſtle's* deſign to ſpeak of the *Benefits* accruing to *Communicants* by partaking of the Lord's *Supper*; but only of the ſignificancy of that *Rite*, as an act of *Religious* Honour paid by Chriſtians to their Maſter.

Add to this, that, in the former part of this *Paſſage*, the very word [κοινωνὸς] *Joint-partakers* (or *Communicants)* is made uſe of, with reſpect to *Devils* or *Dæmons*; and anſwers to the word [κοινωνία] *Communion*, or *Joint-partaking*, uſed before concerning the *Body* and *Blood* of *Chriſt*: *I would not that you ſhould have* Fellowſhip (or Communion) *with* Dæmons. The ſenſe of the whole *verſe* is plainly this: "The *Heathens* intend their Sacrifices to ſuppoſed *Dæmons*, and "not to the True God: And I would not have You, who are *Chriſtians*, partake "with Them of Any thing, which is intended to have Relation to the honour "of any *Falſe God*." How little ground therefore, is there for the *Remark* of ſome learned Men, That the word κοινωνία, *(Communion)* is uſed where the Inward or *Spiritual* part of the *Lord's Supper* is ſpoken of; and the word μετέχειν, *(Partaking)* afterwards uſed, where the *External* only is meant: When we ſee the word κοινωνοὶ, *(Communicants)* here uſed with regard to *Idols*; where no Spiritual part could be thought of! For the whole argument ſuppoſes an *Idol* to be a *Nothing*; and the *Chriſtians* concerned to have no Thought of receiving *Good* or *Hurt* from theſe *Idols*, or of paying real Honour to them; and yet forbids Them to *communicate* with the Worſhipers of them, by joining in that *External Act* of *Feaſting*, which appeared to tend to the honour of an *Idol* or Falſe God; and would be turned to an ill uſe by their *Heathen* Neighbours. And the ſame Words being uſed with regard to *Chriſt*, and theſe *Dæmons*, [κοινωνία and κοινωνοὶ, in one verſe; and μετέχειν in another;] it follows that *Communion*, and *Partaking*, which both ſignify, in this Paſſage, *a Partaking of ſomething in common with others*, are words of the ſame Signification in both Caſes: and that when the *Apoſtle* aſks of the *Cup* which Chriſtians drink, "Is it not the *Communion* of the "*Blood* of *Chriſt?*" in the firſt part of the Argument; He means no more than if He had ſaid, "Is it not the partaking of the *Cup* of the *Lord?*" as He expreſſes his *Concluſion*: and that when he aſks of the *Bread* which *Chriſtians* eat in their *Aſſemblies*, "Is it not the *Communion* of the *Body* of *Chriſt?*" He means no more than if He had aſked, "Is not the *Table* at which We eat this *Bread*, the "*Table* of the *Lord?*" as He calls it afterwards. In both places, the Streſs is laid upon the *Deſign* of the *Rite*, as performed in honour to *Chriſt*; and not upon the *Effect* of it upon the *Partakers*, or the *Benefits* accruing to Them. "You "in your Aſſemblies *eat Bread* and *drink Wine*, in a Religious Remembrance of "*Chriſt* your Maſter. And therefore, ought not to do the like Acts in a ſup-"poſed Honour to the Idols of the *Heathen*, whoſe Worſhip He came to deſtroy," is the Argument: And the Guilt of ſuch a Behaviour is the whole Ground of it.

Before I proceed, it ſeems worthy our Obſervation, that though St. *Paul* found occaſion to ſpeak here expreſly of *Offerings* and *Sacrifices* made to Idols; and of the *Altar* in the *Jewiſh* Temple; yet, when He comes to ſpeak of the *Lord's Supper*, He does not once repreſent the *Bread* and *Wine* as Things *offered*, or *ſacrificed* to God upon an *Altar*; (which He could not have avoided, had He had that Notion of them;) but, in the plaineſt words, ſpeaks of the *Cup of the Lord*, and of *the Table of the Lord*; and not of any *Altar*, or of any *Offering* of the *Bread* and *Wine*, or any *Sacrifice* made to God, as upon an *Altar*. And this, I think, will be found, a good Argument againſt the *Things* themſelves.

I know, it has been objected to this by *Learned Men*, of a contrary opinion, that in ſome places of the *Old Teſtament*, the *Altar* in the *Temple*, acknowledged to be ſo, and almoſt always called ſo, is yet itſelf called a *Table*; and that therefore, what St. *Paul* calls here a Table, may be an *Altar*, notwithſtanding this lower Name beſtowed upon it. But, ſuppoſing this to be true of the few *Paſſages* mentioned; the Argument drawn from it is of no force.

For an *Altar*, acknowledged and declared to be ſo, in its principal Uſes, but ſerving alſo in ſome other reſpects the uſes of a *Table*, may be juſtly ſometimes called a *Table*. But it cannot follow from hence that a *Table*, never plainly declared to ſerve any one purpoſe of an *Altar*, nor once called by that Name, may properly be thought or called ſo. And, as in the Caſe of what is called the *Jewiſh Altar*; had That itſelf always been called and declared to be a *Table*, for the purpoſes of eating and drinking; and no Uſes of it appointed which are the peculiar Uſes of an *Altar*; no man would ever have thought of it, under the Notion of an *Altar:* So let it be in the Caſe of the Chriſtian *Table*; which never was at firſt ſpoken of, but as a *Table*, and appointed for the Uſes of a *Table* only. The Jewiſh *Altar* therefore, having been always declared an *Altar*; and yet ſerving ſome purpoſes of a *Table*; might be ſometimes called by this name, without any derogation from its higher Title. But the *Table* uſed in the *Lord's Supper* having never been declared or called an *Altar*; nor appointed to ſerve any One peculiar purpoſe of an *Altar*, ought to retain its One only Original *Name*; and cannot properly be called by Any *Other*, which carries along with it an *Idea* of Uſes for which a *Table* was never deſigned.

If we go farther into the Argument, it will be of uſe to conſider, 1. What it was, under the *Jewiſh* Diſpenſation, that this *Table* anſwers to. And here, it is plain, that, as the Lord's *Supper* itſelf anſwers to, and takes its name from, the *Paſchal Supper*; ſo, the *Lord's Table* anſwers to the *Table* that was ſpread for the partaking of that Supper. That which anſwers, in the Chriſtian Diſpenſation, to the *Paſchal Lamb*, (which was an *Euchariſtical*, or Thankſgiving, *Sacrifice* offered to God,) is *Chriſt* Himſelf, offered by Himſelf upon the Croſs. Thus the *Apoſtle* ſays, *Chriſt our Paſſover* (i. e. *Chriſt*, who, in a figurative manner of ſpeaking, may be ſtyled *Our Paſchal Lamb) was* (or *has been*) *ſacrificed for us*, 1 *Cor*. v. 7. But the *Paſchal Supper* was diſtinct from the *Sacrifice* of the *Lamb*; and after it. To this alone it is that the Lord's *Supper* anſwers; which was made to conſiſt in eating and drinking *Bread* and *Wine*, in *remembrance* of that *Offering* once made by *Chriſt:* of which *Offering* itſelf it was impoſſible for *Chriſtians* to eat. And conſequently, as the *Lord's Supper* anſwers, not to the *Sacrifice* of the *Lamb*, but to the *Commemorative Supper* celebrated by the *Jews* after that *Sacrifice*; ſo, the *Lord's Table* does not come in the place of the *Altar*, on which the Lamb was *ſacrificed*; but of that *Table* upon which the *Paſchal Supper* was put, in order to be eaten, (with the Cup of *Bleſſing* or *Thankſgiving* which was no part of the foregoing *Sacrifice*,) in *Memory* of their *Great Deliverance* out of *Egypt*; and in their own Houſes, where there could be no thought of any *Altar*. Accordingly St. *Paul*, in his Account of the *Inſtitution*, (already produced and explained,) introduces our Lord, *after* the *Paſchal Supper*, requiring his Diſciples, in times to come, and as ſoon as his Suffering ſhould be over, (which then immediately followed,) to celebrate *Another* ſort of a *Feaſt* in honour to a greater Deliverance; by eating and drinking in a ſerious and thankful *remembrance* of Him: plainly ſubſtituting *this Supper*, and *this Table*, in the place of the *Jewiſh Supper* and the *Jewiſh Table*.

2. What I am arguing will be plainer ſtill, if we conſider what it was amongſt the *Heathens*, that the *Table* of the Lord anſwers to, throughout St. *Paul's* argument. There is mention indeed made, in the *former* part of it, of *their Sacrifices* in the Temples of their *Idols*; as well as of the *Jewiſh Sacrifices* to God, upon the *Altar* in their *Temple*. But the *Table* of the *Lord* is not once put in oppoſition to the *Altars*, upon which the *Heathen Sacrifices* were offered; but to thoſe *Tables* upon which, at a diſtance from the *Altars*, in other parts of their *Temples*,

ples, (nay, perhaps, at their own Houſes) their Entertainment was put; and at which their *Feaſt*, in honour to their *Idols*, was celebrated. One part of theſe feaſts conſiſted of ſomething which had been ſacrificed to their Idols; and that part which had not, was with the other intended to the ſame End: and the whole placed upon *Tables*. St. *Paul's* ſole End being therefore, to diſſuade the *Chriſtians* from partaking of theſe *Feaſts* with the *Heathens*; for which He urges the *Inconſiſtency* of their being partakers of the *Table* of the *Lord*, and of the *Tables* of *Dæmons*; in this Argument the *Table* of the *Lord* cannot be oppoſed to the *Altars* of thoſe *Dæmons*, but to thoſe *Tables* to which *Chriſtians* were inticed by their *Heathen* Neighbours: and therefore, muſt come under the ſame Notion of a *Table* properly ſo called, with thoſe *Tables* at which the *Heathens* feaſted.

3. The *Nature* and End of that *Inſtitution* in which the *Lord's Table* is uſed, ought to direct our *Thoughts* upon This, as well as all other *Points* relating to it. The *Inſtitution* is an Appointment of a *Rite* which is to conſiſt in *Eating* and *Drinking*, in *remembrance* of ſomething paſt; *viz.* of the *Body* of Chriſt broken, and his *Blood* ſhed, for the good of Mankind. There is no need of an *Altar*, for this ſort of *Commemorative* Eating and Drinking: neither is there any thing in the peculiar Notion of an *Altar*, that can be thought neceſſary to the doing theſe Actions, in *remembrance* of ſuch *paſt* Facts. The Actions themſelves, it is plain, are Actions belonging properly to a *Table*. And it is upon this Account only that a *Table* is at all uſed, becauſe it was, and is, the Cuſtom of moſt Countries to uſe a *Table* at their *Meals*, and *Feaſts*. If this had not been the Cuſtom at *Jeruſalem*, and at *Corinth*; we ſhould not have heard a Word even of a *Table* in this Rite: nor could the celebrated Diſpute have ever ariſen between *Table*, and *Altar*. And I preſume, No one of Common Underſtanding will ſay, that in thoſe Countries where all are known to eat their *Meals*, upon the *Floor*, or a Carpet ſpread upon it, the Lord's *Supper* would not be duly celebrated, without either *Table*, or *Altar*; or the leaſt reſemblance of either of them.

The only thing in the *Chriſtian Diſpenſation* which anſwers to any of the *Legal Sacrifices*, but indeed, is far more Excellent, in its nature and deſign, than them All, is the *Death* of *Chriſt*; that *Sacrifice* which he voluntarily made of His own Life, to his own, and his *Father's*, Love of Mankind. The only perſon who anſwers to any *Jewiſh Prieſt*, conſidered as a *Sacrificer*, is *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf, who offered himſelf up. The only thing which anſwers to the *Altar* upon which the *Sacrifices* were offered, is *that very Croſs* upon which Chriſt died. Now the Lord's *Supper* was inſtituted, not to offer up to God, in future times, what then was offered up; and what could not at that time, or at any other, be offered up, but by *Chriſt Himſelf*; who alone had power to do it: but to call to *Remembrance* a *Sacrifice* already offered; and the *Sacrificer*, who offered it Himſelf; and, by conſequence, the *Altar* (if We will call the Croſs ſo) upon which it was offered. This being ſo; and the very *Eſſence* of this *Inſtitution* being *Remembrance* of a paſt Tranſaction; and this *Remembrance* neceſſarily excluding the Corporal *preſence* of what is *remembered*: it follows that, as the only *Sacrifice*, and the only *Sacrificer* in the Chriſtian Diſpenſation, are *remembered*, and therefore not *preſent* in the *Lord's Supper*; ſo the only Chriſtian *Altar*, (the *Croſs* upon which Chriſt ſuffered) being alſo by conſequence to be *remembered*, it cannot be preſent in this *Rite*, becauſe that *preſence* would deſtroy the very Notion of this *Remembrance*.

Nor is the *figure* of an *Altar* more proper; not only becauſe the *figure* of an *Altar*, is no more a *real* Altar, than a *Table* is; but becauſe the *Lord's Supper* was not inſtituted, as a *Stage-play*, to act over our *Saviour's* Death; (which is an unworthy thought;) but as a *Rite*, for the *Remembrance* of his Death once paſt, and not to be repeated: And alſo, becauſe if it had been inſtituted for ſo low a purpoſe; the exact figure and poſture of his very *Croſs*, and not of an *Altar*, (with many Circumſtances not fit to be named,) would have had a juſt Claim to make a part in the Repreſentation.

Agreeably to all this, many of the *Greek Fathers* and *Commentators*, who lived ſome hundreds of years after the *Inſtitution* of the *Lord's Supper*, when by degrees the language had been altered; though Themſelves, amongſt Other high Words, often called this *Rite* a *Sacrifice*; yet They could not forbear ſometimes to correct this Expreſſion; and to declare, They did not mean a *Sacrifice*, properly ſpeaking, but only the *Remembrance* of a *Sacrifice*. Particularly St. *Chryſoſtom* Hom. xvii. in *Ep.* ad *Hebr.* after He had ſaid, ϑυσίαν ποιȣ̃μεν, He adds μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεϑα ϑυσίας: which is in effect to ſay, "I call it a "*Sacrifice*; but, indeed, It is not a *Sacrifice*, but the *Remembrance* of a *Sacri*"*fice*." And conſequently, No *Altar* can be neceſſary, or proper. For where there is no *Sacrifice*, but only the *Remembrance* of a *Sacrifice*; which ſuppoſes the *Sacrifice* to be *paſt* at another place: there can be no *Altar*; but only the *Remembrance* of that very *Altar*, upon which that *paſt Sacrifice* was offered.

This plain Argument, taken from the Notion of *Remembrance*, is very ſtrong againſt the Doctrine of an *Altar* maintained by thoſe of the *Romiſh* Church. "The *Sacrifice* of Chriſt's *Body*; the *Sacrificer*, and the *Altar* upon which it "was offered, are all to be *remembered* in this Rite: and therefore, ſuppoſed to "be *abſent*; not *preſent*." But whilſt They think of their *Prieſts* as *Sacrificers*, and as offering the *Sacrifice* (properly ſo called) of the very ſame *Body* and *Blood* of Chriſt, which He offered upon his *Croſs*: Whilſt, I ſay, they maintain this abſurdity, contrary to the Notion of a *Memorial*, as well as to the Nature of things; no wonder that They ſpeak ſo much of a *Real Altar* for this *Real Sacrifice*. And, indeed, let a *Popiſh Abſurdity* be never ſo monſtrous; yet it muſt be acknowledged that it is generally, in its ſeveral parts, *ſelf-conſiſtent*, and all of a piece. But for Thoſe who have diſavowed the *Abſurdity*, which alone could be the Ground of any Notion of an *Altar*, in this Rite, ſtill to be fond of the *Notion*, after They have parted with the *Ground* of it; is very hardly to be accounted for.

I ſhall only add That, (in perfect agreement with what I have now ſaid,) throughout the *Eſtabliſhed Rules* and *Authentick Rubricks* of our *Church*, whenever there is Occaſion to ſpeak upon this Subject, the Name conſtantly made uſe of, is the *Communion-table*; or ſimply, The *Table*; never *Altar*: which latter Name is carefully baniſhed from every Declaration of our Governours, in the laſt Setlements of this *Church*. To return,

From this *Paſſage* [1 Cor. x. 16.—21.] thus explained, the following *Propoſition* may be drawn:

XI. *Chriſtians*, meeting together for Religious Worſhip; and eating *Bread* and drinking *Wine*, in *Remembrance* of *Chriſt's Body* and *Blood*, and in honour to Him; do hereby publickly acknowledge Him to be their Maſter, and Themſelves to be His Diſciples: and, by doing this in an Aſſembly, own Themſelves, with all other Chriſtians, to be One *Body* or Society, under Him the Head, and conſequently, profeſs Themſelves to be under His Governance and Influence; to have *Communion* or Fellowſhip with *Him*, as *Head*, and with all their Chriſtian Brethren, as *Fellow-members* of that ſame *Body* of which He is the *Head.*

This indeed, all flows from, or is included in, the primary *End* of the *Inſtitution*, the *Remembrance* of our bleſſed Lord. For this ſerious and Religious *Remembrance* ſuppoſes a Belief in Him; and conſequently implies in it an acknowledgement of our being His Diſciples; that is, in other Words, Members of that *Body* of which He is the *Head:* and, as ſuch, obliged to all the *Duties*, and entitled, (unleſs We be wanting to Ourſelves in any one neceſſary Point,) to All the *Bleſſings* of ſuch a Relation.

2. The other *Paſſage* I muſt mention, is in 1 *Cor*. xi. ver. 20—34.

Ver. 20. *When you come together therefore, into one place,* This *is not to eat the Lord's Supper.*

21. *For in eating every one taketh before* other, *his Own Supper: and One is hungry, and Another is drunken.*

22. *What? have you not houſes to eat and to drink in? or deſpiſe ye the Church of God, and ſhame Them that have not? What ſhall I ſay to you? Shall I praiſe you in this? I praiſe* you *not.*

The *two* firſt of theſe Verſes ſet forth the Crime of Some of the *Corinthian* Chriſtians in this manner: *Ver*. 20. “When therefore, You come together, “profeſſing to *eat* and *drink* in *remembrance* of your Maſter; and at the ſame “time behave yourſelves indecently, as I have been informed you do: This, I “tell you plainly, is not to *eat the Lord's Supper*, as it ought to be eaten, ac-“cording to the Deſign of the Inſtitution: *Ver*. 21. For, as I hear, many of “you behave yourſelves rather as Perſons eating your own Suppers, to ſatisfy “and even indulge your own appetites: Thoſe of You who are able to provide “plentifully for themſelves, eating at that *Feaſt*, to which you join the *Lord's* “*Supper*, without waiting for their poor Brethren; and not like Perſons meet-“ing to partake of a *Common* Feaſt. And thus, in the moſt indecent manner, “the poor man, in this Aſſembly, is hungry without being ſatisfied; whilſt “Another who can ſupply Himſelf plentifully, feaſts himſelf even beyond due “bounds.”

For this Crime He reproves them ſeverely, *ver*. 22, thus: “Have ye not “Houſes of your own, for your ordinary Eating and Drinking? Or have you “no ſenſe that theſe Aſſemblies of Chriſtians come together for the Religious “purpoſe of *Eating* and *Drinking* in *remembrance* of their Maſter; and that the “*Place* where they meet for this good End is not the proper place for your Or-“dinary Meals; much leſs for your Exceſſes in Drinking? Do ye thus deſpiſe “the Church of God; the Aſſemblies of Chriſtians, and the [e] Place you at “this time profeſs to meet in, for religious, and not for common Purpoſes? and “thus put to Shame Thoſe of your poor Brethren, who are not able to make

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[e] This *Paſſage* does not imply that particular *Places* were at this time ſet apart, or conſecrated, to a Religious Uſe, ſo as to be entirely free from all the Common Uſes of Life: nor, indeed, was it poſſible, in thoſe early days, to follow any other Rule, than that of Meeting together by Agreement, in ſuch place, and at ſuch time of day, as might be moſt convenient for All, and moſt ſecure from Danger. It argues only, that Whatever place They agreed to meet in, though often changed: That this place, I ſay, at the time of their aſſembling in it for an *Act of Religion*, was not a proper place for their ordinary Meal, or their *feaſting* in order to ſatisfy and indulge their *Bodily Appetites.*

“ proviſion for Themſelves, by ſuch a Behaviour as ſeems to inſult their Po-
“ verty and Hunger in ſuch publick Meetings? Can I praiſe you for this? Far
“ from it. On the contrary, I condemn You, as acting inconſiſtently with the
“ *Original Inſtitution* of this Holy Rite; a true Account of which I will now
“ lay before you.” This is contained in the *three* following *verſes*, *viz.* 23, 24, 25, which I have already produced and explained, *p.* 848, *&c.* The *Apoſtle* then argues from this *Inſtitution*, Ver. 26. *For as often as ye eat THIS Bread, and drink THIS Cup, ye do ſhew the Lord's death till He come, That is,* “ From the
“ *Inſtitution* itſelf it is plain that the Deſign of your meeting to eat *this* Bread,
“ and to drink *this* Wine” (for upon *this* is the Streſs laid) “ is very unlike to
“ That of your meeting to eat and drink *Bread* and *Wine* in a Common way;
“ and is no other than the ſerious purpoſe of *ſhewing forth*, or keeping up the
“ *remembrance* of, the *death* of *Chriſt*, in this particular Manner, till He ſhall
“ return in glory.” After this, He goes on,

Ver. 27. *Wherefore, whoſoever ſhall eat* this *Bread and drink* this *Cup of the Lord UNWORTHILY, ſhall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.*

28. *But let a Man examine himſelf, and ſo let Him eat of* that *bread, and drink of* that *Cup.*

29. *For He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh Damnation to Himſelf, not diſcerning the Lord's Body.*

30. *For this Cauſe many are weak and ſickly amongſt you, and many ſleep.*

31. *For if we would judge Ourſelves, We ſhould not be judged.*

32. *But when We are judged, We are chaſtned of the Lord, that we ſhould not be condemned with the World.*

33. *Wherefore, my Brethren, when ye Come together to eat, tarry one for another.*

34. *And if any man hunger, let him eat at home.*

The plain Meaning of theſe Words, as directed to the *Corinthian Chriſtians*, whoſe *Sin* and *Indecency* were before ſpoken of, may be thus expreſſed:

Ver. 27. “ From the Nature and End of the *Inſtitution* of the *Lord's Supper*,
“ (here ſet forth) it follows, that Every one, who comes to this *Table* of the
“ *Lord*; and, inſtead of behaving Himſelf *worthily*, that is, ſuitably to the
“ good End of this Holy *Rite*; and, inſtead of a Serious performance of the
“ Actions of *Eating* and *Drinking* in *remembrance* of Chriſt his Maſter, eats and
“ drinks *unworthily*, or in a Manner *unſuitable* to the Deſign of this *Inſtitution*;
“ behaving Himſelf as at a Common Meal, or, as if this were only the *Con-*
“ *tinuation* of a *Foregoing Entertainment*; and even without obſerving the Rules
“ of Temperance: Every ſuch profeſſed Chriſtian, is guilty of an High Offence
“ and Indignity againſt the very *Body* and *Blood* of *Chriſt*, of which this *Bread*
“ and this *Wine* are Memorials; and which He pretends and profeſſes to *re-*
“ *member* by this *Eating* and *Drinking*.”

Ver. 28. “ On the contrary, Inſtead of this *unchriſtian* Behaviour, Let Every
“ one of you *examine* Himſelf; enter into, and try Himſelf, by conſidering the
“ original *Inſtitution* of this *Rite*: and by that *Examination* let him be led to per-
“ form theſe actions of *eating* and *drinking*, SO, that is, in *ſuch* a manner, as is
“ plainly implied in the Nature of that *Inſtitution* itſelf.” [The words do not appear to Me to ſignify, “ *Let a Man examine himſelf, and* then *let him eat*,” as they ſeem to do at firſt reading, in *Engliſh*: but, “ Let a Man examine Himſelf,
“ and let Him eat SO,” or in *ſuch a manner*, as is here laid down, *viz.* a manner ſuitable to the Inſtitution. That the word [οὕτως] SO, joined to *And*, often ſignifies, *in this manner*, appears from the uſe of it in many other places; and that

it does ſo here particularly, appears from the connexion of this with the next *verſe*: which begins with *For*, and gives a reaſon for the Direction laid down in this *verſe*. *Let him eat* SO, or in ſuch a manner as is before laid down, *ſuitably* to the Inſtitution, that is, *worthily*: *For* He that eats and drinks in another manner, or *unworthily*, eats and drinks *Condemnation*, &c. which reaſon will have the leſs force, if the Meaning of SO, in the foregoing verſe, be not, *in ſuch a manner* as is ſuitable to the *Inſtitution*. This is not to inſinuate that the *Examination* here recommended was not deſigned to go *before* the partaking of the *Lord's Supper*: for it is evident, it was. Nor does this *Interpretation* imply it, any more than the *Common* One. For ſuppoſing the Words be rendered, "*Let a Man examine himſelf, and ſo* (or then) *let him eat*," &c. the word *Examine* is the ſame in both *Verſions*; and muſt ſignify the ſame *Trial* of a Man's own diſpoſition, framed upon the *Nature* of the *Inſtitution*: which is to direct Him in the ſerious manner of performing this Duty. But I think, the following verſe is not ſo well connected to this, according to the *latter* of theſe ſenſes; as it is according to the *former*.]

The word rendered *Examine*, ſignifies alſo *approving* after Trial and *Examination*: and, agreeably to this, the Direction may be, "Let every one of you approve Himſelf, in this Caſe, to his own Conſcience; as one regarding the *Inſtitution* and Deſign of the *Lord's Supper*; and let him eat and drink SO, that is, in ſuch a Manner, as becomes that Deſign." And this fuller Senſe of the word ſeems the more proper here, becauſe of what follows about *Condemnation*: which is a *Word* directly oppoſed to this of *Approving*.

The Apoſtle goes on thus, *ver*. 29. "I ſay, Let a Man *try* and *approve* Himſelf; and perform this part of his Religious Duty ſuitably to the Deſign of it, the *Remembrance* of Chriſt: becauſe great will be his Offence, if He wilfully performs it in a *contrary* way; or, in a manner plainly *unworthy* of the *Inſtitution*. For He that *eateth* and *drinketh*, as ſome of you have done, *unworthily*; that is, unſuitably to that Deſign; and in a manner utterly inconſiſtent with it: *not diſcerning the Lord's Body*; that is, not conſidering *this Bread* as the *Memorial* of his *Body*; not making a ſufficient Difference between *this Bread*, eaten at the *Lord's Supper*, in memory of *Him*, and a *Common Meal*, even intemperately taken: He that acts thus, *eats* and *drinks Damnation, Condemnation*, or *Judgement*, to Himſelf; whilſt he profeſſes and pretends to meet his Fellow-chriſtians at the *Lord's* Table, and at the ſame time behaves himſelf, as at no other than a Common Table; nay, even with Intemperance and Indecency: and by this lays Himſelf juſtly open to the Diſpleaſure of Almighty GOD, *ver*. 30. As you may in part ſee, from the Effects of this *Intemperance*, and the Tokens of GOD's Diſpleaſure now amongſt You. For you have impaired the health of your Bodies. Sickneſs and even Death are come amongſt you by the Righteous Providence of God. *Ver*. 31. For this is the Rule in ſuch Caſes. If We would call ourſelves to account, and judge and condemn what is Evil in Ourſelves, ſo effectually as to forſake it; We ſhould not then be condemned, or puniſhed by God. And when we ſee ſuch Afflictions amongſt Us, We ought, before it be too late, to conſider Them as Chaſtiſements from the Hand of God, in order to our Amendment; and deſigned for this good End, that We ſhould not finally be condemned with the Wicked part of the World."

Ver. 33. "Upon theſe accounts, my Brethren, when You are to meet together profeſſedly to *eat* at the *Lord's Table*, in remembrance of your *Maſter*, Wait with Patience for one another, till a good Number be aſſembled: and then,

“ perform this Religious Rite with all Decency, as a joint Body of Brethren,
“ equally related to Chriſt and entitled to his Favour; and not diſtinguiſhed
“ from one another, in this Religious Action, by any Outward Circumſtances of
“ Riches, or Poverty; Plenty, or Want. *Ver.* 34. But if any of You propoſe to
“ *eat* upon another account; to ſatisfy your bodily appetites, and the Cravings of
“ Hunger; This is not the Place for it, where you aſſemble in a Body, for a Religious
“ Purpoſe: but the proper Place to ſatisfy Any perſon's hunger in, is
“ his own private Houſe, where He may do it without Diſorder, Indecency, or
“ Shame to Any of his poor and hungry Brethren.”

From the whole of this put together We may ſee clearly, That the ill Behaviour of the *Corinthians* was occaſioned by their joining the *Lord's* Supper to a *Meal,* or preceding *Entertainment,* of quite another Sort; in which they both ate and drank to pleaſe their Appetites, in ſuch a manner as to diſtinguiſh Themſelves from their poor and needy Brethren; and to render Themſelves unfit to partake afterwards of the *Lord's Supper* in a *worthy* manner: And that the *Apoſtle's* main Deſign was, *firſt* to ſhew them the proper manner of performing that *Duty* of their *Religion,* for which they profeſſedly aſſembled: and *then* to perſuade them rather entirely to leave off theſe Feaſts, at their Aſſemblies; and to eat and drink for the common Uſes of Life, at their own Houſes; than to go on in ſo indecent and inexcuſable a Behaviour, at a Time, and in Places, when and where They met together, as *Chriſtian Brethren,* for the purpoſes of their Holy Religion. And this He does, in the moſt effectual manner, from the *Time,* the *Words,* and the *Deſign,* of the *Inſtitution* of this Rite: which the *Apoſtle* plainly repreſents as a *Rite* wholly diſtinct from the *Paſchal Supper*; inſtituted by our *Lord,* not *during* that *Supper,* but *after* it; and *deſigned* peculiarly for the Direction of his Followers in that one particular manner of religiouſly commemorating His Death till his coming again. From hence it is, that the *Apoſtle* draws all that He ſays, in order to convince Them of their ill Behaviour; and of the Neceſſity of a better Practice: inſtructing Them, in this eaſy way, That the *Lord's Supper* had no natural Connexion, or Relation, to any Other *Feaſt,* or Entertainment for the Satisfaction of their Bodily Appetites; that this End was to be anſwered better by eating and drinking in their own private Houſes; and that it was their Duty to conſider the *Lord's Supper,* as a *Religious Rite,* of a very different nature from their *Common Feaſts*; and a *Rite,* at which Their Behaviour ought to be ſuch as was ſuitable to the good and ſerious *End* it was deſigned for.

Theſe were the Leſſons St. *Paul* choſe to draw from the *Inſtitution* itſelf, for the peculiar Uſe of the *Corinthian Chriſtians,* in the *firſt* Age of the *Goſpel.* I ſhall now, from this *Whole Paſſage,* thus explained, draw a few *Propoſitions,* for the Uſe of *Chriſtians* in theſe *later* Ages of it.

XII. The *Examination* here mentioned by St. *Paul,* as regarding the *Lord's Supper,* is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, a Chriſtian's *Examination* of his own Heart and Diſpoſition, by the *Inſtitution* of this Holy Rite, in order to aſſure Himſelf that He comes to the *Lord's Supper,* and will behave Himſelf at it, not as a Common Meal, or an ordinary Eating and Drinking; but as a particular *Rite* appointed by Chriſt: *viz.* That He comes to it, in order to eat *this* Bread and drink *this* Wine, in a Serious and Religious *remembrance* of *Him,* and of his *Death.*

The mention made here of *Examination*, was entirely owing to this, that Some of the *Corinthian Chriſtians* had deviated, in their practice, from the *Inſtitution* of *Chriſt*; and behaved Themſelves ſo intemperately and indecently, as to make no Diſtinction between the *eating* and *drinking* in memory of their *Maſter*; and their eating and drinking indecently at a Common Meal. When therefore, Any ſincere and ſerious Believer in *Chriſt* has *approved* Himſelf to his own Conſcience in *this* Particular, that He comes to the *Lord's Supper*, as *His* Diſciple, with a Temper and Deſign *ſuitable* to the only *End* of its *Inſtitution*; He may be certain that He has *Examined* Himſelf in that Senſe, in which alone the Apoſtle has recommended this Duty, with regard to the partaking of the *Lord's Supper*.

An *Examination* of a Man's whole Life and Conduct, by the known Law of God, whether Natural or Reveled; if it be wholly in order to render Himſelf more perfect in the practice of All that is praiſe-worthy, in every Circumſtance and Relation of Life, muſt be of great Uſe to Every well-diſpoſed Chriſtian. But for this, Every one is the beſt Judge for Himſelf, of the proper and moſt convenient time. My Deſign is only to obſerve here, that *Self-examination*, in this Extent, is not a Duty neceſſarily previous to the *Lord's Supper*; nor ſpoken of, by St. *Paul*, in this degree, as neceſſary to our duly partaking of it. And this is fit to be obſerved; that ſo No Serious Chriſtian may, on the one hand, make it a pretence for his not coming to this Religious *Rite*, that He has not had time for a long and particular *Examination* into his whole paſt Conduct; or, on the other hand, be *Uneaſy* (as too many have been) at their honeſt performance of this Duty, in *remembrance* of their Lord and Maſter, without ſuch a long and particular *Examination*.

In the *publick Office* of our *Church*, it is obſervable that the Duty of *Examination* is propoſed to Them, who are at that very time ſuppoſed to remain in the Church, as *Communicants*. The Exhortation and Threatening of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, are *then* read to them; They are called upon, at that very time, to *judge* Themſelves, and to approve Themſelves, by coming with the proper Diſpoſitions to the *Lord's* Table. All which muſt be ſuppoſed to be founded upon this, That even ſo ſhort an *Examination*, in the Church itſelf, juſt before the partaking of the *Bread* and *Wine*, may be ſufficient to ſatisfy a True Chriſtian, whether He is at that time coming to the *Lord's Supper* with a Temper and Behaviour, *ſuitable* to the *Inſtitution*, according to what St. *Paul* has ſaid about it; and that He may *examine* and *judge* Himſelf, at that very time, enough to be fully ſatisfied in this eſſential Point: all which is perfectly agreeable to what I have been now ſaying.

XIII. The Duty of *Preparation* for the *Holy Communion* being entirely founded upon theſe few Words of St. *Paul's*, *Let a Man Examine Himſelf*; it is evident from the foregoing *Propoſition*, that the *Preparation* implied in theſe words, as neceſſary and ſufficient, is ſuch a Conſideration of the *Inſtitution* itſelf, as may ſatisfy and aſſure Us that We come to the *Lord's Supper*, as His ſincere Diſciples, reſolved to *eat* and *drink*, in a Religious *Remembrance* of Him; Or, with Diſpoſitions and a Behaviour, *worthy* of, that is, ſuitable to, the Deſign of this Holy *Rite*.

A true Chriſtian needs not any length of Time to aſſure his Heart of this. Neither can the Opportunities of this Solemnity come ſo ſuddenly upon Him, but that He may certainly know Himſelf to be *prepared*, in this abſolutely neceſſary Senſe: and let it be remembered that I am now ſpeaking only of what is *abſolutely neceſſary*. This is not deſigned to inſinuate, nor does it in the leaſt imply, that *Chriſtians* may not wiſely chuſe to ſpend a longer Time in Religious *Conſideration* and *Prayer*, juſt before their Coming to the *Communion*; if They have Leiſure, and think it of more Advantage to them to do it upon this Occaſion, than upon Any other. But again I ſay, *This* ought not to be inculcated upon Them, as a *Preparation neceſſary* before their coming to this *Holy Rite*: leſt the Want of ſo much more Time ſhould either prevent their Attendance upon this Duty; or diſturb the Minds of Thoſe who have honeſtly, and with Chriſtian Affections, attended upon it, without ſuch a previous Conduct. It is, and muſt be, always of great Uſe to Chriſtians. But we are not to confound *Duties*; and make *That* peculiar to the *Holy Communion*, which never was made peculiar to it by *Chriſt*, or his *Apoſtles*; which is proper for every Seaſon of our Time, and every part of our Life; and which have been equally a *Duty*, whether it had pleaſed our Lord to inſtitute the *Holy Communion*, or not.

XIV. It is evident, from the Paſſage now before Us, that the whole Affair of *eating* and *drinking* UNWORTHILY, in St. *Paul's* Senſe, is confined to the Frame of our Minds, and our Behaviour, AT the very Time of our Performance of this Religious Duty.

Had not ſome amongſt the *Corinthians* been guilty of great and Criminal Indecencies, *at* the very time of the Celebration, We had not heard of the Crime and Danger of *eating* and *drinking* Unworthily. And now We do read of it in St. *Paul*, We ſee it plainly to be their Eating *this* Bread, and their Drinking *this* Cup, with a Behaviour and Diſpoſitions, utterly *unſuitable* to the End of the *Inſtitution*; which was the Serious and Religious *Remembrance* of Chriſt; and in ſuch a manner as plainly ſhewed that the *Bread* and *Wine* ordained for the *Remembrance* of our *Lord's Body* and *Blood*, in this Rite, were not thought of by Them ſo, as to be *diſcerned*, (or *differenced*, as the word ſignifies) from *Bread* and *Wine* taken at a *Common Meal*.

XV. Whoever therefore, eats *this* Bread, and drinks *this* Wine, with a Serious and Chriſtian Frame of Mind; and a Behaviour *ſuitable* to the Deſign of the *Inſtitution*; partaking of it, as a ſincere Diſciple of *Chriſt*, under the Senſe of his own ſtrict obligations, as ſuch; remembring his *Body* broken, and his *Blood* ſhed, at the ſame time; and doing the Whole in *Remembrance* of *Chriſt*, as his Lord and Maſter; certainly cannot poſſibly be ſaid to *eat* and *drink* UNWORTHILY; or, as far as *this* particular Religious Action is concerned, to behave Himſelf *Unſuitably* to *It*, or to his own Character, as a *Chriſtian*.

The Point here is not, Who is *worthy*, in the ſtrict Senſe of that word, to appear before God, in any Religious Action: but, Who performs that Action *worthily, that is,* ſuitably to the Nature and profeſſed Deſign of it; and who, *Unworthily.* No man can be ſaid to be worthy, in ſtrictneſs of ſpeech, to approach GOD in *Prayer:* but He may, notwithſtanding this, *Pray* worthily, or, perform that Religious Duty, in a manner and with a Frame of Mind, in ſuch degree *worthy* of it, (*that is, ſuitable* to the *End* of it,) that it ſhall be acceptable to God who requires it; notwithſtanding his Imperfections and Failings. So, in the preſent Caſe, A Chriſtian may not be *Worthy*, ſtrictly ſpeaking, to pay Religious honour to his Lord and Maſter, in the *Lord's Supper:* but Every ſincere *Chriſtian,* called upon to perform this Duty, may perform it *worthily*; or with Thoughts and Behaviour ſuitable to the *End* of it; that is, with a Serious *Remembrance* of his *Maſter,* for which it was inſtituted. And agreeable to this Notion is the Language of that *ſhort Prayer,* uſed in our publick Service, before the *Partaking* of the *Bread* and *Wine*; in which We are led to acknowledge *Ourſelves,* not *Worthy* in Ourſelves to be favourably received by GOD; and yet to pray that We may perform the Duty, We are now going about SO, as that it may be of Advantage to Us: which is, in other words, that We may perform it *Worthily*: or, in a Manner ſuitable to the Nature and End of it. On the contrary,

XVI. *He* only ought to be affrighted at the Words of St. *Paul,* becauſe *He* only can, in the *Apoſtle's* Senſe, be ſaid to *eat and drink Unworthily,* who, without conſidering the Duty he profeſſes to perform; without a ſerious regard to the *Remembrance* of his *Lord* and Maſter, for which only It was commanded; *eats* this *Bread* and *drinks* this *Wine,* either with no Thought at all of the *End* of this *Inſtitution*; (which is one Degree of doing it *unſuitably* to the Nature of the thing;) or, (which is Worſe) with Thoughts and Behaviour, utterly *inconſiſtent* with the Deſign of this *Holy Rite,* or with a Chriſtian's Duty at any time.

To explain this Matter a little farther. I do not confine the guilt of eating and drinking *Unworthily,* to the ſtrict Imitation of the *Corinthian* Sinners, in the One particular Inſtance of their Indecency; but think, it ought to be extended to all Caſes, to which the *Apoſtle's* argument, drawn from the *Inſtitution* itſelf, by parity of Reaſon, can reach. Whatever Temper, or Behaviour, *at* the Time of *eating* and *drinking,* is utterly *unſuitable* to the *Deſign* of the Duty, muſt, in its degree, come under the *Cenſure* of this Paſſage. I am perſuaded, It is, *morally* ſpeaking, impoſſible for any good and ſerious *Chriſtian,* to eat *this* Bread, and drink *this* Cup, without a due *Religious Remembrance* of the *Death* of his Maſter. But it is not *naturally* impoſſible, but that a *Chriſtian,* in other reſpects unblameable, may in *this* fail; ſo, as either to perform this particular Action with a Temper not *ſuitable* to the Deſign of it; or to mix ſomething with it very *Unſuitable* to, and greatly unbecoming, that Deſign. And, in this caſe, Such a *Chriſtian* might juſtly be ſaid to *eat* and *drink Unworthily,* in ſome degree; *not diſcerning the Lord's Body*; but indulging Himſelf in ſome ſuch Thoughts or Behaviour as may ſhew that He does not, at the very Time of partaking, make a ſufficient *Difference* between the *Lord's Supper,* and an ordinary *Entertainment*; between the Deportment proper and ſuitable to the *Lord's Table,* and that which might not be improper or indecent at *his own* common Table.

On the other hand, A profeſſed *Chriſtian*, though very blameable in ſome part of the Conduct of his paſt *Life*; yet, coming to the *Lord's Table* with a ſerious frame of mind, and on purpoſe to remember *Chriſt*, as his Lord and Maſter, in the way appointed by Himſelf; and actually partaking of the *Lord's Supper*, with that Religious *Remembrance* which is *ſuitable* to it: Such an one, I ſay, cannot juſtly be ſaid to do this particular Action in an improper way; or to eat this Bread, and drink this Wine, *Unworthily*; that is, *unſuitably* to the Deſign of the *Inſtitution*; though He may, in other reſpects, have behaved Himſelf *Unworthily*, or unſuitably to ſo holy a Religion.

Theſe *Inſtances* I mention, in order to explain more clearly what is meant when it is ſaid that the Eating and Drinking *Worthily*, or *Unworthily*, in St. *Paul's* ſenſe, is confined to the *Diſpoſition* and *Behaviour* of Chriſtians *at the very time* of their partaking of the *Lord's Supper*; and conſiſts in their doing both, *ſuitably*, or *unſuitably*, to the Nature and End of that particular *Inſtitution*. And I thought it the more neceſſary to ſetle this point in the plaineſt manner poſſible, becauſe the great Uneaſineſs of *Honeſt Chriſtians*, upon this Head, appears to have been founded, not upon their *actual* partaking of the *Lord's Supper*, *Unworthily*, or in a manner *Unſuitable* to its deſign; without *diſcerning* and conſidering the *End* of it; with which alone St. *Paul* concerns Himſelf: but upon ſome other ſort of Notions not relating to this; and the dread of partaking *Unworthily*, in ſome ſenſe, which, though unknown to St. *Paul*, and found out ſince his Time, yet is pretended to be built entirely upon *His* Doctrine laid down in this place. This doctrine I have now endeavoured to explain, for the uſe of ſuch Chriſtians, in theſe later ages.

He therefore, who performs this particular Religious Duty, in a manner, and with a Temper and Behaviour, *ſuitable* to the Nature and Deſign of it; with a Serious Remembrance of *Chriſt*, as his Lord and Maſter, who has a Right to the Obedience of his life; cannot be ſaid to eat and drink *Unworthily* in St. *Paul's* ſenſe; nor ought to be afraid of the Cenſure paſſed by Him upon ſuch as do ſo. But it will not follow from his doing this one Duty *worthily*, that He is that *Good Chriſtian*, in all reſpects, whom His Lord will reward at the laſt Day. Nor will it follow from a Perſon's paſt failures in *Other* points of Duty, that He partakes of the *Lord's Supper* Unworthily, in St. *Paul's* ſenſe; if His Temper and Behaviour, *at* the time of partaking, be *ſuitable* to It; and worthy of a true Chriſtian. For if this were the caſe; no one who had been once a *Willful Sinner* could ever partake of this *Rite* otherwiſe than *Unworthily*: No, not if He could be certain that He ſhould never again, under any poſſible Trials, wilfully tranſgreſs the Law of God, through his whole life; of which yet it is impoſſible for any *Chriſtian* to be aſſured.

The *Corinthian Sinners*, whoſe Guilt lay in their unchriſtian Behaviour, *at* this very *Rite*, were not forbid to come, or at all diſcouraged by St. *Paul* from coming, to it again. On the contrary, It was ſuppoſed ſtill to be their Duty; and They were required to come to it, in a ſerious and Chriſtian manner: but without the leaſt Encouragement to them from hence, to hope for God's favour without their amendment. So likewiſe, What is here ſaid cannot encourage Sinners of Any ſort, to place the leaſt hope in their partaking of the *Lord's Supper*, whilſt They continue in the practice of their Sins; becauſe this Continuance in Sin is itſelf the Forfeiture of God's favour; and muſt end in their Condemnation, according to the expreſs *Terms* of the *Goſpel*. But it is indeed of the contrary tendency, *viz.* to bring Them to attend upon this *Inſtitution*, with ſuch a ſerious Frame of mind as may happily lead them to the forſaking of all their Sins, and a total Amendment of Life. For a perſon, who is a ſincere Believer, and partakes of the *Communion* in remembrance of *Chriſt* as his *Maſter*, muſt, in conſequence of this, be ſenſible of the neceſſity of a *Chriſtian Behaviour*; and of an univerſal obedience to this Maſter: and cannot therefore, be accounted guilty of a Crime, in thus partaking of it. But, ſuppoſing Him *not* to be guilty of *eating and drinking Unworthily*, in the ſtrict original ſenſe of thoſe words; and not to be *condemned by Almighty God*, upon *this* account: Yet, if He ſtill goes on in his Sins; the habitual *Wickedneſs* of his life, and his own wilful Neglect to reform and amend it, is the moſt certain and unavoidable Condemnation, pronounced againſt Him by that very *Saviour* whom he commemorates in this Rite.

This may be explained by the Inſtances of *Faith*, and *Prayer*, and the like. There are, We may ſuppoſe, Perſons inwardly convinced of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, and therefore, real Believers in *Jeſus Chriſt* as ſent into the world by GOD; who yet do not in the courſe of their lives regulate their Practice by his Precepts. In this their *Faith*, or, yielding their Aſſent to the convincing Evidences of *Chriſt's* miſſion; They act a good part, and a part acceptable to GOD. But, by the habitual Diſobedience of their lives, They forfeit all title to his favour; and will be condemned at the laſt day. The Ground of this Condemnation will not be, that theſe Perſons were deſtitute of *Faith*; or even of that ſame Faith which influences good Chriſtians to a truly Chriſtian Practice; but that They were wanting in that abſolutely neceſſary Condition of a Virtuous and Holy Life, which They would not ſuffer this *Faith* to lead them to. So, in the *Inſtance* of *Prayer*; a Perſon may poſſibly perform this Duty with his underſtanding and his affections ſuitably diſpoſed for it; and yet relapſe into the practice of Sin. This unhappy man will not be condemned by GOD for performing his Duty of *Prayer* with Diſpoſitions agreeable to it: but He will be condemned, notwithſtanding this, for the willful Practice of Sin. There are, without doubt, *Wicked* perſons, whoſe *Prayer* itſelf *is an abomination to the Lord*. But theſe can be only ſuch as have Hearts *wickedly* diſpoſed, and *far from God*, at the very time when They pray; or rather, when They are willing to appear to Men to pray. But I am ſpeaking of the *private Prayer* of One who is ſincerely, at the time of his praying, diſpoſed to call upon GOD, as his Governour and Judge. And ſurely, there is no good Man who would tell Such an one that his Addreſſes would be an *Abomination* to the Lord; or, who would not encourage ſuch a Perſon, though a Sinner, to make his Addreſſes to God by *Prayer*, in order to the amendment and reformation of his life.

It is true, the very *Faith* and *Prayer* of ſuch a *Perſon*, will aggravate his Guilt, and conſequently his condemnation; unleſs He amend his whole Behaviour. But this, not becauſe his *Faith*, or his *Prayer*, are themſelves bad, and unacceptable to GOD: but becauſe They are both, in effect, not only Acknowledgments of what He ought in duty to be; but have a tendency, in their nature and deſign, to make Him better; which Tendency He willfully neglects and reſiſts.

Thus, in the Caſe before Us, no Chriſtian who *eats* and *drinks*, at the *Lord's Supper*, with a ſincere and ſerious remembrance of *Chriſt*, as his Lord and Maſter, can be ſaid to eat and drink *unworthily*, in St. *Paul's* ſenſe; or unſuitably to the End of this Rite. Nor can he be ſaid to eat and drink his own *Condemnation*: becauſe He does truly *diſcern* the *Lord's Body*, by remembering it in the moſt ſerious manner. He has therefore, performed this one duty in a proper manner. But if He be ſtill a willful habitual Sinner in any one Inſtance; He will moſt certainly be condemned: not for receiving this Sacrament *unworthily*; (which He does not appear to have done;) but for the Diſobedience of his Life, in thoſe Points which are indiſpenſably neceſſary to Salvation.

What I have ſaid does not ſeem to me to imply in it any thing contrary to the *Diſcipline* of *Chriſtians* in *Juſtin Martyr's* Age: who informs Us, that *They* only were allowed then to partake of the *Euchariſt*, *who lived*, *as Chriſt had commanded*. This general and looſe expreſſion is declared, by the moſt learned Writers who cite it, to be meant only of an *imperfect* Obedience to Chriſt's laws. For they are ſenſible of the pernicious conſequences of interpreting it rigorouſly, according to the words. For Myſelf; I think, *Juſtin Martyr* could mean no more by it than that profeſſed Chriſtians who were ſcandalouſly and notoriouſly Immoral in the habitual and open Conduct of their Lives; were not permitted, before ſome good Signs of Repentance appeared, to partake of this Religious Rite. And in times and places where this can be certainly judged of; and the Rule put in practice without prejudice to Any perſons who ought not to ſuffer by it; it may be a very good Rule ſtill. But I take the foundation of it to be this, and this only, That the admitting perſons to the Communion was eſteemed to be an acknowledgment of them, as *Chriſtians* fit to be received into the Company, and to partake in the Religious Offices, of ſuch as are really ſo. And upon this account, Thoſe who continued to bring a publick Diſgrace upon their Holy profeſſion, were not acknowledged, or treated, as Brethren. This appears ſtill more plainly from hence, that it was not only from the *Euchariſt* that ſuch were debarred; but from all Other parts alſo of the Common Worſhip of Chriſtians: Nay, before whole Nations were profeſſed Chriſtians, from the common Intercourſes of Society and Converſation; according to St. *Paul's* rule, 1 *Cor*. v. 11. So that this does not appear to have ariſen from Any thing peculiar to the *Lord's Supper* itſelf; nor from any opinion that ſuch Perſons could not poſſibly come to it with good diſpoſitions, and *eat* and *drink* in ſuch a manner as not to fall under St. *Paul's* Denunciations: but, from hence, That they were not fit to be owned publickly by their Brethren, becauſe of their continuing to live, in other reſpects, and in a notorious manner, *unworthily* of the Chriſtian Name. This was thought a proper way of bringing them to ſome ſenſe of their Sins; or, if that could not be done, of vindicating the honour of the *Chriſtian Society* from the Scandal of ſuch Members.

I have thus endeavoured to explain the peculiar Nature of the *Duty* before Us, ſo as to preſerve the neceſſary Diſtinction between *this*, and *other* Duties; in order to prevent the miſtakes of honeſt minds; and to make it evident that no Chriſtian can frame to Himſelf the leaſt encouragement to continue in any one Sin, from his being thus taught to perform *one* ſingle *Duty* of his Religion, in a right manner. On the contrary, This very *Duty*, thus performed, naturally leads Him to remember that every *Chriſtian* is ſtrictly required by that Maſter whom He thus commemorates, to regard the *Whole* Law of God, by which He is to be finally judged; and ſeriouſly to conſider that the Performance of *one Duty*, though performed in the manner required, will not atone for his wilful and habitual Neglect of any *Other*.

Before I conclude this part of the Subject, I muſt obſerve that, the Cuſtom in Our Church, (whether the primitive Cuſtom, or not, I do not now examine) being this, That the *Miniſter* officiating not only delivers the *Bread* and *Wine* into the hands of *Every Communicant*, but at the ſame time *diſtinctly* calls upon every Perſon, to *eat* the *one* in remembrance of Chriſt's *body broken* and deprived of Life; and to *drink* the *other* in remembrance of Chriſt's *Blood ſhed*: This, (joined to the Diſuſe of annexing this *Rite* to any other Feaſt) guards it almoſt againſt the *Poſſibility* of any ſerious Chriſtian's *eating* or *drinking*, unworthily; or *unſuitably* to the End of it. He is in ſuch a manner put in mind of Chriſt's *Body*, when He takes the *Bread*; and of Chriſt's *Blood*, when he takes the *Cup*; that, if He hears the words, and comes with ſeriouſneſs, He cannot but *eat* and *drink* in a Religious *remembrance* of *Chriſt*, as his *Lord* and *Maſter*; and ſo, cannot *eat* and *drink* Unworthily, in the *Apoſtle's* ſenſe; i. e. *Unſuitably* to this Inſtitution; notwithſtanding his Imperfections and Failings in other parts of his Conduct, which have no relation to *this* inſtance of his Duty. I ſay this of *ſerious Chriſtians*, who ſincerely believe in Chriſt, as their Maſter and Judge. As for *Others*; I am not now ſpeaking to them.

There are no *other* Paſſages of the *New Teſtament*, except Theſe already produced, in which *any* ſuch mention is made of this *Religious Duty*, as can lead Us into the knowledge of the *Nature* and *Extent* of it; No other indeed, that are ſuppoſed to ſpeak any farther of it, than as a Practice in the earlieſt Days, when Chriſtians met together for Religious Worſhip. Particularly in *Acts* ii. *ver.* 42, mention is made of their continuing *ſtedfaſt*, not only in the *Apoſtle's Doctrine*; [or rather in Attendance upon their *Teaching*, as the Senſe of the word in this place ſeems plainly to be;] but in *fellowſhip*; (the ſame word which ſignifies *Communion*, and participation,) and in *breaking* of *Bread*; and in Joint-*prayer*. If by *Fellowſhip*, or *Communion*, (which anſwers to the *Greek word* here,) be meant ſomething diſtinct from the *breaking of Bread*, it muſt ſignify their Charity in the free *Communion*, or *Communication*, of the good things They poſſeſſed, for the uſe of all their Brethren who wanted them. But if it be meant to be explained by the *breaking of Bread*, joined ſo cloſe to it; (as the *Vulgar Latin* interprets it;) it then itſelf relates to the *Lord's Supper*. And, that *breaking of Bread*, was a known *phraſe* for the *partaking* of it, in the Lord's *Supper*, may appear from what I have before cited out of St. *Paul*; "*The* Bread "*which we* break, *Is it not the* Communion, (the ſame word that is uſed here) "*of the* Body *of* Chriſt?" All the Expreſſions in this *verſe* ſeem indeed, plainly to relate to theſe Chriſtians conſidered as aſſembling themſelves together for *Religious* purpoſes: though it muſt be owned that this very phraſe of *breaking bread* is evidently uſed, at the 46th *verſe* of the ſame *chapter*, in the ſenſe of their eating in common at one another's houſes; and explained by their partaking of *Food* and *Nouriſhment*, in the ordinary ſenſe of the words. And perhaps the ſame phraſe of *breaking bread* will be found to be taken in both theſe ſenſes, in the 20th chapter of the *Acts*: where, at *verſe* 7, it is uſed of the *Diſciples meeting together*, *on the firſt day of the week*, *to break bread*, *in* the *religious ſenſe* of the words; and at *ver.* 11, perſonally of St. *Paul's breaking bread*, and *taſting it*, (as the word in the *original* ſignifies,) before his final parting from them.

The Words 1 *Cor.* v. 8. *Chriſt our Paſſover is* (or *has been*) *ſacrificed for us*; *Therefore, let us keep the Feaſt, not with the old leaven, nor the leaven of Malice and Wickedneſs, but with the unleavened Bread of Sincerity and Truth*; ſuppoſing them to relate, (as ſome have imagined) to the *Lord's Supper*, inſtituted in remembrance of our *Paſchal Lamb*; only teach Us that We ought to partake of *this*, which is our *Paſchal Feaſt*, with ſuch ſincere, untainted, honeſt hearts, as become Chriſtians. But whoever reads the preceding verſes, as directed to the *Corinthians*, will ſee that they rather relate to their Conſtant Behaviour, as a Society of *Chriſtians*, deſigned by their holy Religion to be purged from all *leaven*, or every thing that could corrupt them: and that this Conſtant Behaviour is repreſented under the figure of their keeping a perpetual *Feaſt*, free from all *leaven* of Wickedneſs, or wicked Men. For the *Apoſtle* firſt commands them to put away from amongſt them a very wicked Man, whom He compares to *leaven*, becauſe He might corrupt Others of the *Society*; and then immediately expreſſes his deſire that They ſhould be an entire uncorrupted, new *Lump* or *Maſs*. And this he urges upon them by ſtill continuing the ſame figure: arguing that, as *Chriſt* might be called Our *Paſchal Lamb*, ſo a *Society* of *Chriſtians* keeping (as it were) a perpetual *feaſt*, under the ſenſe of their deliverance, and of the love of their *Deliverer*, ſhould be always as free from the *Leaven* of Wickedneſs, and keep themſelves as clear from the danger of it, by not committing it, or ſuffering it amongſt them, as the *Jews* were required to be free from all *Leaven*, in the *Paſchal Supper* which They annually celebrated, in remembrance of the *Paſſover*, at the time of their deliverance out of *Egypt*. Here ſeems to be no room for introducing particularly the *Lord's Supper*; or of confining to that *Rite*, this Direction of the *Apoſtle*, which plainly refers to the perpetual Conduct of *Chriſtians*, as Perſons ſtrictly obliged to preſerve their *Faith* uncorrupted by the *Leaven* of Falſe Doctrines; and their Manners untainted by the Contagion, or *Leaven*, of Sin and Wickedneſs.

Some again have applied to this *Sacrament* the Text, *Hebr.* xiii. 10. "*We* "*have an Altar, whereof They have no right to eat, who ſerve the Tabernacle.*" But as there is not one *Interpreter*, antient or modern, of great note, who interprets this obſcure paſſage of the *Lord's Table*; ſo there is not one good reaſon for ſuch an *Interpretation*; but many againſt it: and particularly, the whole *Tenor* and *Scope* of the *Writer*, which will always beſt lead Us to his moſt probable Meaning in ſuch places as we cannot in the cleareſt manner explain. Now, the main end which the *Author* of this *Epiſtle* had in view, was to ſhew that the Diſpenſation of the *Goſpel* did more than anſwer to all that the *Moſaic Diſpenſation* profeſſed to hold forth to the *Jews*. And this End he purſues by ſhewing that the *Author* of it was far Greater than the *Angels*, who aſſiſted at the delivery of the *Law* to *Moſes*; and far greater than *Moſes*, to whom this Law was delivered: that He is, to his Diſciples, of far greater importance, in all reſpects, than the *Jewiſh High-prieſt* was to the *Jews*; that his Death more than anſwered all the beneficial purpoſes of any of the *legal Sacrifices*; and that his *Diſpenſation* was fully ſufficient to bring Sinners to the Favour of GOD. Throughout his whole Diſcourſe, *Chriſt* himſelf is the *High-Prieſt*, the *Offerer*, the *Sacrificer* of Himſelf: and therefore, Nothing but the Real *Croſs*, upon which Chriſt offered himſelf, can be the *Chriſtian Altar*, in his language. And conſequently, the general meaning of this paſſage may be, that no one can receive any benefit from *Chriſt crucified*, or from the doctrine of the *Croſs* upon which *Chriſt* offered himſelf, who ſtill adheres to the *Jewiſh* Diſpenſation, greatly inferior to His; and, (as far as it is depended upon for Juſtification,) oppoſite to, and inconſiſtent with, *Chriſt's* grand Deſign of introducing another Method of bringing Sinners to Mercy and Happineſs.

Some of the *Greek Interpreters* underſtand this *Text* of *Chriſt* himſelf: whom They ſpeak of, as the *Chriſtian Altar*, upon which All our Sacrifices of Prayer and Praiſe are offered to GOD. But this Senſe of the word *Altar* ſeems to bear no relation to the deſign of this particular Paſſage. And indeed, if we will enter more nicely into the Exact meaning of the *Apoſtle's* peculiar argument in this verſe; it muſt be owned, (as it has been rightly obſerved by ſome learned Men) that it is only an Argument to a particular Sort of Men; or rather an

Illuſtration of what He is deſirous to convince Them of. He is plainly ſpeaking here, not of *Unbelieving Jews*, (for no one ever thought of their receiving Benefit from Chriſt;) but of ſuch as profeſſed to believe in *Chriſt*, and to hope for *Benefit* from *Him*; and yet continued zealous for thoſe parts of the *Law* of *Moſes* which this *Author* had before proved to be of much leſs value than the *Goſpel*; and all the advantages accruing from *Them*, to be greatly out-done by the new Diſpenſation of *Jeſus Chriſt*. And, with regard to ſuch Perſons, the purport of his Words ſeems to be this—" As *Chriſt* in his death upon the *Croſs*, " anſwers to the *Sacrifices*, on the day of *Expiation*: ſo, if you ſtill adhere to " the *Law* relating to thoſe Sacrifices, [*Lev.* xvi. 27.] You cannot have the " Benefit you expect from *Chriſt*, who anſwers to *Them*. For by that Law, " none are allowed to partake of thoſe particular Sacrifices, ſo as to eat of them, " and receive nouriſhment from them: but the Sacrifices themſelves are ordered " to be carried out of the *Camp*, and to be totally conſumed by Fire. And con" ſequently, you cannot partake of that *Sacrifice* offered by *Chriſt* upon the *Croſs*, " anſwering to thoſe *Jewiſh Sacrifices*, whilſt you adhere to the Rules which " forbid you to *eat*, or *partake* of them." This partaking of the advantages of *Chriſt's* death, is expreſſed by *eating* of the Chriſtian *Altar*; as *They* amongſt the *Jews* who eat of any Sacrifices, ſo as to receive nouriſhment from them, were ſaid to *partake* (or *eat) of the Altar*, 1 Cor. x. 18. And likewiſe, as believing and receiving the Doctrine of *Chriſt* as our ſpiritual nouriſhment, is itſelf expreſſed by *eating* his *Fleſh*, (as we ſhall ſee preſently) in the *ſixth* Chapter of St. *John's Goſpel*: Something like this muſt be the Meaning of this obſcure Text. Agreeably to which manner of arguing, the *Writer* of this *Epiſtle* goes on: and from Chriſt's being crucified *without* the Gate of *Jeruſalem*, takes an occaſion to urge Them to follow Him quite out of the *Camp*, which was round the *Tabernacle*; and totally to abandon the *Moſaic Diſpenſation*, as far as theſe *Ritual Laws* are concerned. This again, I ſay, is an inſtance of the ſame way of Diſcourſe: not properly a ſtrict Argument; but an *Illuſtration*, very allowable, from the Cuſtom of that Age, and the Principles of *Thoſe* whom this *Writer* had to do with; and not at all derogatory to the *Writer* himſelf, who never wiſhed it to conclude more, than He originally deſigned to do.

There is alſo a long Diſcourſe of our Bleſſed Saviour's, in the *Sixth Chapter* of St. *John's* Goſpel, about *eating* His *Fleſh* and *drinking* His *Blood*; which many have laboured much to interpret concerning the *Lord's Supper*: eſpecially ſince the abſurd Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and other Dark and Unintelligible Notions, have been brought into this *Subject*. But as there is no appearance that this *Paſſage* was underſtood, in the very firſt Days of the *Church*, to concern this *Rite*; ſo, whoever will ſeriouſly conſider the *Whole* of it, will preſently find that it could not relate to a *Duty*, which was not then inſtituted, nor ſo much as hinted at to his Diſciples; but was indeed only a very High *Figurative* Repreſentation to the *Jews* then about Him, of their Duty and Obligation to receive into their Hearts, and digeſt, his whole Doctrine, as the Food and Life of their Souls.

The difference of *Expreſſion* in the two Caſes, helps to ſhew this. In the Inſtitution of the *Lord's Supper*, our Saviour ſays, " The *Bread* which you are to " eat, in this *Rite*, is My *Body*;" not, " My *Body*, or *Fleſh*," is your *Bread*, or your *Food*; " The *Wine* which you are to drink at my Table, is My *Blood*;" not, " My *Blood* is your *Wine* or your *Drink*." And with regard to Both, He declares That they are to be *eaten* and *drunk*, as *Memorials*, or in *remembrance*, of Him. But in the diſcourſe in St. *John*, He ſays not one word of eating his *Fleſh* or drinking his *Blood*, in *remembrance* of Him, after He ſhould be taken from them; but is exhorting them to the *eating* his *Fleſh* and *drinking* his *Blood*, at the very time of his ſpeaking to them. This therefore, cannot relate to the celebration of a *Memorial* of his ſufferings a long time afterwards; which could not be put in practice during his preſence with them: but to the *eating* his *Fleſh* and *drinking* his *Blood*, in a Senſe conſiſtent with doing it, even at that time whilſt He was living and preſent, as well as after his death; and that can be no other, than receiving Him, by receiving his *Doctrine*, as the Food and Nouriſhment of their Souls.

Thus they have been underſtood by the *Beſt Interpreters:* and, what puts the Matter beyond all doubt, thus our *Bleſſed Lord*, at the End of that Diſcourſe, plainly interprets them himſelf, *viz.* ver. 63, where, upon the groſs miſapprehenſions of his Followers, He does not expreſs Himſelf thus to them, "I "mean, by theſe ſayings, which ſome of you think ſo hard, your partaking "of a Religious Inſtitution, in memory of my *Body* and *Blood*, after my Death;" which He would unavoidably have done, had this been his Meaning. But, on the contrary, He explains himſelf thus—"The Words which I ſpeak unto you; "the *Doctrines* I teach, for which I ſhall ſuffer in the *Fleſh*, and which I ſhall "ſeal with my *Blood: Theſe* are the things I mean, which I have talked of, "under the Notion of *Meat* and *Drink*, to nouriſh you to Eternal Life. *Theſe* "*Words* are *Spirit*, and theſe are the *Life* I have been ſpeaking of; and Theſe, "if you will receive them, ſhall be *Vital Food* to you." A manner of Explication, which Our *Bleſſed Lord* could not, (I humbly preſume) have made uſe of; had He ever deſigned this Diſcourſe to be underſtood of his future Inſtitution of the *Lord's Supper*. For upon this Suppoſition, He either would have pointed out this to his Hearers; or, at leaſt, would not have explained himſelf by Words which carry along with them *Ideas* very remote from it, and indeed inconſiſtent with it.

This *Paſſage* therefore, of St. *John's Goſpel*, I purpoſely omit, as not relating to the preſent Subject.

After having thus ſhewn, from expreſs Words of the *New Teſtament*, what is neceſſary towards a due Performance of this Religious Duty; and conſequently, what is not ſo; We may the better proceed to ſome other *Obſervations* upon the ſame Subject. The *Eſſence* of this Duty, We ſee, conſiſts in the *Remembrance* of *Chriſt*. The believing in Him, and profeſſing Ourſelves his Diſciples and Followers, is not only neceſſary, in the Nature of the Thing, towards this *Remembrance*; but this *Remembrance*, by partaking of *Bread* and *Wine* as memorials of his *Body* and *Blood*, is itſelf, a profeſſed *Communion* or *Fellowſhip* with *Him*, as our Head; And the doing this in a Body or Society, is a profeſſed *Communion* or Fellowſhip with All other members of the ſame *Body*, or *Society*, under Chriſt. *Faith* in Chriſt, therefore, as ſent into the World by GOD, is the Ground of this *Remembrance*. Profeſſing ourſelves to belong to Him, in a *Religious* Senſe, (as *Members* to the Head in a *natural* Senſe,) is implied in it. And profeſſing ourſelves to have a Relation to all other *Chriſtians*, (as Members in the Natural Body have to one another,) and to have that mutual real Concern and Affection which reſults from ſuch a Relation amongſt *Diſciples* to the ſame *Maſter*, is likewiſe implied in it; according to St. *Paul's* reaſoning. From hence the following *Propoſition* will ariſe.

XVII. It is an Employment very proper, and very agreeable to this *Inſtitution*, to receive in our Minds, upon this occaſion, the

Force of all thoſe Arguments upon which We believe in *Chriſt*; to own ourſelves *His* Diſciples; to confeſs, and heartily condemn, all our Deviations from *His Laws*, and Precepts; to acknowledge before God our Obligations to live as *His* Diſciples, who expect to be happy upon *his* Terms only; to expreſs our ſincere Thankfulneſs for his Doctrine, Example, Life, and Death; to profeſs our Dependance upon *Him*, as our only *Head*; and laſtly, to revive and enlarge our affectionate Union and Sympathy with all other Members of the ſame Body throughout the World.

A ſerious Chriſtian cannot better employ his Time, upon this occaſion, than in reviving in his own mind the proper thoughts upon theſe *Subjects*, in ſuch manner, as to have the beſt Effect upon Himſelf, in the whole Conduct of his Life. For I muſt obſerve that, though the performance of this *one Duty* in a manner not *unworthy* of it, or *unſuitable* to it, be the *Great Point* to be neceſſarily regarded, at the very time of our attendance upon this *Holy Inſtitution*; Yet, the nature of the Thing itſelf, conſidered in all it's Circumſtances, directs the Mind of a Chriſtian to many Thoughts; which, though not abſolutely Neceſſary to the Performance of the Duty, are of the greateſt Importance to Himſelf; and may thus prove, by it's own tendency and good effect upon a Moral Agent, not only an Act of Obedience to his Lord's Command; but a *Mean* leading to his own greater increaſe in all that is Worthy of a Man, and a *Chriſtian*.

Our *Faith* in *Chriſt* cannot be improved, but either by *God's* giving Us *New Evidences* of the Truth of his Pretenſions; (which We cannot expect;) or, by our own ſerious Review and repeated Conſideration of all the *Old* Ones: and this *Review* cannot be more properly taken, than when We profeſs Ourſelves, by a ſolemn Act of his appointment, to be His Diſciples, or *Believers* in Him. Our *Thankfulneſs* cannot be heightened, but by the reviving in our Minds the Memory of the Benefits We have received; which are the only Grounds of *Thankſgiving*: And We are very properly led to *theſe*, when We are celebrating the great Inſtance of God's love to mankind, in his Son *Jeſus Chriſt*. Our *Charity* to all *Others* can never be more effectually improved, or inflamed, than when We take our Obligations to It from the Love of God to Ourſelves, ſhewn forth in the *Commemoration* of the *Death* of *Chriſt*; and from our being all United in one *Body*, under Him our *Head*.

Theſe I mention, as very proper Employments of our ſerious Thoughts, during the time of the *Whole* Attendance upon this *Rite*: but not as Subjects ſo peculiar to the *Lord's Supper*, as to be *abſolutely neceſſary* to be enlarged upon, every time we partake of it. The *Cuſtom* of our *Church* often gives us leiſure to employ our private Thoughts; and theſe are points worthy of them. But the *Eſſence* of this *Duty*, or what conſtitutes the *Nature* of it, is comprehended within the bounds of our partaking of the *Bread* and *Wine*; and conſiſts in our doing it, as *Chriſtians*, in *remembrance* of Chriſt and his Love: which cannot be done without *Faith* in Him, and *Thankfulneſs* to God.

Before I proceed, I think this the moſt proper place to apply the Whole of what I have now laid down concerning the *Nature* and *End of* the *Lord's Supper*, more particularly to our *Publick Office* of The *Communion*; in order to adapt it to the Uſe of ſuch as attend upon this Religious *Rite* in our Churches.

It may truly be ſaid *in general*; That the Expreſſions of *Faith*, *Repentance*, *Thankfulneſs*, and *Charity*, ſcattered through this *Office*, are ſo many, and ſo full; that no Chriſtian can doubt of their being completely ſufficient for all the purpoſes of his attendance upon the Lord's Supper; ſhould there be no opportunity of his adding any, more private, to them. I ſhall therefore now, enter more particularly into the ſeveral *Parts*, and *Prayers*, that compoſe It; in order both to interpret ſuch *Paſſages* (relating to this *Inſtitution)* as may ſtand in need of *Interpretation*; and to lead all Perſons concerned to make uſe of It, in the moſt proper and *Chriſtian* manner.

The *Communion-office* (I mean that Part of it in which *Communicants* only are concerned) begins with *Sentences*, relating chiefly to the Duty of Beneficence to all Men, by our *Alms* and Charitable Contributions. It proceeds to the Charity and Aſſiſtance of our United *Prayers*, for the good and happineſs of the Whole Body of Chriſtians.

After this follows An *Exhortation*, particularly relating to the *partaking* of the *Lord's Supper*. In this the *Miniſter* who officiates earneſtly recommends to Thoſe who are then preſent, the *Conſideration* of the *Nature* and *End* of what they are going to perform, in theſe words: "Ye that mind to come to the "Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt," [*that is*, You, that now remain in the *Church*, with a deſign of partaking of that *Bread* and *Wine*, which are appointed to be *Memorials* of the *Body* and *Blood* of *Chriſt*:] "muſt conſider how St. *Paul* exhorteth all men diligently to try and examine "Themſelves before They preſume to eat of that *Bread* and drink of that *Cup*." [*that is*, You muſt conſider that St. *Paul* exhorts *Chriſtians* to *examine*, and *approve* themſelves to their own Conſciences, ſo ſincerely and effectually, as to aſſure Themſelves that they come to this *Holy Rite* with Diſpoſitions agreeable to the Nature and End of It's *Inſtitution*.] "For as the Benefit is great, if with a "true penitent Heart and lively Faith We receive that Holy Sacrament; for "then We ſpiritually eat the Fleſh of Chriſt and drink his Blood; then We "dwell in Chriſt, and Chriſt in Us; We are One with Chriſt, and Chriſt with "Us: ſo, is the danger great if We receive the ſame *unworthily*." [*That is*, The Reaſon why We ſhould *examine* Ourſelves to this purpoſe, is, that We may aſſure Ourſelves, We partake of this *Rite* in ſuch a manner, as that it may be to Our Advantage, and not to our hurt. For, on the one hand, if We come to it with ſuch Diſpoſitions of mind as become *Chriſtians*, and are agreeable to this *Inſtitution*; particularly, with a due Senſe of our paſt Sins, and a Reſolution of behaving ourſelves as *Chriſt's Diſciples*; and with a true *Faith* (or *Belief*) in Him, as ſent into the World by God, without which We cannot *remember* Him at his *Table* as our Lord and Maſter; We ſhall then, with theſe Diſpoſitions of mind, come to good purpoſe. By our *Faith*, and ſincere accepting Him as our Maſter, we ſhall come up to the full meaning of that Expreſſion in the *Goſpel*, in which his Followers were called upon to *eat his Fleſh and drink his Blood*; in a Spiritual or Religious Senſe embracing his Doctrine, as the *Food* and *Life* of our Souls. We ſhall then be ſo acceptable to *Chriſt*, that We may be ſaid (by a ſtrong Figure of Speech) to *dwell* in *Him*, and *He* in *Us*; to be *One* with *Chriſt*, and *Chriſt* with *Us*; *that is*, that *Chriſt* and *We*, to all the intents and purpoſes of True Religion, ſhall be in perfect Friendſhip and Union together: *We* partaking of the good Spirit of his *Goſpel*; and *He* receiving Us, and doing all good Offices to Us, as his true Diſciples and Followers. On the other hand,] "The danger is great, if We receive the ſame Unworthily. For then," (as the *Exhortation* goes on) "We are guilty of the Body and Blood of Chriſt our Saviour; We eat and drink our own Damnation, not conſidering the Lord's Body; We kindle God's wrath againſt Us; We provoke Him to plague Us with divers Diſeaſes, and ſundry kinds of Death." [The whole Expreſſion of this is taken from St. *Paul's* Denunciation againſt the *Corinthian Chriſtians*: and muſt be interpreted by It, as I have already fully explained it, *p.* 864.) in this manner: "For, if We partake of the Lord's Supper *unworthily*; or with *Diſpoſitions* contrary to the Nature of it, and in a manner *Unworthy* of it, or *unſuitable* and contradictory to the End of it; We then ſhall come under the Cenſure of St. *Paul*: We ſhall eat and drink our own *Condemnation*, or Judgement, againſt ourſelves, *viz.* whilſt We *eat*, as at a Common Table, not conſidering that this *Bread* is the *Memorial* of the Lord's *Body*, and therefore to be differenced from *Bread* taken at a *Common Meal*; and ſhall, by a Behaviour ſo *unworthy* of this *Inſtitution*, diſpleaſe Almighty God, and provoke his Anger, as the *Corinthian Chriſtians* did."] Upon theſe accounts, The *Exhortation* goes on to engage the Perſons preſent, *Now* to judge Themſelves, ſo, as to repent of all their Sins; to come to the *Lord's Table* with a ſtedfaſt *Faith* in *Chriſt*, now to be remembered; and to revive in their hearts the real Sentiments of *perfect Charity* towards all men; and the heartieſt thankfulneſs to GOD: Aſſuring them that, with this Temper, and theſe Diſpoſitions of Mind, They will be *Meet partakers*; (that is, will partake *Worthily*,) of theſe *Holy Myſteries*.

[The *Bread* and *Wine*, to be eaten and drunk, in a religious remembrance of Chriſt, are here called *Myſteries*: not in the Common Senſe of theword *Myſtery*, as it has been underſtood to ſignify either a Thing *incomprehenſible* to our Underſtandings, or a Matter ſtill hidden from Us. For We cannot be ſaid to be *Meet Partakers* of a *Myſtery*, in either of theſe ſenſes of the word: Nor would the *plural Number* have been uſed, as if in either of theſe ſenſes there were more *Myſteries* than One in this Affair. But the *Bread* and *Wine* are called *Myſteries* here, either becauſe They *Myſtically*, (that is *Covertly*, or *Figuratively*,) repreſent to Us the *Body* and *Blood* of Chriſt; Two Things very different from this *Bread* and *Wine*, which are the *Memorials* of them: Or, as this Repreſentation is made in a Religious *Rite* peculiar to the *Chriſtian* Worſhip; agreeably to that Senſe of the word *Myſteries*, in which the *Religious Rites* in honour of any particular *Deity* amongſt the Heathens, were ſo called; *viz.* private or peculiar *Ceremonies*, in which Some particular Perſons only bore a part, who had been duly *initiated* into that Worſhip They belonged to.]

After this *Exhortation*, the *People* are ſolemnly called upon to make a general Confeſſion of their Sins. And this is followed by a very expreſſive Prayer of the *Miniſter officiating*; formed upon the ſuppoſition of *hearty Repentance*, and *true Faith* in the *Communicants*; and petitioning for their *Pardon*, their Increaſe in all Goodneſs, and their Everlaſting Happineſs. A few plain *Texts* of the *New Teſtament* are then read, relating to the *Love* of *GOD*, and his merciful Diſpenſation towards Us, through his Son *Jeſus Chriſt*: very properly preparing the Way to the Hymn of *Praiſe* and *Thankſgiving* which follows them. In all theſe Every Perſon preſent ought to think Himſelf concerned; and to attend to them with the Seriouſneſs of a truly *Chriſtian* Mind.

A ſhort *Prayer* is then put up; in which All in the *Congregation* firſt acknowledge themſelves unworthy of *GOD's* favour, and profeſs their Dependance upon his great Mercy for their Acceptance ; and then add this Petition ; "*Grant Us therefore, Gracious Lord, ſo to eat the Fleſh of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, and to drink his Blood, that our ſinful Bodies may be made clean by his Body, and our Souls waſhed through his moſt precious Blood; and that We may evermore dwell in Him, and He in Us.*" This is all expreſſed in the *figurative* manner: but the Meaning of it, in plain words, is this,—"Grant that We, though *Unworthy*, in ourſelves, of thy favourable acceptance, may eat this *Bread* and drink this *Wine*, which are now to be taken in remembrance of the *Fleſh* [or rather [e] *Body*] and *Blood* of *Chriſt*, ſo *worthily*; in a manner ſo *ſuitable* to the End and Nature of the *Inſtitution*; that We may be acceptable to Thee in it; and that our Religious Attendance upon this *Rite*, as *Chriſtians* ſincerely believing the *Goſpel*, may prove one *Mean* of our anſwering the great End of our Bleſſed Lord's living and dying for our Benefit; the being *purified both in Soul and Body*; and may help to lead Us to a State of *Holineſs*, by which alone We can hope to be in Union and Friendſhip with *Chriſt*."

Our Bodies are *made clean* by *Chriſt's* Body, and *our* Souls waſhed through *his* moſt precious Blood, by our being influenced by his *Doctrine*, (ſealed with his Death) to obey all God's Law. And our eating and drinking in *remembrance* of His *Body* and *Blood*, tend to procure Us this *Clearneſs* and *Waſhing*, (*i. e.* all that is meant by theſe *figurative* words,) by being done in *remembrance* of that *Maſter*, whoſe *Religion* was deſigned, in the whole Tenor of it, to engage Us to *cleanſe Ourſelves from all Filthineſs of the Fleſh and Spirit, by perfecting Holineſs in the fear of God*, 2 *Cor.* vii. 1. This Rite, duly performed, is the Profeſſion of our own Relation to *Chriſt*, and obligation to obey all his Laws; and is one Mean of leading us to that Univerſal Obedience. They who embrace an obſcure Notion of receiving any other ſort of *Cleanſing* and *Waſhing*, from this *Holy Rite*, ſeem to me to delude themſelves; and to expect from it what our *Bleſſed Lord* never annexed to it.

The *Prayer*, called the Prayer of *Conſecration*, follows next. And this is ſo framed, that the whole *Congregation* is ſuppoſed to join in the *One* only Petition in it, which is manifeſtly formed upon the Original Deſign of this Holy *Inſtitution*; and very properly placed here, juſt before the acts of receiving the *Bread* and *Wine*. In this All the *Communicants* are taught to ſay, "*Hear Us, O Merciful Father,* We *moſt humbly beſeech Thee, and grant that* We, *receiving theſe thy Creatures of Bread and Wine, according to thy Son, our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's Holy Inſtitution, in remembrance of his Death and Paſſion, may be partakers of his moſt bleſſed Body and Blood.*" In which is plainly implied this *Doctrine*, That to eat *this* Bread and drink *this* Wine, as becomes Chriſtians, in a Religious Remembrance of *Chriſt's* Death, is truly and ſufficiently to anſwer the *End* of the *Inſtitution*: and alſo that it may, therefore, be made a Juſt Ground of Praying to God, as We do here; *viz.* That, thus partaking of them, in obedience to our Maſter, (not as of *Bread* and *Wine* for the Common purpoſes of Life; but as now deſigned for the *Remembrance* of our Lord's *Body* and *Blood,*) We may, by the ſincere Performance of *This* part of our Chriſtian Duty, be led to the practice of that Univerſal Righteouſneſs to which *Chriſtianity* ſtrictly obliges Us; and by theſe means be prepared and qualified to *Partake* of all the *Benefits* of *Chriſt's Body* broken, and *Blood* ſhed, now to be *Remembered* by Us.

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[e] This is our Lord's own word, appropriated by Him to this Rite: and carries with it an *Idea* ſomething different from that of the word *Fleſh*. In the following part of this very Sentence, the word *Body* is reſtored: and ought indeed to be always preſerved.

If there be any time between this *Prayer*, and your own receiving the *Bread* and *Wine*; nothing can be more agreeable to the Nature and End of this *Rite*, than to employ it in ſome ſuch Thoughts as theſe—" I have now examined my " own heart, and can ſincerely ſay that I come to the *Lord's Supper* with a ſerious " Deſign of remembering *Jeſus Chriſt's* Death, as his Diſciple, truly believing " Him to have been ſent into the World by God; renouncing Every Thing con- " demned in his Goſpel; expecting Pardon and Favour from God, upon the " Terms of his Goſpel only; thankful for All the Mercies of God, particularly " for his Love in redeeming Us by his Son from all Iniquity: and knowing " Myſelf in perfect Charity with All Men, and full of Univerſal Goodwill to- " wards them. And therefore, I ought not to doubt of being accepted by God, " in this ſincere Deſign of thus remembering the Death of his Son, in the way " appointed by himſelf."

At the time of your own partaking of the *Bread* and *Wine*, the great Point is, the Attendance of the Mind upon that *Remembrance* of *Chriſt*, which diſtinguiſhes the Eating *this* Bread, and Drinking *this* Wine, from Common Eating and Drinking. Now, in our *Communion-office*, the *Miniſter* who officiates, when He comes to this part of the Service, in which you are to receive the *Bread* and *Wine*, firſt offers up a Prayer that the *Body of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *which was given for* You, *may preſerve* your *Body and Soul unto Everlaſting Life:* that is, that the *Real Body* of *Chriſt*, long ago offered up upon the Croſs; or, that the Suffering of Chriſt, undertaken, ſubmitted to, and deſigned, for the promoting your Eternal happineſs, may effectually anſwer that good purpoſe; and move and influence You ſo, in the virtuous Conduct of your whole Lives in this World, agreeably to what He indiſpenſably requires, that You may obtain his promiſe of Everlaſting Life in the World to come. And after this, at the inſtant of delivering the *Bread*, He puts you in mind of your Duty to *eat* this *Bread* in *Remembrance* of Chriſt's *Death*. And ſo, after the ſame prayer concerning the Blood of Chriſt, He delivers the *Cup* to you, and at the ſame time exhorts You to *drink* of it in *Remembrance* of his *Blood*. This ſecures you from All ſuch Deviation of Thought or Improper Behaviour, as can affect the *Eſſence* of this *Religious* Action; and, directing You to the *Remembrance* of what was deſigned to be now religiouſly *remembered*, makes it impracticable for You, if You are truly ſerious and in earneſt, to *eat* or *drink* UNWORTHILY. To *theſe Words* therefore, attend with an undiſturbed and ſincere application of Mind; and You will unavoidably make it your own Act, and ſay within Yourſelf: " I eat this *Bread* for that purpoſe only for which it is deſigned; In a re- " ligious *remembrance* of Chriſt's Body broken; and of that *Death* of His, which " by this action Chriſtians are required to ſhew forth, till his coming again:" And, at the taking the *Cup*, " I drink this *Wine*, in a ſerious and thankful re- " membrance of *Chriſt's Blood*; *which was ſhed for* Me, *and for Many*, *for the Re-* " *miſſion of Sins:* that Blood which He freely ſhed, as a *Seal* to the *New Cove-* " *nant*; in which he promiſes, in the Name of GOD, Forgiveneſs and Favour " upon our Actual Amendment, and ſincere obedience to his Laws."

This is that perſonal *Appropriation* of the *Bread* and *Wine* to the ſerious and Religious *Remembrance* of the *Body* and *Blood* of *Chriſt*, which alone can make this *Rite* of any Benefit to a Believer, by making it acceptable to God. It is, if I may uſe the word, a ſort of *Conſecration* of them, which is the Duty of Every *Communicant* himſelf; and without which all other *Conſecrations* that have gone before, will do *Him* no ſervice at all. It is *He alone*, who muſt, by his own inward thought, and application of his Mind to the *Remembrance* of *Chriſt*, make *this* Bread and *this* Wine, different to Himſelf from *Bread* and *Wine* taken at a Common Meal. Here therefore, lies your Great Concern, at this time: nor can there be any failure in this, if your Belief in Chriſt be ſincere, and your attention fixed to what You are doing. And be aſſured that, having thus partaken of this *Bread* and *Wine*, with a ſerious *remembrance* of Chriſt's Death, and as his Diſciple, You have partaken of the *Lord's Supper*, agreeably to the *Deſign* of the *Inſtitution*; and cannot therefore be in the Number of *Thoſe* who may juſtly be ſaid to *eat* or *Drink* UNWORTHILY, not *diſcerning* the Lord's *Body* and *Blood*; or have the leaſt *Cauſe* to fear Any of thoſe *Threatenings* of St. *Paul*, which belong only to *Such* as do ſo.

I ſay not this either to ſhorten, or to ſlacken, in the leaſt degree, that Rational and Chriſtian *Devotion*, which You may think more beneficial to You at *this* time, than at any Other. But I think it my Duty to guard againſt the beginnings of Any ſuch Notions, as muſt fill your own Mind with Unneceſſary Horror; and repreſent GOD to You, as requiring an *Act* of *Religion*, which You either cannot perform at all; or not without ſuch Difficulty, as leaves you no Aſſurance of its being acceptable to Him; and conſequently, muſt overturn the good End propoſed by *Chriſt* in the *Inſtitution* itſelf.

After you have *thus* received the *Bread* and *Wine*; if you have time, whilſt other Perſons are communicating, Some ſuch *Words* as theſe following will be proper Expreſſions of Such *Thoughts* as this *Holy Rite* naturally leads us to:

“ I have now, O God, in obedience to the Will of thy Son *Jeſus Chriſt*,
“ partaken of *Bread* and *Wine*, in that manner in which *Chriſtians* are required
“ religiouſly to commemorate his *Death* and *Paſſion*. By this Solemn Act of my
“ own, in this Aſſembly, and in the Company of my *Fellow-Chriſtians*, I have
“ voluntarily profeſſed Myſelf His Diſciple: And by This I have acknowledged
“ my ſtrict Obligation to perform thy whole Will made known to Us by Him.
“ I am truly ſenſible of thy Love to Mankind, in ſending thy Son into the
“ World, to enliven and ſtrengthen, by his excellent Doctrine, and by his Holy
“ Example, our ſincere Endeavours to know and practiſe thy commandments.
“ I offer up my ſincereſt thanks for All that He did and ſuffered for Us; and
“ praiſe Thee for all the Benefits deſigned and promiſed to Us, from his Life,
“ his Death, and his Reſurrection from the Dead, by which He was truly demonſtrated
“ to be thy Son. I am ſenſible, I have not lived as becomes the
“ *Diſciple* of *ſuch* a Maſter. And I have learned, from the Holineſs of thy nature,
“ and thy Son's expreſs Declarations in his Goſpel, not to expect either
“ Pardon through Him, or any Benefit from Him, but upon the *Terms* propoſed
“ in his Goſpel; the utter forſaking all Sin and Immorality, and the actual
“ Amendment and Reformation of what is truly blame-worthy in my Temper,
“ or my Behaviour. I can expect no favour as *his Diſciple*, but upon *his* Conditions:
“ and Theſe I will every day more and more endeavour to come up to.
“ I have here profeſſed my Communion with *Chriſt*, as *Head* of thy *Church*; and
“ with Every *Chriſtian* throughout the World, as a *Joint-member* of the ſame
“ *Body* of which he is the *Head:* and I now pray to Thee for the true happineſs
“ of them All. Accept this ſincere profeſſion of my *Faith* in *Thee*, the only
“ True God; and in *Jeſus Chriſt* whom Thou haſt ſent. Receive my Praiſes
“ and Thankſgivings; my Prayers for Myſelf, and Interceſſions for the whole
“ World. Let this Attendance, which proceeds from my deſire of fulfilling thy
“ whole Will, be acceptable to Thee and let the Conſideration of thy Mercy,
“ propoſed to the World by *Jeſus Chriſt*, move me to ſo conſtant and uniform
“ an obedience, as may entitle Me to all the Benefits promiſed to his ſincere

Followers, by *Him* whoſe Death I have now commemorated. In *his Name*, and as *his* Diſciple, I implore thy Pardon; and entreat thy Favour. Lead me, O Lord, by the guidance of thy good Providence, far from the paths of Sin, into ſuch a State as may beſt ſecure and improve my virtue. Direct and aſſiſt me, in all my Endeavours, by all ſuch Methods as are proper to move and aſſiſt thy Free and Reaſonable Creatures: and ſo, at length conduct me ſafe through a World of Trials and Temptations, to the Poſſeſſion of that extraordinary Happineſs, which Thou haſt prepared for thoſe who truly love Thee, and ſincerely obey Thee, through thy Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, our bleſſed Lord and Saviour [f].”

When all Perſons preſent have received the *Bread* and *Wine*; They are again to join in the *Publick Office*: In which, after the *Lord's Prayer*, the Congregation prays to *Almighty God* thus—“*We entirely deſire thy Fatherly Goodneſs mercifully to accept this our* Sacrifice *of Praiſe and Thankſgiving*; *moſt humbly beſeeching Thee to grant that, by the Merits and Death of thy Son* Jeſus Chriſt, *and through Faith in his Blood, We and all thy whole Church may obtain remiſſion of our Sins, and all other Benefits of his Paſſion.—We preſent unto Thee Ourſelves—to be a reaſonable, holy, and lively Sacrifice unto thee; humbly beſeeching Thee that All We, who are Partakers of this Holy Communion, may be fulfilled with thy Grace and heavenly benediction.*”

The *Sacrifices* which alone are here mentioned, are The *Sacrifice* of *Praiſe* and *thankſgiving*; and the *Sacrifice* of Ourſelves, as offered and devoted to the Service of *God* in a Life of Holineſs becoming *Chriſtians* now Solemnly profeſſing themſelves ſuch: *Both* of theſe called *Sacrifices* in a figurative Senſe; and both offered by the *Whole Congregation*. The *Two Petitions* here made, are very proper after this Solemnity. The *One* is, Not only that *We*, who have now partaken of it, but that the *Whole Body* of Thoſe who profeſs themſelves *Chriſtians*, may, by the Love of God ſhewn forth to the World in *Chriſt Jeſus*, and through *Him*, be accepted in their ſincere and conſtant Endeavours to do his Will, notwithſtanding their Imperfections; in ſuch a manner as to obtain forgiveneſs of all their paſt and forſaken Sins, and all *other Benefits* which the *Death* and Sufferings of *Chriſt* lead his Followers to, or procure for Them. The *other* Petition is, That all We, who have, in obedience to our Lord's Command, now partaken of *his Supper*, in a Religious *remembrance* of Him, may be acceptable to God, ſo as to be filled with his *Favour*; and to be guided, aſſiſted, and *bleſſed* by Him, in our *Chriſtian* Courſe through this World to a Better.

Theſe things are not ſpoken of, as ſealed to Us, or procured for Us, by this ſingle Action of partaking *worthily* of The *Lord's Supper*: but it is here properly made the Prayer of every *Chriſtian*, that He may, in *other* parts of his Conduct, as well as *this*, be a *Chriſtian* indeed; and ſo be entitled to the Bleſſing and Mercy of God, in their full Extent, through *Jeſus Chriſt*. If We hope for remiſſion of our Sins, through *Chriſt*; it muſt be upon *his* Terms only: and therefore, We ought to expreſs (as we do in the *former* of theſe Petitions) our earneſt deſire that Nothing may, on our part, hinder our receiving ſo great a Good: a *Good*, not to be attained by doing *one* part of our *Lord's* Will, but the *Whole*. So likewiſe, the *latter* of theſe *petitions* does not ſuppoſe that the very *partaking* of this *Holy Communion* has already filled Us with *Grace and* God's *heavenly Benediction*: but is framed to expreſs the deſire of a Chriſtian mind, that *We*, who have done *This* part of our Duty, may be ſtill farther favoured, directed, aſſiſted, and bleſſed, in the performance of all our Duty, and in the obtaining the Happineſs promiſed, not to the performance of *this* part of his Will alone, but to the Regular and Honeſt performance of the *Whole*. And theſe Points ought to be kept diſtinct: that the Senſe of what is neceſſary to Salvation, may be preſerved, in its full force, upon the minds of Chriſtians.

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[f] If there be any more time before All have communicated, it may be uſefully employed in conſidering the Original Inſtitution, Deſign, and Advantages, of this *Religious Rite*, as they are plainly ſet forth in ſeveral Parts of this *Plain Account*.

There is *Another* Form of *Thankſgiving*, and *Prayer*, allowed to be uſed, upon this occaſion; but very ſeldom, I think, read. In this, We are taught to ſay,— " *Almighty and Ever-living God, we moſt heartily thank Thee for that Thou doſt* " *vouchſafe to feed Us, who have duly received theſe Holy Myſteries, with the Spi-* " *ritual Food of the moſt precious Body and Blood of thy Son our Saviour* Jeſus " Chriſt; *and doſt aſſure Us thereby of thy Favour and Goodneſs towards Us; and* " *that We are very Members incorporate in the* Myſtical Body *of thy Son, which is* " *the Bleſſed Company of all faithful people*; *and are alſo Heirs, through hope, of thy* " *Everlaſting Kingdom, by the merits of the moſt precious death and paſſion of thy dear* " *Son*."—After which, We beg of God " *ſo to aſſiſt Us*, with his Grace, *that we* " *may continue* in that *holy Fellowſhip, and do all ſuch good Works as he has prepared* " *for Us to walk in*," &c. The *Holy Myſteries* here ſpoken of, are the *Bread* and *Wine*, which are *Memorials* of ſomething not preſent, *viz.* of the *Body* and *Blood* of Chriſt. They who have *duly* received theſe, have done it, as *Chriſt's Diſciples*, ſincerely believing in Him. And they are ſaid to be admitted to *feed* upon the *Body* and *Blood* of Chriſt; not by eating the *Natural* Body, and drinking the *Natural* Blood of *Chriſt*; (which it is horrible even to mention;) but, in a figurative Senſe, by eating this *Bread*, and drinking this *Wine*, in ſolemn *Remembrance* of his *Body* broken and *Blood* ſhed for Mankind. Thus by a ſtrong Figure of Speech, They may be ſaid to feed upon the *Body* and *Blood* of *Chriſt*, as They perform theſe *Actions*, believing and receiving *Chriſt*, and his Doctrine: and God may be ſaid to propoſe to Them his *Bleſſed Son* to be acknowledged as their Maſter, and *his Doctrine* to be digeſted into their Spiritual nouriſhment, by calling Them to a *Profeſſion* of their *Faith*, in their Attendance upon this Inſtitution. Every thing may be called *Food*, in a Spiritual ſenſe, which tends to the improvement of the *Soul* in what is truly good; as *Bodily Food* does to the health of the *Body*. And therefore, As *Bread* and *Wine*, taken at an ordinary Meal, are the *Food* of our *Bodies*; ſo *this Bread* and *Wine*, taken in a ſerious and Religious *Remembrance* of Chriſt, as our Maſter, may, (in a *figurative*, Spiritual, or Religious ſenſe,) be ſtiled the *Food* of our *Souls*, or the Nouriſhment of *Us* conſidered as *Chriſtians:* as the Receiving them *duly* implies in it our believing and receiving the Whole *Doctrine* of Chriſt, which is the *Food* of the Chriſtian Life; and leads our Thoughts to All ſuch Obligations and Engagements on our part, and all ſuch promiſes on God's part, as are moſt uſeful and ſufficient for our Improvement in All that is worthy of a Chriſtian.

And Almighty God, on his part, requiring and accepting our due performance of this part of our *Duty*, does by this aſſure *Us*, who come to profeſs ourſelves the *Diſciples* of Chriſt, that We are in his Favour. Or, in other words, The *Lord's Supper*, being inſtituted as the *Memorial* of his *Goodneſs* towards Us in *Chriſt Jeſus*, may juſtly be looked upon, as a Token and Pledge to aſſure Us of what it calls to our Remembrance, *viz.* that God is ready to pardon and bleſs Us, upon the Terms propoſed by his Son: and conſequently, that We are received by Him as the *Diſciples* of Chriſt, *Members* of his *Body* the *Church*, and *Heirs* of his Heavenly *Kingdom*; in a word, as Perſons entitled to all the Happineſſes promiſed to *Chriſtians*, if we be not wanting to Ourſelves in *Other* parts of our Duty. And that We may not fall ſhort of ſo great Mercies, We are taught, in the *Prayer* annexed to this *Thankſgiving*, to aſk *God's* aſſiſtance towards our performance of what is ſtill on our part neceſſary, in the conduct of our Lives, *after* our having *duly partaken* of the Holy *Communion.* Neither here, is this *Grace* of *GOD* ſuppoſed to be a certain and immediate effect of our receiving this *Sacrament* WORTHILY; but is plainly left (as it ought to be) as the *Subject* of a *Chriſtian's Prayer*, wholly diſtinct from the Duty of communicating.

This, I think, is the only Explication of theſe *Figurative* Expreſſions, agreeable to the *primary Deſign* of this *Rite.* If Any, not content with *this*, ſeek for *Another*; They muſt not ſeek for it, as far as I can judge, in the *Original Inſtitution.*

I have thus endeavoured to explain Every *Paſſage* in the *Communion-office*, which ſeemed at all to want Explication; in order to make the Whole more uſeful to Thoſe who attend, in our Churches, upon the Lord's *Supper*, with a ſincere Deſign of partaking of It according to the Inſtitution of *Chriſt* himſelf; and of forming all their *Thoughts* and Behaviour, during the whole time of their Attendance, agreeably to the True Original Deſign of it.

XVIII. Whether any *Privileges*, or *Benefits*, are annexed to the Partaking *Worthily* of the *Lord's Supper*; and what they are that are annexed to it; can appear only from the *Words* of the *New Teſtament* itſelf; or from the real *Nature* and *End* of this *Inſtitution*, and what is neceſſarily included in it.

I. As to the *Words* of the *New Teſtament*; We muſt ſeriouſly conſider all the Texts in it, relating to this Subject; in order to judge whether it has pleaſed God to annex, in *expreſs words*, any *Promiſes* to this Duty (peculiarly) of *partaking* of the *Lord's Supper:* or to declare, *in expreſs words*, any *Privileges* to belong to *Chriſtians*, for the ſake, or by means, of their Attendance upon it.

And here, before I proceed to make any Remark upon the *Paſſages* which I have already produced and explained, I think it juſt to mention *One*, in regard to the judgement of Some *Good Interpreters*, who think it relates to the Subject We are now upon; though, in my own opinion, They have not the leaſt foundation for thinking ſo. I mean That in St. *Paul's* firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, *ch.* xii. *ver.* 13. *For by one ſpirit are We* [or, *We have been*] *all baptized into one Body*; *whether we be Jews or Gentiles*, *whether we be bond or free*; *and have been all made to drink into one ſpirit.* Theſe laſt words have been interpreted by *Some*[g], to relate to *drinking* the *Blood* of *Chriſt* in the *Lord's Supper*; and by that *Blood*, commemorated in that religious *Rite*, being made "to have all one life, or "Spirit; as the *ſame blood*, diffuſed through the whole natural *Body*, communicates the ſame life and Spirit to all the Members." And by *Others*, the ſame words have been made to ſignify the participation of the moral *fruits*, or *Graces*, of God's holy Spirit by means of receiving the *Cup* in the Lord's *Supper.* Now, in order to judge of theſe *Interpretations*, and to find out the true meaning of this *Text*, We ought to conſider both the Words and Phraſes made uſe of; and the main deſign of the *Writer* in the whole paſſage to which it belongs.

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[g] See Mr. *Locke*, and Others.

1. The *Words* themſelves are ſuch as St. *Paul* can hardly be ſuppoſed to make uſe of, concerning the *Lord's Supper*. The partaking of this *Rite* was never by *Him*, nor by any other Writer, in the *New Teſtament*, (as far as I can recollect,) repreſented by that *one* particular part of it, which conſiſts in *drinking*, in remembrance of the *Blood* of *Chriſt*: And this *drinking* at the Lord's Table was never once by *Him*, nor any other *Sacred Writer*, expreſſed by being *made to drink into* the *Spirit* of GOD; or any thing like it. On the contrary, He himſelf, in the two foregoing *chapters*, ſpeaks of this part of that *Holy Rite*, in plain words, and very different language; without once mentioning this *drinking* of, or *into*, the *Spirit*, or any thing equivalent to it. He there uſes the phraſes of the *Communion* (or *partaking*) *of the Blood of Chriſt*; and of partaking of *the Cup of the Lord*: and it can hardly be thought that He would immediately change his way of ſpeaking; and, after He had quitted the ſubject of the *Lord's Supper*, return to it without any notice; and deſcribe one part of it by the phraſe of *being made to drink of*, or *into*, *the ſame Spirit*, not at all like to his former language about it.

The mention of *Baptiſm* in the former part of the ſame *verſe*, is no argument at all that the *Lord's Supper* muſt be intended in the latter part of it. For We find the Rite of *Baptiſm*, in every other paſſage of the *New Teſtament* in which it is mentioned, ſpoken of, and ſometimes enlarged upon, without any mention of, or alluſion to, the Lord's *Supper*. But it ought here to be obſerved that the giving of the *Spirit*, *that is*, the extraordinary Gifts of it, was ſo cloſely joined, in the very firſt days of the *Goſpel*, to *Baptiſm* itſelf, (generally following upon the impoſition of the *Apoſtle's* hands, preſently after it,) that This alone will account for the ſpeaking of the *drinking of*, or *into*, *the Spirit*, in the ſame ſentence with *Baptiſm*; and connecting one to the other. And in this ſenſe the receiving of the *Spirit* is, in ſome places of the *New Teſtament*, ſpoken of, as following after *Baptiſm*; but never as following upon the partaking of the *Lord's Supper*: which is at leaſt a probable argument that this *latter* was not at all refered to, in this obſcure *text*.

Nor indeed do I ſee how the *Greek Word*, here uſed, immediately after that of *having been baptized*, can ſignify any thing depending upon repeated Acts of ordinary Duty. For, as the phraſe, *We have been baptized*, refers to one ſingle *Rite* by which Chriſtians are declared to be made *one Body*; ſo, the phraſe, *We have been made to drink into* One *and the ſame Spirit*, muſt naturally refer to one ſingle paſt Fact, after that *Baptiſm*. And thus the *Apoſtle's* manner of ſpeaking leads us to think: which is a *poſitive* declaration of this *drinking* (not of the *Cup*, or of the *Blood* of the *Lord*, but) of, or *into*, the *Spirit*; as a certain *Fact* to which the *Corinthians* were then Witneſſes; and not as a *Fact* depending upon what was *uncertain*, or upon a *Rite* to be often repeated. This diſtinguiſhes it fully from any *drinking of the Spirit*, which is conſequent upon drinking ſomething elſe; and from any effect of *drinking*, in the *Communion*, which muſt undoubtedly depend upon the temper and good behaviour of *Chriſtians*, at every participation of the *Lord's Supper*. And indeed, no great and wonderful Favours can well be ſuppoſed to have been ſpoken of to the *Corinthians*, by St. *Paul*, as viſible and certain effects of the participation of the *Lord's Supper* amongſt Them, after the very different language concerning this *Rite*; and the ſharp reproofs of the conduct of many of them in their attendance upon it, which He had before made uſe of. I might add that, in the propriety of language, had the *Apoſtle* intended to ſpeak of repeated Acts of partaking of the *Cup* of the *Lord*, He would have uſed the word [ϖοτιζόμεθα] in the *preſent Tenſe*, to ſignify that We are, by our repeated attendance at the *Lord's Table*, frequently made to *drink* of, or *into*, the Spirit; and not [ἐποτίσθημεν] *We have been made to drink of*, or *into it*; which anſwering exactly to [ἐβαπτίσθημεν] *We have been baptized*, moſt probably (as this latter does) refer to *one Fact*, ſtated and certain.

2. This, I think, will be put beyond doubt by the plain Deſign of St. *Paul*, in this whole *Chapter*. In which, after He has made an End of his directions and obſervations relating to the *Lord's Supper*, He introduces a perfectly new Subject, ch. xii. *ver.* 1. *Now, as concerning ſpiritual gifts, Brethren, I would not have you ignorant.* He then puts them in mind of the different ſorts of *Gifts*, or *Graces*; all given by the ſame *Spirit*, for the good and advantage of the whole Body of *Chriſtians*. In going over the particular *Gifts* in his view, He does not mention any of the *moral virtues*; as the *Gifts* He here means. Every one of Theſe is indeed repreſented by *Him*, in other *Epiſtles*, as the *Fruit* of the Chriſtian Spirit; the genuine work and product of *Chriſtianity*, in oppoſition to the *Works* of the *Fleſh*; *Gal.* v. 22. *Eph.* v. 8. and they are all called καρποὶ τȣ̃ ϖνεύματος. But the *other* are χαρίσματα, the uncommon favours, or *Graces*, in another Senſe, as peculiarly beſtowed upon ſome particular perſons. Theſe alone, (ſuch as an *Extraordinary Faith*, in order to work miracles; the gift of *healing* diſeaſes; the Power of diſcerning the Spirits of others;) are here mentioned, as inſtances of the *ſpiritual* Graces amongſt the *Corinthians*. And theſe, coming from the *Holy Spirit* of God, as *Waters* flow from a *Fountain*, are well repreſented under that figure. Thus, after the *Apoſtle* has mentioned the particulars, *ver.* 4—11, He comes to his argument, by which He deſigns to perſuade all perſons concerned, to uſe theſe *extraordinary Gifts*, according to the deſign of the Giver, for the good of the Whole Society. "As it is, ſaith He, *ver.* 12, in the natural Body, ſo it is with the *Chriſtian ſociety*. We are to conſider ourſelves as many Members compoſing one Body: and obliged to act for the good of the Whole. For, *ver.* 13, We have all been *baptized*, and by that *Rite*, declared to make *One Body*, or *Society*; and it is *One* and the *ſame ſpirit*, of which All of Us, who have been favoured with theſe extraordinary gifts, have been made to *drink*, for the uſe of the Church; and by which Every part of the *Church* is to be benefited: juſt as, in the *natural Body*, All Members partake of the ſame life, from One and the ſame principle." From hence to the *twenty ſeventh* verſe He illuſtrates what He intends, by the Union and correſpondence of the ſeveral Members of the *Body natural*, all ſympathizing with, and aſſiſting, one another: and then, *ver.* 27, reſumes the ſame concluſion, that "So it is in the *Body of Chriſt*, of which every Chriſtian is a Member. One is favoured with one ſort of *gifts*; Another with another; but all in ſubſerviency to the Good and Advantage of the Whole." And in enumerating theſe Gifts, and the perſons who poſſeſs them, He ſtill mentions, not any of the *Moral virtues* which are called the *Fruits* of the *Spirit*; but only the *Extraordinary* Offices, and Gifts, beſtowed upon Some, and not common to all, even in thoſe days. After this, in the laſt verſe, He introduces his diſcourſe about the Importance of *Charity*, the greateſt of *Moral Virtues*; by diſtinguiſhing it from the *Gifts* (χαρίσματα) He had been ſpeaking of; and profeſſing that He was going to ſhew Them *a more excellent way*, by pointing out, and deſcribing This, in its full extent. And, after having ſpent the whole 13th chapter in inflaming their deſires after *Charity*, which it was in the power of all ſincere Chriſtians to poſſeſs; and in ſetting it above all thoſe Extraordinary gifts themſelves; He commands them, ch. xiv. 1, to *purſue* after *Charity* in the firſt place; and then to be as fond and as deſirous as They

pleaſe of the extraordinary *Spiritual Gifts* before-mentioned. Of theſe very ſpiritual Gifts, He preſently directs Them to value, and wiſh for, ſuch as were the moſt uſeful to the whole Church aſſembled; and not the moſt pompous and aſtoniſhing. So that We ſee, *Charity* itſelf, that Great *Moral* virtue in the *Chriſtian Syſtem*, is not one of theſe *Gifts* implied in the *Text*, I have been now explaining; but is diſtinguiſhed from them, and preferred before them.

From all this it is plain that, in the *paſſage* before Us, in which St. *Paul* declares the *Chriſtians* to have *been made to drink into the ſame Spirit*, He had not the *Moral Virtues* in his view, as the Effect of that or any other *drinking*; but the Extraordinary *Graces* or *Favours*, called in this chapter χαρίσματα, and in the next τὰ πνευματικὰ, *ſpiritual Gifts*, as the very things which They had been *made to drink*, or which had been communicated to them *immediately* from the *Spirit*: and that He is not here ſpeaking at all of the Attendance of Chriſtians upon the *Lord's Table*; or of any *Rite* of *Religion*, as neceſſary in order to obtain theſe *Gifts*; but indeed arguing to quite another purpoſe. Upon the whole therefore, the Meaning of this *Paſſage* may be thus expreſſed: "For as We all, whether "*Jews* or *Gentiles*, have been *baptized into one Body*, that is, by *Baptiſm* have "been declared Members of the one Chriſtian Society, Chriſt's myſtical Body; "ſo likewiſe, All We, who have been endowed with the extraordinary gifts "which flow immediately from the Spirit of GOD, as from a fountain, of "which We have been made to drink; that All We, I ſay, had theſe extraordinary "Gifts beſtowed upon Us, by one, and the ſame Spirit; for the Good and "Edification of the whole Church, and not for the oſtentation and glory of "particular Members." The partaking of theſe Gifts of the *Spirit* plainly ſeems to be the *drinking* intended by the *Apoſtle* in theſe figurative words; and not the drinking of any *Cup*, or *Liquor*, (literally ſpeaking) in order to the obtaining any moral virtues, or graces. This *Text* therefore, can never be urged as an Inſtance, or Proof, of any Promiſe, or *Privilege*, expreſſly annexed by our *Saviour*, or his *Apoſtles*, to the participation of the *Lord's* Supper.

And now, if We review all the *Paſſages* of the New Teſtament, which I have before produced, (and they are all which can be thought to relate to this *Rite*,) We ſhall find that there is only *One* of them, which has been ſuppoſed by any *Interpreters* to imply in it any immediate *Benefit*, or *Privilege*, annexed to the Partaking of this *Rite*: *viz.* That of St. *Paul*, in which the partaking of the *Cup*, and of the *Bread*, at the Lord's *Table*, is ſaid to be "The *Communion* of the "*Blood*, and of the *Body*, of *Chriſt*." This, I acknowledge, has been interpreted by Many to ſignify "An actual partaking of *All* the Benefits of his Sufferings "and Death for our ſakes." But I have already ſhewn at ſome length, [*p.* 856, *&c.*] that the *Apoſtle's* Argument in that place, and his plain Intention in it, neither require, nor admit, this Senſe of the Words. And I was the more ſolicitous to put this in a clear light, becauſe I eſteemed it of very pernicious Conſequence to lead Chriſtians to think that *This*, or *any One*, ſingle Inſtance of Obedience to the *Will* of *God*, however *Worthily* performed, and ſuitably to Its Nature and End, could poſſibly be to *Them*, the partaking of All the *Benefits* of *Chriſt's* Life and Death. Such a *Doctrine* as this, would, in my opinion, be inconſiſtent with the plaineſt Declarations of the *Goſpel*; and not only inconſiſtent with, but directly contradictory and deſtructive to, the Main Deſign of it: and therefore, cannot be the Senſe of *any* Paſſage in that *Goſpel*, which was revealed to teach Men other Meaſures of Acceptance with God. Much leſs ought ſo Important a Doctrine to be built upon any *Paſſage*, which, at beſt, is owned to be of the *Figurative* Sort, and of dubious Interpretation.

The Truth of what I am ſaying will appear ſtill more plainly from *One Inſtance*: and That ſhall be, the *Benefit* of *Remiſſion* of our paſt *Sins* through *Jeſus Chriſt*. If it be aſked,—Do we not partake of this *Benefit*, by our partaking of the Lord's Supper *worthily?* I muſt anſwer, No; if the *Goſpel* be true. For in *that*, No *pardon* of paſt Sins is promiſed, or given, unleſs to *Thoſe* juſt converted, renouncing their Sins, and baptized into the *Chriſtian Faith*; or to Thoſe who, having ſinned after *Baptiſm*, actually amend their lives. A diſpoſition towards this Amendment; a Reſolution to Amend, are very good Steps: and Theſe are virtually implied in our *Profeſſing* ourſelves Chriſtians, and Remembering *Chriſt*, as our *Lord* and *Maſter*, at his *Table*. But neither this *Diſpoſition*, nor this *Reſolution*, let them be never ſo ſincere, are themſelves *Actual Amendment*. And this *Actual Amendment* being ſo neceſſary a Qualification, that there is No Forgiveneſs of Sins after *Baptiſm* promiſed without it; it remains certain that No *Act* of *Religion*, without this, can be a Title to ſuch *Forgiveneſs*. So far is the Performance of this Duty from being itſelf the *Claim*, or *Seal*, to *All* the *Benefits* of Chriſt's *Death*; that it is not ſo, to this ſingle *Benefit*, which cannot be obtained without a *Practice* conformable to the *Laws* of the *Goſpel*.

Accordingly, In our *publick Office* it is not ſuppoſed that the *Worthy partaking* of the *Lord's Supper* does itſelf operate this *forgiveneſs*; but it is made part of a Prayer to God, that They who have *partaken* of it, *may obtain* Remiſſion *of their* Sins, and *all other* Benefits, *&c.* They are taught to pray thus, *after* the *Act* of *Communion* is over; which ſuppoſes that It is not *already obtained*: and the words can be underſtood in no Senſe, conſiſtent with the whole Goſpel, but *this*, That they may behave Themſelves in *All* reſpects, (as, it is hoped, They have in *This* one,) ſo agreeably to the Will of God, that They may be of the number of Thoſe who ſhall be pardoned and accepted: and that This particular Duty, rightly performed, may be *One Mean* of leading them to a ſteady *Perſeverance* in all that is good.

Agreeably to all this, We ought to explain that *Paſſage* in the *Church Catechiſm*, in which, it being aſked, What is the *Inward part, or thing ſignified*, in the Lord's Supper? the *Anſwer* is, *The* Body *and* Blood *of* Chriſt, *which are* verily *and* indeed *taken and received by the* Faithful, *in the* Lord's Supper: which words, for want of an Equitable Explication, have been charged with an *abſurdity* equal to That of *Tranſubſtantiation* itſelf. That they cannot be meant of *Chriſt's Natural Body* and *Blood*, Every one, who knows the Principles of the *Compilers* of the *Catechiſm*, and the Doctrine of our *Church*, not only allows, but contends. By *Faith*, or a ſincere *believing* in *Chriſt*, and receiving Him as our Maſter, We are ſaid indeed, *figuratively* to *eat* the *Fleſh*, and *drink* the Blood, of the *Son* of *Man*; as We take in, and digeſt, for our Spiritual Nouriſhment, all his Doctrine. But this is not by *Faith*, conſidered peculiarly at the *Lord's Table*; but by *Believing* in general.

Nor can the *Meaning* be, That the *Benefits* of *Chriſt's Body* broken, and *Blood* ſhed, are *verily* and *indeed* taken and received by the *Faithful* in the *Lord's Supper*: not merely becauſe This, as I have already ſhewn, is not true; but becauſe, I think, it contradicts Another, and a plainer, Part of this very *Catechiſm*. For juſt before, the *Queſtion* being aſked, "*Why was the Lord's Supper ordained?*" This very ſhort and full *Anſwer* is given,—"*For the continual* Remembrance *of* "*the Sacrifice of the Death of* Chriſt; *and of the* Benefits *which We receive thereby*." We ſee, It is for the *remembrance* of all the *Benefits* which are promiſed to be beſtowed upon us by means of *Chriſt*; and not for the *actual receiving* thoſe *Benefits*, that our *Church* declares this *Rite* to be ordained. This *Remembrance* of them is indeed, *One Mean* tending to the obtaining them: as it tends to our conſidering and apprehending what They are, and upon what Terms propoſed to Us; and as it is in itſelf an Acceptable Obedience to a *Command* of our *Saviour*. But it is but *One Mean*; and that, in theſe Senſes: which are very different from the *Senſe* I am oppoſing.

But however; this *Paſſage* in the *Catechiſm* will, I think, lead Us to the only Conſiſtent Senſe of the words, we are now conſidering; which, I own, are very *Figurative*, where a *Figure* ought rather to have been explained, than made uſe of. Comparing therefore, both theſe *Paſſages* together; the meaning of the Words appears to be, That the Things ſignified, or appointed to be *remembred* in this *Rite*, are the *Body* and *Blood* of Chriſt; That theſe may be ſaid to be received by the *Faithful*, (that is, by *Believers*,) as *They* alone ſincerely and ſeriouſly *Eat* this *Bread* and *drink* this *Wine*, in *Memory* of Chriſt's *Body and Blood*. The Nature of the thing ſuppoſes them *Faithful*, (that is, *Believers* in *Jeſus Chriſt*,) before they are capable of this *Remembrance* of *Him*, as their Maſter. And conſequently, the *Faithful* are ſaid *verily* and *indeed* to *take* and *receive* the *Body* and *Blood* of *Chriſt*: becauſe *Believers* alone, coming as ſuch, *eat* his *Body* and *drink* his *Blood*, *indeed*, or in that *very* Senſe in which He appointed them to do it; *viz.* by eating *Bread*, and drinking *Wine*, in a thankful and ſerious *remembrance* of his Natural *Body* broken, and *Blood* ſhed. Or, in words a little different, They who eat this *Bread*, and drink this *Wine*, in Religious *remembrance* of Chriſt's *Body* and *Blood*, do *verily* and *indeed* perform theſe Commands of His, *Take*, *Eat*, This *is* my *Body*; and *Drink ye all of* this, *For* this *is* my *Blood*. They take *Both*, in that Senſe in which He called them his *Body* and *Blood*; *viz.* as *Memorials* of them. And this is ſaid of the *Faithful*, or ſincere *Believers*, in diſtinction from *Others*: who, being careleſs, or not True Believers, may take and receive the *Bread* and *Wine*; but take it, as at a *Common Table*, not religiouſly *remembring* the Lord's *Body* and *Blood*; which therefore, ſuch Perſons do not *take* and *receive*, in the Senſe of the Inſtitution, for want of this ſerious *Faith* and *Remembrance*. If this be not the Senſe of this *Paſſage*, I own myſelf unable to ſay what is.

It is not therefore, I think, truly affirmed that “ The participation [h] of the “ Benefits purchaſed by Chriſt's death, is, by a very proper figure of Speech, in “ *this* Sacrament, ſtyled, *The receiving of* CHRIST's *Body* and *Blood*; as it is, in “ the *other*, [viz. *Baptiſm*] ſtyled a being *buried with Chriſt and riſing with Him* “ *again*.” For,

1. This latter Expreſſion, made uſe of by St. *Paul*, with relation to *Baptiſm*, is taken from the Cuſtom of *Immerſion* in the firſt days; and from that particular manner of *baptizing* Proſelytes: by which they were firſt covered with Water, and in a State as it were of *Death* and *Inactivity*; and then aroſe out of it into a ſort of New State of *Life* and *Action*. And if *Baptiſm* had been then performed, as it is now amongſt Us; We ſhould never have ſo much as heard of this Form of Expreſſion, of *dying* and *ariſing* again, in this Rite. But farther, This figurative Expreſſion is not ever made uſe of to ſignify any *Benefit*, or *Privilege*, actually obtained at the time of receiving *Baptiſm* worthily; or by means of it: but peculiarly applied to the duty and obligation the baptized Perſon is reminded of, by this particular manner of *Baptiſm*. This is evidently the Tendency of this *Figurative phraſe*; and the *Uſe* the *Apoſtle* actually makes of it, *Rom.* vi. 3, 4, 11, 12. In which chapter, though the *Apoſtle* mentions the great happineſs

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[h] See Dr. *Clarke's* Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm, p. 311.

of *living again with* Chriſt, as what we have a right from GOD's promiſes to expect, if We truly *die with* Him, in the moral Senſe of that phraſe: yet, what He recommends to *Chriſtians*, as *figured* by the particular manner of *Baptiſm* then in uſe, is the ſtrict obligation upon them of being like perſons *dead unto ſin*, and *alive* only unto Righteouſneſs: without which, *Baptiſm* will aggravate the puniſhment of Chriſtians, inſtead of entitling Them to any Bleſſings.

2. The other *Form* of Expreſſion, *receiving the Body and Blood* of Chriſt, is taken from the words of the *Inſtitution*, in which the *Bread* and *Wine* are called the *Body* and *Blood* of Chriſt; and from the *Communion*, or participation, of the *Blood* and of the *Body of Chriſt*, in the *Lord's Supper*, ſpoken of by St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. x. 16. But I have already ſhewn that St. *Paul*, in that paſſage, was not concerning Himſelf with the *Benefits* of partaking of the *Lord's Supper*; but with the relation of the *Cup* and the *Bread* there mentioned, to the *Blood* and *Body* of Chriſt, which They were appointed to call to the remembrance of *Chriſtians*: and conſequently, that This phraſe was never uſed by Him to ſignify *All*, or even Any, of the *Benefits* purchaſed by Chriſt's death. And as for the Words of the *Inſtitution*, Take, Eat, This is my *Body*; and Drink—This is my *Blood*; They cannot poſſibly ſignify, Take and *Receive* actually at this very Time the *Benefits* of my *Death*: But, Take and *eat* This *Bread* in remembrance of my *Body*, and this *Wine* in remembrance of my *Blood*. For the Words, *Do this in remembrance of Me*, very clearly explain the whole. *Chriſt*, and the *Benefits* purchaſed by Him, are to be *remembered* in this partaking of the *Lord's Supper*; and therefore, neither *He*, nor thoſe *Benefits*, are ſuppoſed to be actually received at the time, or by the Acts, of eating this *Bread*, and drinking this *Wine*.

The *Phraſe* of eating Chriſt's *Fleſh*, and drinking his *Blood*, as it is uſed by Him, *John* vi. 56, ſignifies the Duty of believing, and *digeſting* his Doctrine; and not any *Benefits* accruing from that *eating* and *drinking*. The *eating* and *drinking* Wiſdom [*Ecclus* xxiv. 21.] is nothing but the Feeding and Improving our Souls by *That*, as We do Our *Bodies* by *Meat* and *Drink*. And neither of theſe *phraſes* does at all ſhew, that "*receiving* the *Body* and *Blood* of Chriſt" in the Lord's Supper is a proper figure of Speech to ſignify the *actual Participation of the Benefits purchaſed by his Death*; or that any ſuch Thing is ſignified by this Expreſſion.

II. If We now proceed to enquire, What thoſe *Privileges* or *Benefits* are, which are truly and certainly annexed to this Duty, or implied in it, the Anſwer I think, is; *All* that either in *general* are promiſed, or naturally belong, to a ſincere Obedience to any Poſitive Commands of God, known by Us to be ſuch; or, in *particular*, are, in the *nature* of the Thing itſelf, implied in this Rite, or reſult from it. When I argued before, that No Promiſe was made to this particular *Duty*, as diſtinct from all others; I added, *In expreſs words*: becauſe it was far from my Deſign to exclude out of a *Chriſtian's* Thought and Expectation, *Any* of thoſe *Promiſes* which attend upon All Duties of the like ſort; or *Any* of thoſe *Natural Conſequences* from *This* particular *Duty*, which may be conſidered as the *Promiſes*, in effect, of *Him* who made it a *Duty*. Thus, for inſtance, All that Favour and Acceptance, and good Pleaſure, of Almighty God, which are plainly promiſed and annexed to our *Aſſembling* ourſelves in obedience, and in honour, to *Him* and his authority, may as certainly be expected from our Aſſembling for the purpoſes of *this* Inſtitution, as for *other* Religious Purpoſes. We may be ſure, We are pleaſing Almighty God, whilſt We are obeying the Command of his *Son*; and performing what We eſteem our Duty: and this We ought to look upon as a great Happineſs.

But in *this* particular Inſtance of our Duty, We can with Reaſon go farther. I ſay *with Reaſon:* becauſe the *Benefits* received, from all ſuch *Performances*, by *reaſonable Creatures*, cannot poſſibly be received, but in a *reaſonable* way. Theſe Duties, how well ſoever performed, cannot be ſuppoſed to operate as *Charms*; nor to influence Us, as if We were only *Clock-work* or *Machines*, to be acted upon by the Arbitrary force of a ſuperior Being. But, in the natural and reaſonable tendency of them We ought to found our main Expectations; unleſs We are otherwiſe directed by *God* himſelf. And if We do, We ſhall find that, by our partaking of the *Lord's Supper*, according to the Nature and Deſign of it, We profeſs ourſelves *Chriſt's* Diſciples; and acknowledge our obligation to live according to *his* Laws: that by this we are led to a ſerious Conſideration of the Tenor and Deſign of his holy Religion; and to the ſincereſt Thankfulneſs for all that He did and ſuffered for Us; as well as to the moſt proper Diſpoſitions and Reſolutions of behaving Ourſelves as becomes Us, in our Relation to *Him* as our *Head*, and to our *Brethren* as *Fellow-members* with Us of the ſame *Body*. This is, therefore, an effectual acknowledgment of our ſtrict Obligation to all Inſtances of *Piety*, and *Virtue*. And thus, by its own Tendency, It leads our Thoughts, and conſequently our Practice, to All that is Good, and to all that is neceſſary for Us to aſk of GOD, or to act Ourſelves towards our Advancement in it. So that Our Attendance upon this *Rite* is not only the paying a *Religious Service*, in the way appointed by *Chriſt*; which cannot but be always favourably accepted by GOD; but it is a doing *That*, which we ourſelves can ſee to tend naturally to revive and keep alive in our Minds all ſuch Thoughts, Diſpoſitions, and Tendencies, as are proper to work upon the Conduct of our whole Lives.

And what *reaſonable* Creature would not be content with *Benefits* of this ſort, which are always of ſubſtantial and laſting ſervice; without fancying to Himſelf *Privileges*, *Communications*, or *Impreſſions*, from above, of Another ſort, never expreſsly promiſed to this Duty; never with certainty to be rightly judged of, in any Caſe; often fallacious; and always leaving the Mind, in which the Images of them have been worked up, in a State ſatisfied with what carries no rational ſatisfaction in it; and too often in a Diſpoſition of thinking meanly of Thoſe Real and Practical Excellenceies, which are the true Heighths, and Exalted Accompliſhents, of the *Chriſtian Life?* In *this* way, the *Lord's Supper* is One of the *Means* of *Grace*, in every good ſenſe of that Phraſe: as the due partaking of it tends to procure Us the preſent *favour* of GOD; as it is the *Mean* which naturally leads to ſuch Diſpoſitions, and Chriſtian *Graces*, as entitle Us finally to his *Favour* in Heaven; and which, amongſt *Other Means*, helps to render Us fit for All ſuch *Aſſiſtances* as are proper for Him to give to Free and Reaſonable Creatures.

If any Perſons think *This* a *Low* Character of ſuch a *Rite*, inſtituted by our *Lord* himſelf, upon ſo great and remarkable an occaſion; This muſt ariſe either from the *low Opinion* They have conceived of the *higheſt* Good of Mortal Man; which is, The Uniform Practice of *Morality*, choſen by Ourſelves as our Happineſs here, and our unſpeakable Reward hereafter; or, from the *Notion* They have entertained of ſome *Expreſs Promiſe* annexed by GOD to this Duty, which implies more in it than I have ſaid. When this *Promiſe* is produced, Every *Chriſtian* ought to receive it with Joy; and form his Expectations upon it. But till He can find this Promiſe, He ought not to deceive his own Soul, or ſuffer it to be deceived by Others, into fond and groundleſs imaginations of Things never included in this *Rite* by its great and good *Founder:* when at the ſame time, after all our ſearches, Nothing more truly *Great* or *Good* can be found out, or ſaid, of ſuch an *Inſtitution*, deſigned for the Advantage of Free Agents, than, “That it will help Us, if We be not wanting to Ourſelves, in our Voluntary and ſincere Endeavours of reforming all our Vices, and increaſing in “All Virtue, which is our Likeneſs to GOD himſelf.” Upon theſe Reaſons, taken from the Nature and Deſign of the *Inſtitution* itſelf, I have ſaid what I think true of it: but I am not at liberty to ſay more of *It*, and of the *Benefits* accruing from It, and *Privileges* annexed to It, than what is *truly* and *plainly* expreſſed or implied in the Words of *Scripture*; which alone muſt determine the Nature and Effect of this *Rite*.

To ſay that This *Communion* is the *Actual* partaking of *All* the *Benefits* of Chriſt's *Body* broken, and *Blood* ſhed; or, in other words, of his Living and Dying for Our Good; is not only (as I have already obſerved) to put *That* upon *One* ſingle Act of Religious Obedience, which is by our *Bleſſed Lord* made to depend upon the *Whole Syſtem* of all Virtues united; but, in the preſent Caſe, has this peculiar abſurdity in it, that in *this Rite*, which was inſtituted for the *Remembrance* of Chriſt, it deſtroys that very Notion of *Remembrance*, which is the *Eſſence* of it. The great deſign of this Inſtitution is to call to *Remembrance* the *Death* of *Chriſt*; and, what is implied in This, to *commemorate* the *Benefits* accruing to *Chriſtians* from it. To make it therefore, the *actual partaking* of theſe *Benefits*, is altering the Nature of it; as much as *actual partaking* of Any thing, is different from *Remembring* it, or calling It to mind. It is to ſuppoſe theſe *Benefits* preſent, which are to be *commemorated*; and therefore, are not, according to the Inſtitution, conſidered as *preſent*; but only as Good things promiſed by *Chriſt* to all his Followers who ſhall be found at laſt to have come up to his Terms, as far as the Imperfection of human nature would permit. This peculiar *Remembrance* of *Him*, and of theſe *Benefits*, is indeed, One, (and but One) *Mean* of procuring them; not *at* the very time of the due performance of this *Rite*, but *after* it: not by any neceſſary or inſtantaneous Effect upon *Chriſtians*, but as it may lead and help Them, to ſuch Thoughts, and Reſolutions, as may confirm Them in that *Univerſal Obedience* which alone can entitle them to the Promiſes of *Chriſt*.

To ſay that This *Sacrament* is deſigned and ordained *peculiarly* for the obtaining of God's *Holy Spirit*, is, I think, to forget and contradict thoſe Expreſs words of our *Saviour*, in which He himſelf has annexed that *Benefit* (whatever the nature and degree of it be, according to the different Ages of the *Church*, and the various neceſſities of *Chriſtians*,) to the Duty of *Prayer:* which is a *Duty* abſolutely diſtinct from the *Participation* of the *Lord's Supper*; though it may very properly go before, and follow after, it. I ſay *properly:* not *neceſſarily*, in ſuch ſenſe that the *Communion* would not be the *Communion* without it; but ſuitably to the good deſign and Tendency of this Rite, and moſt uſefully to Ourſelves.

The Promiſe of Chriſt's *being in the midſt of Us*, is not *peculiar* to our Attendance upon this *Rite*; but, as far as it relates to Chriſtians of later ages, it belongs to our Aſſembling in *His Name*, or as *His Diſciples*, upon this, or upon any Other, Religious Account.

To call it the *Food* of *Our Souls*, is not to give it a Name peculiarly proper to *This*, as diſtinct from All other Points in which we are equally concerned. The *Word* of GOD, and the Doctrine of Chriſt, are expreſſly repreſented under the Notion of our *Food*, *viz.* the Food of our *Souls*; as They tend to improve

Us in what He requires of Us, and to nouriſh Us unto Eternal life. And ſo may *Prayer*, and ſo may *this Rite*, be called, by a ſtrong figure of Speech; and ſo may Every thing elſe, which leads us to a Life of Virtue: every Step of which may be ſtyled, by the *ſame figure*, the Nouriſhment and Strength of our Souls, towards a farther improvement. But the *Danger* of a Miſtaken Expectation, from calling *This* ſo, is the *Greater*; becauſe, the *Rite* itſelf conſiſting in *eating* Bread and *drinking* Wine, the Expreſſion is apt to convey the Notion of ſomething mechanically or miraculouſly conveyed at the ſame Time into the *Soul*, which is Food to *That*, as the *Bread* eaten is to the *Body*. But This, and other Miſtakes ariſing from various Forms of *Expreſſion* are, I think, originally owing to our neglecting the ſimple primary Idea, annexed to this Inſtitution, of the *Remembrance* of *Chriſt's Death*: a Notion, which, conſtantly attended to, would guard us againſt the Errors ariſing from all ſorts of Expreſſions. And to this we ſhall always carefully attend, unleſs We can come to think the ſole Account left Us, by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, of this *Inſtitution*, too low and plain for us to be contented with; and greatly to ſtand in need of our Additions to heighten and improve it.

This will teach us the true Senſe to be put upon that *Anſwer* in our *Church-catechiſm*, which declares the *Benefits* of which We are Partakers, in this *Rite*, to be, *The ſtrengthening and refreſhing of our Souls by the Body and Blood of Chriſt, as our Bodies are by the Bread and Wine: viz.* That, as *Bread* and *Wine*, conſidered only as *Natural Food*, ſtrengthen and refreſh our Bodies; ſo, *This Bread* and *Wine*, conſidered and taken as Memorials of the *Body* and *Blood* of *Chriſt* our Maſter, lead Us, by their peculiar Tendency, to all ſuch Thoughts and Practices, as are indeed the Improvement and Health of our Souls. And thus, if *Juſtin Martyr*, one of the *Early Writers*, calls the *Euchariſt* by the Name of *Food*, or *Nouriſhment*; He ought to be underſtood to do this in a *Figurative Senſe*; as He would have called Any thing in Religion *Food* or *Nouriſhment*, which tends, in any degree, to ſuch a Behaviour and Practice, as improves Our Souls in their true and proper *health* and *ſtrength*; and by this means helps to nouriſh Us unto Eternal Life. If *Ignatius*, St. *John's Diſciple*, and Earlier than the Former, calls the *Bread broken in the Euchariſt*, the Medicine of immortality; *Our* Antidote, *that we ſhould not die but live for ever in Chriſt Jeſus*: This ſhews Us that there was too ſoon a Variety of *figurative* Expreſſions upon this Subject, introduced amongſt *Chriſtians*: which yet may be well interpreted by the plain Nature and Deſign of the Thing itſelf. Thus, this *Bread* which might, in *One* Senſe, by a Figure, be called *Food*, in *Another* Senſe might, by the ſame ſort of *Figure*, be called *Phyſick*; [a very different Idea from that of *Food*;] as the *Rite*, of which it is a part, is, by its Deſign and End, an open Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion; as it tends to keep Us in the Profeſſion and Practice of it: and leads Us to ſuch Thoughts and Reſolutions, as are the greateſt Defences againſt the evil Effects of the *Poiſon* of Sin. In this *Senſe* it may be likened to Bodily *Phyſick*: and called a *Medicine* for *Immortality*; and an *Antidote* againſt *Sin* and *Death*. Nor can it be ſuppoſed that Any of the earlieſt Writers ſpake of *This Bread*, or of the *Euchariſt*, as *Food* or as *Medicine*, in any other ſenſe, not grounded upon the nature of the *Inſtitution*, or the words of the *New Teſtament*; without ſuppoſing at the ſame time that in *This* They ſoon deviated from the original *ſimplicity* of *Their* Religion; and applied to *this Rite* Expreſſions never intended peculiarly to belong to it; nor at all proper in any ſuch high ſenſe as may have been put upon them by ſome of late Ages.

The ſame ſort of Miſtake ſeems to lie in calling it The *Renewal* of the New *Covenant*, on *our* part; and the *Seal* of It, on *GOD's* part: The former of which is a very improper *Deſcription* of *this* Duty, as diſtinguiſhed from All others; and the Latter ſeems to Me to have no foundation, in Any Senſe.

We may indeed, be ſaid to acknowledge and own our Covenant with *GOD*, through *Chriſt*, by the *virtual profeſſing* Ourſelves to be *Chriſtians*, implied in Our *Remembring* Him as our Lord, in this *Rite*. But the ſame may be ſaid of any other, even *verbal*, Profeſſion of our *Faith* in *Chriſt*; which is equally an *Acknowledgment* of the ſame *Covenant*. But the *Repeated* Acknowledgment of our being entered into ſuch a *Covenant* is by no means, nor in any proper ſenſe, the *Renewal* of that *Covenant*. They are *Two* very different *Ideas:* and ought always to be kept ſo.

The *Chriſtian Religion* is conſidered as a *Covenant* between *GOD* and *Us*. Under this figure, The *Covenant*, on *our* Part, is, Not that We conſent to forfeit his *Favour* for ever, unleſs We ſtrictly and rigorouſly, without any one neglect or deviation, perſevere to the End of Life, in the performance of his Will: but, That We will ſincerely and uniformly endeavour to perform his Will; and, if in any inſtance We neglect or tranſgreſs it, We will not ſuffer this to grow into an *Habit* of Sin, but recover Ourſelves by greater Watchfulneſs, and actual Amendment of Life.

Keeping therefore, to this Notion of a *Covenant*; Every Individual Sin, into which a *Chriſtian* may fall, though highly diſpleaſing to *Almighty God*, and *tending* to a *Total forfeiture* of his *Covenanted Favour*, yet cannot be ſaid to be a *Breach* of the *whole Covenant*, in ſuch ſenſe as to imply in it a *Forfeiture* of all the *Benefits* of It: becauſe there is *Another* part of it, in which *Actual Amendment* is ſtipulated: and the *Event* of this muſt be ſeen, before judgement can be paſſed about this *Total Forfeiture*. But if *Sin*, or any *Number* of *Sins*, be ſuppoſed to break and diſſolve this Covenant totally; ſo that it ſhall ſtand in need of being *renewed*, in order to put the *Chriſtian* again into a *ſtate* of Favour with God: Let it be conſidered and anſwered, Can the partaking of the *Lord's Supper* thus *renew* it? Can the ſerious Remembrance of *Chriſt*, and the Profeſſion of our *Faith* in Him, implied in this *Rite*; or any Peculiarity belonging to it; be completely, and of itſelf, Such a *Renewal* as We are ſpeaking of? Is there One ſuch Word of *promiſe*, or *privilege*, mentioned, in the *New Teſtament*, as peculiarly relating to this Duty? Nothing of this kind appears there. Nor can this Duty itſelf be eſteemed as More than *One Inſtance* of our Belief in Chriſt, and *One Act* of our Obedience; always in itſelf acceptable to God, as it is accompanied with a ſincere Deſire, and implies in it an honeſt Reſolution, of doing his Will.

In a word, The effectual *Re-eſtabliſhment* of the *Chriſtian Covenant* on *our* part, if it has been ſhaken by Our Sins, can be only compaſſed by that *Actual Amendment* which is part of the *Covenant*. And therefore, as the *partaking* of the *Lord's Supper* is *not* the *Actual Amendment* of our *Lives*, but is only that *One* Inſtance of our *Chriſtianity*, by which we do in effect acknowledge our Obligation to it; and by which, as by a *Mean*, We are naturally, and by the Appointment of *Chriſt*, led to it: Let not That *Benefit* be annexed to the *Mean*, which belongs only to the *End* ſerved by That *Mean*; nor thoſe *Privileges* be given to *One Act of Religious Profeſſion*, which are conſtantly and plainly taught by GOD himſelf to belong to the *Actual Amendment* of our *Lives*, and the ſincere performance of his whole Will. And this being ſo, that the *Actual*

Amendment of our lives is the only Security to this *Covenant*, on *our* part: it follows that neither the *Partaking* of the *Lord's Supper*, nor Any thing elſe, which is not *Actual Amendment*, can be ſpoken of, with any propriety, under that *Character*.

This being ſo plain on *our* part, It would be ſufficient from hence to infer that this *Rite* of the *Lord's Supper* is not the *Seal* of the *Chriſtian Covenant*, on *God's* part; becauſe it is not the *Renewal* of it, on *Our* part. But it is fit to add ſtill farther, That the Real *Blood* of *Chriſt*, as ſhed for Us; or, in other words, his *Death*, is the only *Seal* of the *Covenant:* and even His *Blood* is called ſo, in *this figurative* ſenſe alone; *viz.* That, as *Covenants* amongſt Men are ſigned by ſome peculiar *Mark* or *Seal*, in order to ſhew and prove that *Truth* and *Validity:* ſo *Chriſt's* Death, or *Chriſt's Blood*, conſidered as the Proof He voluntarily gave that the Terms brought by Him to Mankind from GOD, were truly what He had repreſented them to be, is by a *Figure* of Speech called the *Seal* of the *New Covenant*; and He may be ſaid to have *ſealed* it with his *Blood*, as his *Death* was the ſtrongeſt proof He could give of the *Reality* of his own and of his Father's affection towards Mankind. This is the *Seal* of the *Covenant*; *that is*, It is to *this* Covenant what a *Seal* is to *Human Covenants:* and there can be no Other. *Chriſt* himſelf put this *Seal* to it once; and *but once:* and it cannot be ſuppoſed to be ſet again to It, without great Impropriety and Abſurdity. It was ſufficient at firſt; and it remains ſo for ever. The *Partaking* of the *Lord's Supper* is the *Remembrance* of that *Seal* which *Chriſt*, according to the will of his Father, and in *his* Name, ſet to the *New Covenant:* and therefore, cannot be the receiving the *Seal* itſelf. It is the *Commemoration* of his *Blood* ſhed long ago; and therefore, cannot be the partaking of His *Blood* itſelf. It deſtroys (as I have often ſaid) the Notion of this particular *Commemoration*, or *Remembrance*, of his *Blood*, to ſuppoſe it *preſent*. And conſequently, The *Seal* here *remembered*, cannot be *preſent*. There can be no actual putting to the *Seal*, in a Ceremony, inſtituted on purpoſe for the *Commemoration* of *Chriſt's* having already once for all put the *Seal* of his *Blood* to the *Covenant* of *Grace*.

When *Chriſt* ſaid of the *Cup*, at the *Inſtitution* of this Rite, “ This is my *Blood* “ of the *New Covenant*;” He did not mean that *Real Blood* which was to be ſhed, in witneſs to this Covenant: but *Wine* to be drunk in *remembrance* of that *Blood*. And if the Words were as St. *Luke* and St. *Paul* relate them, “ This is the “ *New Covenant in* (or *through*) my *Blood*;” He did not mean that the *Cup* was to be that *Covenant*, but a *Memorial* of that *Covenant* then to be *ſealed* with his *Blood*. But in neither of theſe Expreſſions can it be implied that this *Rite* is itſelf a repeated *Seal* of that *Covenant*; or any thing more, than That the *Wine* at the *Lord's Table* is the *Memorial* of that *Blood* which may be figuratively called the *Seal* of that *Covenant*; and, in conſequence of this, the *Memorial* of that *Covenant* itſelf, to the reality of which Chriſt's *Blood* was the *Seal*, or Teſtimony. This therefore, is not properly a *Fœderal Rite*, or a *Rite* making or renewing a *Covenant*; but a *Rite*, which implies in it, and leads to, the *Remembrance* of a *Covenant* to be conſidered as long ago propoſed, fixed, and ſealed, by Chriſt himſelf, on the part of *Almighty God*; and accepted and entered into, by every man, *perſonally* on his own part, at the inſtant of his firſt ſincerely believing in *Chriſt*, and profeſſing himſelf his Diſciple. *Before* this, No *Rite* can *perſonally* engage Him in this *Covenant*; becauſe no one can be *perſonally* engaged in a Religion which He has not *perſonally* agreed to: though He may be juſtly liable to puniſhment for wilfully and unreaſonably refuſing to enter into it, when duly and plainly offered to Him, on the part of Almighty GOD. And *after* this is *once* done, No *Rite* can be juſtly ſaid to relate to this *Covenant*, any farther than as an open Profeſſion that this Perſon is already engaged in it.

Neither does this *Chriſtian Rite* appear to Me to anſwer to any *Rites* or *Ceremonies*, amongſt the *Jews* or *Heathens*, which were properly *Fœderal Rites.*

To the *Blood* of the *Sacrifices*, which *Moſes* called *The Blood of* the *Covenant*; *Ex.* xxiv. 8. To *this Blood*, I ſay, the *real Blood* of *Chriſt* anſwers; and not the *Wine* in the *Lord's Supper*. The *Blood* of *Chriſt* is, in the ſame figurative Manner of ſpeaking, the *Seal* of the *Goſpel-covenant*, in which the *Blood* of thoſe *Sacrifices* was the *Seal* of the *Law-covenant*. But the *Wine* in the *Lord's Supper* is not the *Blood* of the *New Covenant*; but appointed to be drunk in *remembrance* of the *Blood* of the *New Covenant:* which makes it as different from that *Blood*, and that *Covenant*, as the *Memorial* is from the *Thing remembered.*

If the *Lord's Supper* ſucceeds in the place of the *Paſſover*; this will likewiſe help to ſhew that it cannot be *Itſelf* a *Fœderal*, or *Covenanting*, *Rite*. For the *Paſchal Supper* itſelf was inſtituted, in *remembrance* of that Redemption or Deliverance of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, by which God claimed Them for his People. And ſo, the *Lord's Supper* was inſtituted for the *remembrance* of that Redemption or Deliverance of *Chriſtians*, which God propoſed to Them, by *Chriſt*, in his *New Covenant*. As therefore, the *Paſſover* was a perpetual *Memorial* of the *One Deliverance*, and the *Covenant* formed upon it: ſo is the *Lord's Supper* the Memorial of the *Other*, and of the *Covenant* formed upon *That*; and neither of Them therefore, can be eſteemed as the *Actual Making* thoſe *Covenants*, which are only *remembered* in them.

The *Sacrifices* of the *Iſraelites*, and Thoſe of the *Heathens*, to which St. *Paul* alludes, 1 *Cor.* x. are conſidered by Him in that place only as *Acts* of *Religious Honour* paid by the *Jews* to the True *God*; and by the *Heathens* to ſuppoſed Imaginary *Dæmons*, in oppoſition to the True God: as has been already ſhewn at large, *p.* 855, *&c.* But the *Lord's Supper* does not, in his argument, anſwer to theſe *Sacrifices*; but to the *Feaſts* made upon what had been before Sacrificed. Nor does the *Lord's Table*, in St. *Paul's* argument, anſwer to the *Altars* ſpoken of by Him; but to thoſe *Tables* at which what had been before offered upon the *Altars*, was eaten in *common* by Thoſe of the ſame *Religion*. And his whole argument reſts (not upon theſe *Feaſts* being *Fœderal Rites*, of which He ſays not a word; but) upon their being deſigned and underſtood to be in honour to that real, or ſuppoſed Being, to whom the *Sacrifices* had been offered: and that it was abſurd for *Chriſtians* to partake of theſe *Meats* in the *Heathen Temples*, and partake alſo of the *Lord's Supper*, at *His* Table; as being Actions in their natural tendency inconſiſtent with one another. Nor is it reaſonable to *ſtretch* ſuch *Alluſions* as this, beyond the plain deſign of the *Argument* to which They belong.

To ſpeak of a particular *Union* and *Fellowſhip* with God, or with *Angels* and *Archangels*; as *Privileges* peculiarly implied or obtained in this *Rite*; is, I fear, to lead the Minds of *Chriſtians* ſtill farther from its original *Simplicity:* and to forget that the *One* of theſe things may be ſaid of Obedience to God's Will in general; and the *Other*, of the Duty of Praiſe or Thankſgiving in particular; more properly than of *This Rite*, which peculiarly implies in it our *Union* and *Fellowſhip* with *Chriſt* conſidered as *Head* of his *Body*, the Church; and with all the Members of that *Body* here below. It ought alſo to be remarked that every *Petition*, or *Thankſgiving*, uſed in the Publick *Office*, throughout our whole Attendance upon this *Duty*, is not a part of the *Duty* itſelf; which (ſtrictly taken) is comprehended within the limits of *Eating* and *Drinking*, with a due *Remembrance* of *Chriſt's Death*. Thus the joining in the moſt exalted Praiſes with *Angels* and *Archangels*, though a very proper and devout Expreſſion of our Senſe of God's Majeſty, has no more relation to *This* part, than to any *Other* part, of our Worſhip. The *Communion* would be as completely the *Communion* of the *Body* and *Blood* of *Chriſt*, without it, as with it: and it is as properly a Part of our Worſhip every day, in the *Te Deum*, as it is *before* the *Communion*, or partaking of the *Lord's Supper*. I ſay, *before* it: for ſo it is placed in our *Office*; and not at all ſuppoſed to be of the *Eſſence* of this *Duty*; which ought always to be conſidered as diſtinct from all *Expreſſions*, *Prayers*, or *Thankſgivings*, which are made uſe of, *before* and *after it*.

The *Communion*, or *Fellowſhip*, with *Other Beings*, peculiarly implied in our *Joint-partaking* of the *Lord's Supper*, as I have already obſerved, is the *Communion* with *Chriſt* our *Head*, and with all *Chriſtians* throughout the World; even with the *Meaneſt* and *Loweſt*, the moſt *Afflicted* and moſt *Perſecuted*, here below; and not with the Exalted Spirits *above*. For *Chriſt taketh not* hold *of* Angels; *but of the ſeed of* Abraham He *taketh* hold, *Hebr*. ii. 16; by which means it is, that All *Chriſtians* here below are made *One Body*; or Members, one with another, of *One Body*; under *Chriſt*. And this is a *Communion* which the moſt perfect *Chriſtian* here below ought to be as proud of, as of Singing the *Song* of *Seraphs*; and what, I will preſume to ſay, will do more than That, towards fitting and perfecting his Soul for the Happineſs of a *Future State*. And, (what is ſtill more to the preſent purpoſe,) It is that *Communion*, and *Sympathy*, which his Mind ought to be particularly directed to, in his Attendance upon this *Holy Inſtitution*; agreeably to what St. *Paul* ſays expreſly, with regard to our *Fellowſhip* with the *Whole Body* of *Chriſtians*, in this Rite, 1 *Cor*. x. 17.

Before I leave this part of the Subject, I muſt obſerve, that the Beſt of thoſe Writers upon this Subject, who have taught that “ by this *Sacrament* Men are “ entitled, if They be worthy Receivers, to the Benefits purchaſed by Chriſt's “ death; and that by worthily receiving the Lord's Supper We renew our own “ part in the Chriſtian Covenant; and ſecure to Ourſelves His continual Favour “ and acceptance through Chriſt:” That, after all this I ſay, They themſelves ſeem to ſuſpect this Doctrine to be uncertain and hazardous; and therefore guard it with ſome ſuch Reſtriction and Caution as this,—“ Unleſs by any Viciouſneſs in the Courſe of our Lives we contradict the Profeſſions of our “ ſolemn Devotions.” But all theſe Forms of Expreſſion and Caution put together, will not, I fear, at all explain the Nature and Effect of this *Rite*.

One reaſon is, becauſe they ſeem to contradict and deſtroy one another. For if by this *Rite* We can in any ſenſe be ſaid to *renew our own part in the Chriſtian Covenant:* it muſt be only in this improper one; *viz.* by repeating our promiſes of Obedience, and acknowledging what our own obligations are: which are not things peculiar to the *Holy Communion*; but may be done every day, and every hour. Under this Notion, therefore, Our partaking worthily of the *Lord's Supper* implies in it the *promiſing* to do our part *towards obtaining* the *Benefits* of Chriſt's death: which is inconſiſtent with the Notion of Our *actual participation* of thoſe *Benefits*, at this very time; when we only engage Ourſelves to endeavour to come up, in our future lives, to thoſe Terms without which we cannot partake of thoſe Benefits.

Again, if by this ſort of *Confirmation of our own part of the Chriſtian Covenant*, at the *Lord's Table*, *We preſerve to Ourſelves the aſſurance of God's performing his part*

part of the ſame Covenant; *That is*, of his granting Us the *Benefits* purchaſed by Chriſt's death: this alſo is inconſiſtent with the Notion of the Actual *participation* of them by receiving the Lord's *Supper* worthily. For by the very nature of a *Covenant* between Two, this *performance* on *God's* part muſt depend upon *our* performance of every thing ſtipulated on *our* part, which cannot be determined either from our firſt *making*, or now *renewing*, our part of the *Covenant*; but from Our Behaviour, through the Courſe of our Lives.

And laſtly, to ſay that by this Act of partaking of the Lord's Supper *worthily* " We ſecure to Ourſelves God's favour and Acceptance through Chriſt, unleſs " by any Viciouſneſs in the courſe of our lives We contradict the profeſſions of " our ſolemn Devotions;" ſeems no better than to give to this *Act*, in *one* part of this ſentence, a *Privilege* which is immediately taken away by declaring, in *another* part of the ſame ſentence, the ſteady practice of all Virtue, to be ſo neceſſary, that without it, the performance of this Duty *worthily* will be of no avail towards this acceptance. And indeed, at the beſt, it is ſaying nothing which teaches Us the peculiar nature of this *Duty*, We are enquiring after: nor any thing but what may be ſaid, with equal propriety, of the ſingle Duty of *Prayer*; or any other of the like ſort.

Theſe very *Cautions*, We ſee, ſuppoſe (what without doubt is true) that a Chriſtian may receive this *Sacrament* worthily; and yet afterwards contradict the *profeſſion* of this part of His *Devotion*, by a *Viciouſneſs in the Courſe of his Life*. As therefore, on one hand, if the Man after this be Vicious and Immoral; this *Sacrament*, though *worthily* received, will not ſecure to Him *God's* acceptance; ſo, on the other hand, if his Practice be in all reſpects worthy of a Chriſtian; it is his Univerſal Obedience to the Will of God, which will be his ſecurity; and not this *particular inſtance* of it, conſidered by itſelf. For in both Caſes the receiving this *Sacrament* is the *ſame*, and of the ſame effect; *viz.* It is *one* Duty, *worthily* performed; and therefore acceptable to GOD. But, being but *One*, it cannot avail, *without* the performance of all *Others*; and, when accompanied with that performance, It is not to *this* ſingle Inſtance of Chriſtian Duty, (any more than to any other,) that the *Chriſtian* owes the ſecurity of his Acceptance with GOD: but to the Practice of his *Whole Duty*, and of that Univerſal *Holineſs, without which no man ſhall ſee the Lord.*

I have thus endeavoured to guard myſelf and Others againſt all ſuch Doctrines and Ways of Expreſſion concerning this *Duty*, as appeared to carry along with them any Notions which might prove of bad conſequence to Chriſtians; or at beſt do not tend to explain the peculiar nature of it, as diſtinguiſhed from all other Duties of Religion. And from what I have laid down I think it very evident that the proper and conſiſtent way of Expreſſion, upon this Subject, is this: " That partaking *worthily* of the *Lord's Supper* is one particular Duty of " a *Chriſtian*; that this partaking of it *worthily* is no more than the *Performance* " of *One* Duty, in a manner, and with diſpoſitions, ſuitable to the deſign and " nature of it: and therefore, ought not to be accounted of any more importance " towards the ſecuring our Acceptance with GOD, than the performance " of a ſingle Duty of this ſort can be: And that every Chriſtian is obliged, not " only to perform *this* Duty *worthily*, but every other Duty of his Religion upon " Principles ſuitable to its nature; and, as to his Final Acceptance with " GOD through Chriſt, ought to have his Eye conſtantly and particularly " upon that whole Syſtem of Moral Duties, upon which, throughout the *New* " *Teſtament*, his Acceptance is Conſtantly put; and upon thoſe Catalogues of " Vices which are as conſtantly there declared to exclude all who practiſe them

“ from the Kingdom of Heaven, let their Religious performances, in other “ reſpects, be what they will.”

To conclude, Let *Chriſtians* be content with what their *Maſter* and his *Apoſtles* have taught them to *expect* from This Duty, and not think it Any *Exaltation* of *his* Inſtitution, to magnify It into what *He* never deſigned it to be. Let them not eſteem *That*, as a *Low Diſpenſation*, which is as *High* as it was *His Will* to make it; nor think, *above what is written*, of *That*, which can receive its value *only* from *what is written*. Let them remember that All beyond, is no better than a Dream: pleaſing perhaps at preſent: but, in the end, hurtful to Thoſe who infuſe it into Others, and to Thoſe who will find Themſelves diſappointed when They are waked out of it. Let them attend upon This *Holy Inſtitution*, as the *Commemoration* of their *Lord*, the Reviver and Teacher of the pureſt Religion in the World: and This will lead their Thoughts to their *Happineſs*, by the Way of their *Duty*; and diſengage them from dwelling chiefly upon *Supernatural Favours* and *exalted Privileges*, where They are naturally and ſtrongly called upon to think of their own indiſpenſable Obligations to *depart from all Iniquity*; and to *practiſe all Virtue*, *that is*, to have their *Converſation ſuch as becometh the* Goſpel *of* Chriſt, whom They thus acknowledge for their *Maſter*.

APPENDIX.

IT may not be unuſeful to Thoſe whoſe Benefit I chiefly deſign, before I conclude, juſt to mention, and explain, ſeveral of thoſe *Names*, by which this Religious *Rite* has been heretofore, or is now, called: that ſo, Unlearned Readers may be as little at a loſs as poſſible, to underſtand what They may at any time read, either in *this*, or any other, *Treatiſe* upon this ſubject.

1. From the foregoing Account of the *Inſtitution*, We ſee immediately the Reaſon why this Religious *Rite* was called *The Lord's Supper*: which was the *Firſt Name* of it; and a Name agreeable to the Simplicity of the *Inſtitution* itſelf. It was inſtituted at, or after, the *Laſt Supper*, which our *Saviour* and his Diſciples ate together, in Celebration of the *Jewiſh Paſſover*: and, as it was appointed to conſiſt in *Eating Bread* and *Drinking Wine*, It was naturally called, *The Lord's Supper*, from that *Supper* at which our Lord thought fit to declare his mind about it. But there being nothing in the Words of our *Lord*, or in the nature of the Thing itſelf, with regard to *Chriſtians*, which makes this *Rite* at all leſs proper at any one time of the day than another; Nothing can be inferred, either from the *Deſign* of the *Inſtitution*, or the *Time* of it, to confine the Celebration of it to the Evening. And accordingly, we find that ſome of the *Firſt Chriſtians*, (though not the *very Firſt*) choſe an Early Hour of the Morning to meet and partake of it; becauſe That was the time when they could be moſt ſecure from the diſturbance of their Enemies and Perſecutors. And reaſons of convenience may determine *Others* to Any other time of the Day.

One thing however ſeems neceſſary to be ſaid; *viz.* That, when honeſt *Chriſtians* are directed, under colour of Reſpect to this *Rite*, to a moſt ſcrupulous Care of *not eating* or *drinking*, before They receive this *Bread* and *Wine*: That *then*, I ſay, they ought to call to mind the *time* of its *Inſtitution*; and the original name of the *Lord's Supper*. This Will immediately ſhew them the Weakneſs of entertaining any ſuch *ſuperſtitious dread* of what is rather *agreeable* to the firſt *Time* and firſt *Name* of it, than the contrary. One would be tempted indeed, from hence to wiſh that the *Time* of *partaking* of the *Lord's Supper* had been never altered from what that *Name* ſeems to imply. But when the abſurd Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation* came into power, Every *Appendage* and Every *Circumſtance* of this *Rite* was modeled by that *Abſurdity*; and received *Rules* and *Laws* from it. And where that Doctrine is utterly diſowned, Something will often be working the ſame way, in its ſtead, even againſt the natural Tendency of our *Bleſſed Lord's* own Behaviour. Thus, in the preſent Inſtance, It was in the place of the *Paſchal Supper*, (which uſed to be celebrated *after* every other Meal of the day,) that our *Saviour* bade his Diſciples to *eat* this *bread*, and *drink* this *wine*: but *Others* ſay, Take care to *Eat* this *Bread*, and *drink* this *Wine*, *before* Every other Meal. It was by the *Apoſtles* themſelves called the *Lord's Supper*; and, in their days, celebrated at, or after, the *time* of *Supper*: but by *Others* of *later* ages, it has been ſuperſtitiouſly recommended, to be accompanied with Faſting; and this, in ſo particular a manner, as to lead weak honeſt minds to think it a ſort of *profanation* to follow the Practice even of the *Apoſtles*, and the very firſt Examples. This is a miſtaken and *Imaginary Reſpect* paid to this *Rite*; though often, I doubt not, ſincerely and piouſly intended. The *real* Reſpect is, in obedience to our Lord's Commands, (which does not ſcrupulouſly fix the *time* of day, ſo as to make it part of the *Duty*,) to *partake* of it, at any time which *Cuſtom* has fixed, with the moſt ſerious *Remembrance* of Him.

Another *Name* by which this *Rite* has been long called, is The *Eucharist*: which in *Engliſh* ſignifies *Thankſgiving*. And *This* it is deſigned to be, in an high and peculiar Senſe, as it is the *Remembrance* of that *Love* of *God*, in Chriſt's dying for Us, which ought to excite in Us the ſtrongeſt Sentiments of Praiſe and Gratitude. Our Bleſſed *Lord* opened his *Inſtitution* of this *Rite* with *giving of Thanks* to God. And St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor*. x. 16, calls the *Cup*, uſed in *this* Religious Ceremony, the *Cup* of *Bleſſing which we bleſs*; that is, over which We ſpeak good Words of *Bleſſing* and *Praiſe*; in alluſion to that *Cup*, uſed in the Celebration of the *Jewiſh Paſſover*, which was upon the ſame account called *The* Cup *of* Bleſſing: and eſpecially, as this *Cup* contains *Wine* to be drunk in remembrance of *Chriſt's Blood* ſhed for our Benefit, and therefore juſtly directs Us to the ſincereſt Thankfulneſs to GOD. And agreeably to all this, in our *Publick Office*, the *Communion* is accompanied with ſolemn *Praiſes* and *Thankſgivings*; and, at the Concluſion of it, Almighty God is entreated to accept *this our Sacrifice of* Praiſe *and* Thankſgiving.

It has been, in latter Ages, called *(Emphatically*, and by way of *Eminence*,*)* The *Communion*, or The *Holy Communion*, without the addition of any other words. And this muſt be underſtood in the Senſe which St. *Paul* expreſſes more largely, 1 *Cor*. x. 16, 17; where he calls it the *Communion* of the *Body*— and of the *Blood*, of *Chriſt*. *Communion*, as I have before obſerved, ſignifies partaking of, or *Fellowſhip* in, ſomething Common to Many. And ſo, *The Communion*, when the Word is applied to this *Holy Rite*, muſt ſignify the *Joint-partaking* of that *Bread* which is the *Memorial* of Chriſt's *Body*, and of that *Wine* which is the *Memorial* of his *Blood* ſhed for Us; which are called his *Body* and his *Blood* only upon this account.

It may alſo be called The *Communion*, or *Fellowſhip*, as it is a *Joint-partaking* of *Bread* and *Wine*: in which action we communicate, and bear a part, with all other Chriſtians, of all Places, and all Denominations; profeſſing Ourſelves *One Body*, though Many in Number, by thus eating of this Bread, which may be called one and the ſame Bread, as it is appropriated to One and the ſame Religious Purpoſe, and eaten by all of the ſame Society for that *one* Purpoſe only.

But the Name of this *Rite*, which has moſt prevailed, and put the *Others* almoſt out of common Uſe, is That of lateſt Date, and loweſt Authority, in the ſtrict Senſe in which it is now uſed: *viz.* The *Sacrament* of the *Lord's Supper*, and, moſt commonly, The *Sacrament*, without the addition of any other word: agreeably to which the partaking of it is called, *Receiving the Sacrament.* And it many times ſo happens in Religious matters, that *Obſcure Expreſſions* get the better of the *Plain* and ſimple *ones*; and the moſt *Modern* baniſh out of Uſe the moſt *Antient.* But ſince this word has got poſſeſſion; the Explication of it is the more neceſſary, becauſe the *New Teſtament*, which knows nothing of it, cannot lead any *Chriſtians* into the *Notion* of it, as applied to the *Lord's Supper.*

The *Latin* word [*Sacramentum*] primarily ſignified an *Oath*; or an *Obligation* expreſſed by an *Oath*; which was always eſteemed as a *Sacred thing.* And in this Senſe, though it be improper to ſpeak of receiving the *Sacrament*; yet the action of partaking of the *Lord's Supper* may be called the *Performance* of a Duty which is in effect a Solemn acknowledgment, and recognizing, of our *Obligations:* as it is a Profeſſing Ourſelves *Chriſtians*; and as ſuch *obliged*, as truly as by an *Oath*, to all the Practice becoming *Chriſtians.*

The *word* ſoon came to be uſed by the *Latin Writers* of the Chriſtian Church (*Tertullian* and St. *Cyprian* particularly) for almoſt every thing under the *Old Teſtament*, that bore any ſimilitude to Things under the *New*; and for almoſt every thing relating to *Religion*, under the *New:* and this to ſuch an exceſs, that the pious and learned *Editor* of St. *Cyprian* at *Oxford*, obſerved, in One of his *Notes*, that "there was no word amongſt *Eccleſiaſtical Writers* of a more looſe ſignification, than the word *Sacramentum*;" which may eaſily be believed, when this very *Note* was made upon occaſion of a *Paſſage*[i] in which St. *Cyprian* ſpeaks of the *many* and *great* Sacraments *of the Lord's Prayer.*

Thus, amongſt other things, this word came to ſignify Any *Religious Ceremony*; becauſe Every *Religious Ceremony* implies in it the profeſſion of that *Religion* to which it peculiarly belongs; and, by conſequence, the owning ourſelves under all the *Ties* and *Obligations* of That particular Religion. And in this ſenſe, *Receiving the Sacrament* is the *performance* of a *Religious Ceremony* peculiar to the *Chriſtian Religion*; and the Virtual owning Ourſelves, by this action, to be under all the *Obligations* belonging to that *Religion.*

But at length the Uſe of this Word came to be more confined: And in Many parts of the *Chriſtian Church* to be appropriated to *Two* only *Ceremonies*, under the *Definition* of an "Outward and viſible Sign of an Inward and Spiritual Grace "given unto Us, ordained by Chriſt himſelf, as a Means whereby We receive "the ſame, and a Pledge to aſſure us thereof."

And in this Senſe the *Lord's Supper* may be called a *Sacrament.* For the *Bread* and *Wine* are *outward* and *viſible Signs*, or Marks, ordained by *Chriſt* to call to our Minds, and to point out to Us, the greateſt Inward and Spiritual *Grace*, *(i. e. Favour* or *Mercy)* beſtowed upon Man by Almighty God. They call to mind the *Death* of *Chriſt*, and are Memorials of his *Body* and *Blood*, given and ſhed for our Spiritual Advantage; and conſequently, Memorials of all the *Benefits* we are entitled to, by that Inſtance of *Grace* or *Mercy*: and ſo the *Lord's Supper* is an *Outward and viſible Sign* of the greateſt *Inward and Spiritual Grace given unto Us*.

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[i] *Cypr.* de *Orat. Domin.* Ed. Oxon. p. 142.

It is likewiſe an *Outward Sign*, *ordained*, or appointed, *by* Chriſt *himſelf*, to be the *Mark*, or *Memorial*, of all this. Not only ſo: but *ordained* by Him as *One Mean*, amongſt many others, of our Improvement in the practice of the Religion We profeſs, by our attendance upon this *Sacrament*; and of our receiving hereafter, in conſequence of that practice, all the Benefits of his *Body* broken and Blood ſhed, now called to mind by theſe *Outward Signs*. It may be conſidered alſo as a *Pledge*, on *Chriſt's* part, to *aſſure* Us of all this; as the *Bread* and *Wine* are appointed by *Him* to be *eaten* and *drunk*, as *Signs*, (or in *remembrance*,) of that *Death* of *Chriſt*, which was the higheſt Aſſurance He could give Us of his Love to Mankind, and of our own Title to the partaking of that Love upon his own Conditions. We cannot, indeed, duly partake of the *outward* and *viſible Bread* and *Wine*, in *remembrance* of *Chriſt*; without calling to Mind alſo the *Aſſurance* given Us by Him, of our partaking, upon the Terms of his Goſpel, of all the good Things promiſed in it.

In partaking therefore of the *Lord's Supper*, We may be ſaid to *receive* a *Sacrament*, in the preſent Senſe of that word; as We receive *Bread* and *Wine*, which are *outward* and *viſible Signs*, or *Memorials*, of thoſe *Inward* and *Spiritual Mercies* which are *given* to Us by our *Lord*, upon the Terms of his Religion; and theſe *Signs ordained*, to this purpoſe of Remembrance, by *Chriſt himſelf*; and upon this account to be conſidered as *Means* (amongſt others) tending to that *Chriſtian Behaviour*, which will at laſt entitle Us to the Poſſeſſion of thoſe *Mercies*: and alſo as *Pledges* to aſſure Us that, as certainly as theſe *Outward Signs* were ordained for the *Remembrance* of theſe *Benefits* promiſed to us; ſo certainly *God* will be ready to beſtow upon Us hereafter all the *Benefits* thus promiſed, upon our perſeverance in the practice of Every Inſtance of Virtue and Holineſs required of *Chriſtians*.

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FORMS of PRAYER.

I. For Particular PERSONS.

1. *A ſhort Prayer for the* Morning.
2. *A ſhort Prayer at* Night.
3. *A longer Prayer for any* other *time of the Day.*
4. *A large Form, for more* particular Occaſions.

II. For a FAMILY.

1. *A Prayer for* Morning *and* Evening.
2. *Select* Prayers, *&c. out of the* Common-Prayer, *for* Morning *and* Evening.

> " Let every Man ſtudy his Prayers; and read his Duty in his Petitions."
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> Bp. *Taylor's Holy Living*, p. 234.

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PREFACE.

THE great deſign of the Duty of *Prayer* is, To expreſs, under an *actual* Senſe of the Preſence of GOD, thoſe good Sentiments, and pious Diſpoſitions, which it is proper for Us to entertain and cultivate within Us, conſidered as dependent, reaſonable, and ſocial Creatures: and particularly, as Creatures made capable of knowing One Supreme Maker and Governour of all things, and plainly accountable to Him for our whole Conduct. The *Sentiments* I mean, are ſuch as ariſe from our Dependence upon GOD; from our Obligations and Duty to Him; and from our Relation to one another, as Partakers of Human Nature, and Members of Human Society. And then only it is, that We fully anſwer the deſign of this Duty, when We perform it in ſuch a manner, as that it may have a good effect upon Ourſelves, by keeping up the juſteſt ſenſe in our minds, of all ſuch important Conſiderations as are the true grounds of our Faith and Hope in GOD; and the ſtrongeſt motives to our own conſtant Practice of all that is good and praiſe-worthy. This, indeed, I always conſider as the great End of *Prayer*, as well as of *Faith:* and cannot forbear thinking that, in order to be effectual with GOD, it muſt be uſeful to Ourſelves.

With a conſtant regard to this *Notion*, I have drawn up, for the uſe of ſuch as have no better helps at hand, the following FORMS. They contain in them, *Confeſſion* of Sins; *Petition* for all good things; *Praiſe* and *Thankſgiving* to our great and good Governour; and *Interceſſion* for the whole World of underſtanding Beings; all which are now, by cuſtom, comprehended under the common word, *Prayer*.

In what relates to *Confeſſion*, I have purpoſely choſen ſuch *general* Expreſſions as it may be proper for All to make uſe of; and avoided ſuch *particular* ones, as They, who know their own paſt lives to deſerve them, and think ſeriouſly of Repentance, may eaſily ſupply to Themſelves, if they judge it neceſſary. They alone are conſcious of the particularities of their own Condition: and, as no other perſon can truly know them, no other perſon can pretend exactly to adapt any Words to them. But, for ſuch as have happily, through the kind diſpoſitions of Providence, preſerved themſelves innocent from the common Vices of the World about them; I eſteem it but an ill Return to Almighty GOD, for Theſe to put themſelves upon a level with thoſe Unhappy Perſons who have lived in an habitual Courſe of wilful Sin; and a falſe Humility, to ſpeak of Themſelves to Almighty GOD, as if They were guilty of Crimes in which They are not conſcious They ever bore any part; or as if They thought, He made no diſtinction between the Beſt and the Worſt of his Intelligent Creatures, in this imperfect State.

Neither could I here ſuffer Myſelf to direct any *Chriſtians* to aſk the Pardon of their ſins, upon the bare *Confeſſion* of them; or to expect it merely upon their entreating Forgiveneſs for the ſake of *Jeſus Chriſt*: but have thought it agreeable to the *Goſpel*, to make it their own Diſpoſition, and Act, to aſk and expect Forgiveneſs, as *His* Diſciples, upon *His* conditions only, *viz.* the forſaking their Sins, and the actual Amendment of their lives.

In the *Petitioning* part, I have been careful not to lead *Chriſtians* to aſk any thing of *Almighty God*, but with ſuch Submiſſion, upon ſuch a Foundation, and ſuch Reaſons, as are ſuitable to the Nature of things, and the Religion which They profeſs: intermixing many of thoſe Conſiderations, which may leave a laſting and deep impreſſion upon their Minds, of their own Duty, both with reſpect to *Proſperity* and *Adverſity*; to the *Life* which now is, and the *Life* which is to come.

In the part of *Praiſe* and *Thankſgiving*, I have endeavoured to ſpeak of the Perfections of GOD's Nature, and the Inſtances of his Goodneſs to us, in ſuch a manner, as to lead us to *imitate* what we acknowledge ſo lovely; and to ſhew the ſincerity of that Gratitude, which his Mercy naturally requires, in the Practice of every thing that is acceptable to our Great Benefactor: being perſuaded that the Expreſſion of our inward ſenſe of his Perfections, and the Remembrance of the particular reaſons upon which our Thankfulneſs ought to be founded, are of no avail, without taking into the account the natural Tendency of all, to the influencing our Behaviour, and the confirming us in an Univerſal Obedience to Him.

In the *Interceſſion* for others, I have endeavoured to regulate every Expreſſion by the Rules of Univerſal Love, and of true Chriſtian Benevolence towards the whole Rational Creation. I cannot, indeed, but think that there is no Part of what is comprehended under the name of *Devotion*, or *Prayer*, more acceptable to GOD, or more truly beneficial to Ourſelves, than This; which perhaps We are not always ſo ſenſible of, as We ought to be. The Expreſſion of Our Good-will and Extended Benevolence towards All our Fellow-creatures is ſo becoming Us, both as We are *Men*, and as We are *Chriſtians*; that it cannot but recommend Us to the Favour of Him, who is the God of Love, and the Father of All Beings. And this *Expreſſion*, often and ſeriouſly repeated, cannot but awaken the kind Affections, where They are drooping; and keep them alive, and enlarge and increaſe Them, where they are awake; whilſt our Underſtandings and Hearts go together.

I have therefore, done my Endeavour to adapt this part to the purpoſes of *Rational* and *Social* Creatures, in ſuch manner that, in the Uſe of it, They may be acceptable to GOD, by pouring out before Him the overflowings of Benevolent Hearts; and cultivating in their own Souls the Love of Mankind: cheriſhing by this means every Virtue that regards the Good of Human Society; and improving all that Beneficence of Temper, and Sweetneſs of Diſpoſition, upon which the Happineſs of Others around them may depend: and which it is the peculiar Glory of the *Chriſtian Religion* to heighten and enlarge toward the whole World.

The *three* firſt *Forms* are propoſed for the *daily* uſe of well-diſpoſed Chriſtians in their Cloſets. But to make my deſign the more compleat, I have added a *Form* of a much greater length, and drawn out into many more particulars, than the *others*. This is not preſſed upon any good Chriſtian, as if ſo long a *Form* were neceſſary: but only prepared and placed here, for the uſe of Thoſe, who, upon ſome more ſolemn or particular occaſions, may think it of great advantage to ſpend more than ordinary time in this good Employment. And to theſe *Forms*, (which are deſigned for Perſons retired by themſelves,) I have ſubjoined a *Prayer* for a *Family*, adapted both to the *Morning* and *Evening*; that it may be at hand for the Uſe of any Perſons who have not thrown off that part of Worſhip, ſo uſeful, not only to Themſelves, but to all about them: And with the ſame view have added a Number of ſelect *Collects* out of the *Common-prayer* of our *Church*, that they may be ready for ſuch as may like them better for the Service of their *Families*, than other Compoſures.

May All, who ſhall think fit to make Uſe of theſe *Forms*, ſincerely endeavour to bring with Them a ſerious Temper, and fixed Attention of Mind, ſuitable to ſuch a Duty! *by all means ſtriving* (if I may uſe the words of *Biſhop* Taylor) *to obtain a diligent, a ſober, an untroubled, and a compoſed Spirit:* conſidering *Prayer* (as he deſcribes it in another place) as *the Peace of our Spirit, the Evenneſs of Recollection, the Reſt of our Cares, and the Calm of our Tempeſt:* on one hand, not uneaſy for want of any ſuch *Commotion* of *Mind*, as cannot be a neceſſary Part of the *Duty*, becauſe it is not in the Power of every Chriſtian; and, on the other hand, utterly avoiding the great *Evil* of a *Cold* and Unconcerned Spirit; which, indeed, is a State of Mind abſolutely inconſiſtent with all Senſe of the Preſence of GOD, and all Belief of the Importance of what They pretend to be about.

In a word, My great deſire, in what I now offer, is to conſult the real ſervice of thoſe Chriſtians, who are content to converſe with GOD, and Themſelves, in a manner becoming Reaſonable Creatures, and Moral Agents; whoſe praiſe it is to be guided, in This, and every other Inſtance of their Practice, by the Principles and Motives They can underſtand: And my great Aim is, to direct Them to perform this Duty under the Conduct of their Underſtandings; with ſuch an earneſt Intention of the Mind, through every ſtep of it, as may preſerve their Thoughts from being drawn aſide by the ſtrength of any ſort of Paſſion; or from being interrupted by any wilful and inexcuſable Careleſſneſs. And I have now nothing left, but to pray that the whole may be found as truly ſerviceable to ſuch Chriſtians, as it is ſincerely deſigned to be!

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I.

PRAYERS for particular PERSONS.

1. *A ſhort* Prayer *at firſt riſing, in the* Morning.

IT becomes me, O Lord, before the Thoughts of this World find any place in my mind, to lay hold on the firſt opportunity this Day affords me, of worſhiping Thee my Creator and Governour. I adore the Perfections of thy Nature; and acknowledge thine undeſerved Goodneſs to me. I bleſs Thee for every Inſtance of it, through my whole life: and at this time particularly for the watchful Care of thy Good Providence, by which I have been ſecured from the Dangers of the laſt night. I entreat of Thee alone, as the Father and Judge of Mankind, the Pardon of every wilful tranſgreſſion, and omiſſion, of my Duty, through my whole life. I beg this upon thoſe Terms only, which the Holineſs of thy Nature, and the Declarations of Jeſus Chriſt, have marked out to Us. I here acknowledge myſelf thy Creature, and thy Servant, and the Diſciple of thy Son; and as ſuch obliged by all the ſtricteſt ties of Duty, Gratitude, and Intereſt, ſincerely to ſearch out and perform thy Will; and never wilfully to offend againſt thy Holy Laws. I now entreat thy Fatherly Goodneſs towards me; and beg of Thee the Governour of the World, Protection and Favour: profeſſing before Thee, my entire dependence upon thy Wiſdom, Power, and Goodneſs. Defend me, I beſeech Thee, this Day, from all Dangers and ſad Accidents. Guard me, by the Diſpoſitions of thy good Providence, from all the ways of Sin: and lead me forward in the paths of all Virtue, towards the perfection of a reaſonable and moral Agent here, and the Happineſs prepared for Him hereafter. Accept, O Lord, this my firſt Service of this Day, according to the Goodneſs of thine own Nature, declared by thy Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord: in whoſe Name, and in whoſe Words, I farther call upon Thee:

Our Father, which art in Heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven. Give us This Day our daily Bread. And forgive us our Treſpaſſes as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us. And lead us not into Temptation; But deliver us from evil: For thine is the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

2. *A ſhort* Prayer *at* Night, *juſt before going to Bed.*

O GOD, my great Creator, Preſerver, and Benefactor, I approach Thee with the ſincereſt reverence and humility, to pay the laſt acknowledgments of This Day to Thee, before my Eyes are cloſed with ſleep. I praiſe and magnify thy Name for all thy Mercies: particularly, at this time, for thy Preſervation of me through the paſt day; and for that tender care and guidance of thy merciful Providence, by which I have been defended from all the great Evils, both

Natural and Moral, with which this imperfect State ſo much abounds. Whatever of Good or Happineſs I enjoy, to Thee I give the praiſe of it, and to thy Favour. My willful Imperfections, and Failings; My Tranſgreſſions, and Neglects, in any inſtances of thy Law and my Duty, I truly repent of. I take the Shame of them to myſelf; and ſeek the pardon of them from thy Fatherly Mercy and Goodneſs alone. Forgive me, I beſeech thee, upon the Terms of thy Son's Goſpel, whatſoever Thou haſt ſeen amiſs in any part of my Conduct, through the paſt Day: and take me, and all in whom I am concerned, into thy Care and Protection through this Night. Defend us, if it be thy Holy Will, from the deſigns of evil men, and from every thing terrible and hurtful. And lead us all, in the paths of thy Good Providence, to everlaſting Life and Happineſs, through thy Fatherly Goodneſs, and thy Love to Mankind, declared by thy Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord; in whoſe Words, I conclude the Services of this whole Day:

Our Father, which art in Heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven. Give us this Day our daily Bread. And forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us. And lead us not into Temptation; But deliver us from evil: For thine is the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

3. *A longer* Prayer, *to be uſed at any other Time of the Day.*

O GOD, who art the Father and Lord of all Beings, and glorious in all Perfection, I thine unworthy Creature and Servant, in the deepeſt Senſe of my own manifold imperfections, approach thy Divine Majeſty: beſeeching Thee, out of the abundance of thy Goodneſs, to be merciful to Me. I acknowledge that many have been my Failings and Neglects through the courſe of my Life: and that, if Thou ſhouldſt be *extreme to mark*, and to puniſh, *what is*, in every degree and every inſtance, *amiſs*, I could not hope for any portion of thy Favour. But, O Lord, the Goodneſs and Rectitude of thy Nature; and thy Holy Goſpel preached by thy Son Jeſus Chriſt, encourage me to hope in Thee for Mercy and Forgiveneſs: and therefore, as his Diſciple, in expectation of thy Favour upon the Terms declared in that Goſpel, I earneſtly beſeech Thee to forgive every thought, every word, and every action, by which I have in the leaſt degree offended Thee, or tranſgreſſed the rules of Virtue, and True Religion, from the beginning of my rational Life, to this hour. And this I beg, ſincerely reſolving to endeavour after a greater degree of Perfection, and a greater conformity to thy Holy Will, for the time to come: and hoping, on this Condition alone, to be received by thee to Favour here, and eternal Happineſs hereafter.

Accept, likewiſe, the acknowledgments of my Heart and Mouth, which are ſo indiſpenſably due to the Perfections of thy Nature; and thy Goodneſs to thy Creatures. I adore, and celebrate, the unalterable Glories of thy Power, adorned and directed by unerring Wiſdom and Goodneſs: and bleſs and praiſe Thee, for every inſtance of thy tender Regards to Me, and to all the Children of Men. I bleſs thee that, when it pleaſed Thee to bring me into Being, I was made capable of knowing and imitating Thee, and of enjoying thy Favour. I bleſs Thee that I have been called to the Knowledge of a Religion, from which I have received many and great Advantages, Aſſiſtances, and Opportunities, towards the anſwering the true deſign of my Creation. I bleſs Thee that, by the Diſpoſitions of thy good Providence, I have been led to a juſt Senſe of the excellence of Virtue, and of the Importance of true Religion; and that this Senſe hath been improved by the beſt Examples and Sentiments of Others, and by many peculiar Inſtances of thy merciful Care and Goodneſs.

I praiſe thy Holy Name for all that thy Son Jeſus Chriſt did, and taught, and ſuffered in this World, in order to redeem Mankind from the Power and Puniſhment of their Sins; to lead Them more effectually to the Knowledge of Thee, and the Practice of their Duty; and to confirm to Them the reaſonable hope of being immortally happy hereafter. For theſe and all thy Mercies, which reſpect another and a better life than the preſent, my Soul doth magnify Thee, O Lord, and all the powers within me praiſe thy Holy Name.

Nor ought I to neglect to thank Thee for thoſe many inſtances of thy Mercy, by which Thou haſt made my Eſtate in this ſhort and uncertain life, much happier than it could have been without them: for affording me not only all the neceſſary ſupports, but many of the moſt deſirable conveniences, of ſuch a ſtate. Continue, O Lord, I beſeech Thee, theſe thy temporal Favours to me, if Thou ſeeſt it conſiſtent with my chief and eternal Good: if not, lead me to Everlaſting Life in whatever paths thou ſeeſt fit. I reſign myſelf, and all my concerns, into thine hands; and entreat Thee to be my Guide, and my Governour, unto death. Let the Senſe of theſe, and all other, thine undeſerved Mercies inſpire me with ſuch a gratitude as may ſhew itſelf in the ſuitable returns of a good life, and Holy converſation; and with ſuch a love of Thee, as may expreſs itſelf in the keeping thy Commandments.

Whatever moral imperfections there are ſtill in me; direct me to the knowledge of them, and to the proper means of putting an End to them: And aſſiſt me, by all the methods of thy Wiſdom and Goodneſs, in the great work I have to do; the perfecting my mind in all that is truly excellent; and the working out of my Salvation in the Methods agreeable to thy Holy Will, and to the Obligations of a reaſonable and moral Agent.

I beſeech Thee likewiſe, to be merciful to the whole World. Inlighten the dark corners of it with the true knowledge of Thee, and of thy Goſpel, in its ſimplicity: and ſow the ſeeds of Virtue and Happineſs in all parts of it. Lead all, who name the name of Chriſt, into the paths of Truth, Righteouſneſs, and Peace; that ſo they may Themſelves reap the bleſſed Fruits of that Holy Religion they profeſs; and that Others, *ſeeing their good works*, may *glorify Thee* by a ſincere Converſion to Thy true worſhip and ſervice. Put an End to Idolatry, and Superſtition, and all ſpiritual Tyranny and Oppreſſion. Give an open check to all that Pride and Ambition, which diſturb the World. Quiet the turbulent ſpirits, and compoſe the wicked and brutal animoſities, of all Mankind.

Look down, with much Mercy, upon this my native Country. Cure our evil Tempers; and conquer our unchriſtian and uncharitable Diſpoſitions: And grant that, at length, Mutual Love and Charity may flouriſh and abound amongſt us, amidſt our greateſt differences. Pour down all Bleſſings, Spiritual and Temporal, upon our moſt gracious KING, and his Royal Family. Endow Thoſe who are called to any Office, under Him, for the adminiſtration of Juſtice, or Government, amongſt us, with all Gifts and Abilities neceſſary for the diſcharge of their great Truſt: and proſper and protect Them in the due Execution of it. Lead all the Miniſters of thy Goſpel to teach thy Truth in ſimplicity; and, by their example and doctrine, to bring Themſelves and Thoſe who hear them, to Eternal Life.

Extend thy Mercy and Compaſſion to all afflicted Perſons; of whatſoever ſort, or degree, their Afflictions may be; to all who are in a State of Uneaſineſs of Mind, or Pain of Body; a State of Want, or Sorrow; of Perſecution, or Oppreſſion; giving to them all the ſupports and aſſiſtances ſuitable to their ſeveral diſtreſſes; and, in thy good time, an happy iſſue out of all their calamities. Bleſs all in whom I am more nearly concerned, with every thing truly good for them. Shower down thy Mercies on my Friends and Benefactors; granting them all Happineſs here and hereafter. Forgive all my Enemies, if ſuch there be; and ſhew thy Mercy to them.

Finally, O Lord, Pardon all my paſt ſins; Guide and govern me, by thy Holy Spirit, in my ſincere Endeavours to attain everlaſting life. Promote my true Happineſs, as Thou ſeeſt fit; and mercifully receive me, and my imperfect ſervices, according to thy Goodneſs declared by thy Well-beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt: in whoſe Words I farther pray, for every thing neceſſary; and in behalf of every one I am obliged to remember before Thee; ſaying,

Our Father, which art in Heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven. Give us this Day our daily Bread. And forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us. And lead us not into Temptation; but deliver us from evil: For thine is the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

4. *A large* Form *of* Prayer, *for more particular Occaſions.*

O GOD, the ſupreme Maker and Governour of the World, perfect in All that is truly Great and Lovely; I, thine unworthy ſervant, appear before Thee, under the deepeſt ſenſe of thy glorious Perfections, and of my own great and many failings and imperfections. Under this ſenſe, the only ſupport and ſatisfaction to my mind is, that thou art too juſt and too good not to accept of the ſincere endeavours of thy Creatures to reform whatever has been amiſs in their paſt Conduct; and that Thou haſt ſent thy Son *Jeſus Chriſt* into the World, to *Save* Us *from our Sins*, and to declare to us plainly the Terms of thy Forgiveneſs and Favour. In his Name therefore, I preſent myſelf before Thee: and, as his Diſciple, I entreat of Thee, the pardon of whatſoever Thou haſt ſeen amiſs in me, from the beginning of my Rational Life, unto this day. Forgive, O Lord, every wilful thought of my mind which has been diſagreeable to thy Nature and Precepts; every word of my mouth, unworthy of a Man, or a Chriſtian; every inſtance of my behaviour which has been diſpleaſing to Thee, or my own conſcience: Every offence, of whatſoever ſort or degree, againſt Thee, my Neighbour, or Myſelf. Forgive me all the ſins which I myſelf can now call to my own remembrance; *particularly*[k]— And forgive me likewiſe all thoſe Tranſgreſſions of thy Holy Will, which may now be out of the reach of my Memory; but have been open to thine All-ſeeing Eye, and are known to Thee with all their circumſtances and aggravations.

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[k] Here it may be proper for a Perſon to mention any remarkable Inſtances, if He be conſcious of any Such: but highly improper to confeſs Sins, of which he knows not himſelf to have been guilty.

Pardon me, O Lord, according to the abundant Goodneſs of thy Nature, and the Declarations made by thy Son Jeſus Chriſt: and grant me that forgiveneſs, which I neither aſk, nor expect, but upon thoſe Terms and Conditions which Thy Holineſs and Mercy have laid down in his Goſpel. Behold, O Lord, I entirely and willingly forgive All who have, in any inſtance, or in any degree, offended or injured me: without which I ought to entertain no hopes of my own forgiveneſs. And if I have myſelf injured any perſon, I am as truly diſpoſed and ready to make all poſſible reparation, as I am to entreat thy favour to myſelf. And as I am ſenſible that no forgiveneſs can be expected, according to Thy *Goſpel*, without amendment of life; I ſeriouſly renounce all communication with whatſoever is diſpleaſing to Thee; and ſincerely reſolve to make it my great Endeavour to correct every thing that is amiſs in my temper and behaviour; and to bring myſelf ſtill nearer to thy Holineſs and Happineſs. Forgive me, therefore, as Thou haſt promiſed by thy Son. Accept me to thy Mercy: and give ſucceſs, I earneſtly beſeech Thee, by thy gracious Favour and Providence, to theſe purpoſes and deſigns of my Soul.

And now, O LORD, according to the ſame Goodneſs to thy Creatures, graciouſly receive the earneſt PETITIONS which I offer to Thee for every Good that it is fit for me to pray for. I acknowledge Thee to be the great Author of all our Beings; the Original of all our happineſs; the Giver of all Good Gifts; and the Diſpoſer of all Events: and therefore, profeſs my dependence upon Thee alone for every thing I ought to wiſh for, or deſire. I am ſenſible, O Lord, that to Thee entirely I muſt owe every degree of happineſs I can ever enjoy, or hope for. I am ſenſible that Thou art the tendereſt Father, and beſt Friend, to Thy creatures: diſpoſed to lead them to their greateſt Good; and ready to promote and aſſiſt their ſincere endeavours after it. And therefore, before Thee, and in Thy Preſence, I willingly lay open the deſires, and wiſhes of my Soul, which I think agreeable to Reaſon, and thy Holy Will.

I eſteem it the Glory of our Nature, that we are made capable of ſuch an exalted and rational Happineſs, as reſults from the knowledge of Thee, and the Imitation of thy moral Perfections. And as Thou haſt more fully aſſured us of this, in the Chriſtian Religion, let the ſerious conſideration of that Grace and Mercy which hath appeared in that diſpenſation, effectually lead me to the good End propoſed in it. Let the Holy Precepts of that perfect Inſtitution by which I profeſs to be guided, and the unſpotted Example of that great Maſter whoſe Follower I deſire to be accounted, engage me to live, in all reſpects, as becomes the Goſpel, and the Diſciple, of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Particularly, O Lord, let the conſideration of the peculiar Genius of that Goſpel, and of thoſe Virtues, which the Great Author of it accounted the Glory of his own Life, influence me to endeavour to excel in them: and engage me to love the whole race of Mankind with an univerſal Charity, and beneficent Diſpoſition; to rejoice at all opportunities of doing Good either to the Souls or Bodies of Men; and of adding to the Satisfaction and Happineſs of all about me; to ſtoop even to the loweſt offices of Kindneſs to others; to be ready to forgive the ſharpeſt and moſt undeſerved Injuries, and to return Pity and Benevolence for them; and to be ever willing to condeſcend, and yield, for the good of others: that ſo, the trueſt Humility, and the moſt extenſive Charity, may adorn every Action and circumſtance of my life; and all Pride, and Paſſion, and Uncharitableneſs, may be checked and ſubdued by the Power of Religion; and the lovelineſs of the contrary Virtues.

Let the ſenſe of my own many failings, and the imperfections of our Nature, diſpoſe me to be willing to put a candid and favourable interpretation upon all thoſe actions of Others, which can juſtly and reaſonably demand it, or admit of it; as well as to be ever ready to forgive the offences of Others, towards myſelf. And let the ſenſe of thy Goodneſs, in allowing me ſtill Time and Opportunity, for perfecting my Soul in all that is praiſe-worthy, induce me to ſtudy more conſtantly and uniformly to pleaſe and imitate Thee.

My outward condition with reſpect to the good things of this World, it is my Happineſs, as well as Duty, to refer wholly to thy wiſe Will and Pleaſure. But as Thou haſt ordained us to belong to this World, as well as to expect another; and haſt framed us ſo, that we cannot but be ſenſibly affected with our good and bad eſtate here below; of Thee therefore, it becomes us to beg, with ſubmiſſion to thy Providence, the ſecurity and continuance of the good things we already enjoy; and the increaſe of them, if that be truly good and needful. And as, by thy appointment, I have already experienced in this World, many Evils and Afflictions; and have been witneſs to many more around me; ſuffer me to implore the gracious regards of thy Fatherly Affection towards me: and to pray to Thee, with reſpect to them, according to the pattern of thy Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, *Father, if it be poſſible*; If it be conſiſtent with, and agreeable to, thy wiſe and gracious purpoſes, ſecure me, and all in whoſe happineſs I am moſt nearly concerned, from all ſad accidents, and calamitous events; from all tormenting pains, and grievous diſeaſes; and from every thing inconſiſtent with ſuch an Happineſs as may lawfully be deſired in this tranſitory World. *Nevertheleſs, not as I will, but as Thou wilt.* And therefore, O LORD, if thy unerring Wiſdom ſhall otherwiſe determine, let the ſerious meditation on the Example of *Chriſt* himſelf, and that innumerable company of the beſt of Men, who have gone before me in this Conflict, inſpire me with a zeal to imitate their patience; and let the contemplation of thy Fatherly goodneſs engage me to an hearty and rational ſubmiſſion to all thy Diſpenſations: remembring what an Happineſs it is, to be under the government of a Being, who knows what is in all reſpects beſt; and who cannot afflict his creatures but for wiſe and good Ends. And let the ſenſe of thy gracious deſign in all my afflictions, lead me to the true, and right uſe of them: to diſengage my affections more and more from this World; and to ſeek for happineſs in a better and never-changing State.

Let the Conſideration of the certainty of Death, the laſt of all temporal Evils, influence me to endeavour to make it happy by ſuch a virtuous life as may give Me a well-grounded hope in thy Mercy. Let the review of thoſe Uncertainties, and Troubles I have met with in this World, render me the more ready and contented, at thy appointed time, to leave it. And let the proſpect of Glory and Happineſs hereafter exalt my mind above any fond regards to this ſtate of Sin and Miſery: and enable me to act as becomes one who truly believes Life and Immortality to be brought to light through the *Goſpel*.

Finally, O LORD, my great and chief requeſt is, That, by the diſpoſitions of thy good Providence, I may obtain everlaſting happineſs hereafter; and that the ſtate of this World, with reſpect to Me, may be ſo ordered; and the Trials, to be appointed for me in it, may be ſo proportioned to my condition and powers, as moſt effectually to promote and ſecure my eternal and greateſt Good, after the few days of this Life are paſt away. Deny to me, therefore, out of thy great Goodneſs, whatſoever is truly bad or unfit for me; though I ſhould be ſo weak as to deſire and wiſh for it: and grant me every thing that is truly good for me; though I ſhould be ſo blind, and ſo void of Wiſdom, as not to ſee, or aſk it. As far as my Petitions are reaſonable, and agreeable to the eternal Laws of Wiſdom, and the purpoſes of thy governing Providence, and thy Holy Goſpel; ſo far only, I entreat

I entreat thy favourable conſent to them. As far as they are not ſo, I utterly renounce them; and ſubmit my own Will entirely to Thine: and, in a deep ſenſe of my own imperfections, beg of Thee to accept of the ſincerity of my heart; and, out of the abundant Goodneſs of thy Nature, to overlook and ſupply all the defects of my Services.

To theſe *Petitions* it becomes me to add the Indiſpenſable Tribute of the ſincereſt PRAISES and THANKSGIVINGS of my Soul; due to the Glories of thy Nature, and to thy Goodneſs to thy Creatures. I know, O God, that thy Perfections are far exalted above all that can be conceived or expreſſed by us; that thy Mercies are above all our thanks; and that thy Unalterable Attributes ſtand not in need of any homage we can pay. But it becomes us to acknowledge, and celebrate them.

The Glories of thy Nature are the Glories of perfect Power and perfect Holineſs, adorned with perfect Goodneſs, and guided by unerring Wiſdom and Knowledge: ſuch Glories as are, in themſelves, worthy of our higheſt Admiration and Praiſes; as well as the foundation of all the happineſs we ourſelves can poſſibly enjoy, or hope for.

And, as it becomes us to celebrate the lovely Perfections of thy *Nature*, as it is in it ſelf, ſo are we indiſpenſably obliged to pay Thee our moſt grateful Acknowledgments for the diſplay of thoſe Perfections in all thy Diſpenſations towards thy Creatures, and for every inſtance of thy tender regard to us. Accept therefore, O gracious Lord and merciful Father, the poor tribute of mine unfeigned thanks for the manifold Experiences which I have had of thy Loving Kindneſs, and the many marks I have received of thine undeſerved favour. To Thee I owe my Exiſtence; and, together with it, all the faculties and powers that diſtinguiſh our nature from that of the lower animal World. And as it is impoſſible to conceive any End in thy creating me, and placing me in that rank of Creatures to which I belong, but the glory of communicating thy own happineſs in all fitting proportion: ſo, when I conſider what it is to be made capable of knowing Thee, the Fountain of all Good; of imitating Thee, the great Original of all Perfection; and of enjoying thy Favour, the foundation of all laſting and ſubſtantial Happineſs; I muſt acknowledge thine undeſerved Goodneſs, and for ever praiſe Thee for making me capable of ſo ineſtimable Bleſſings.

I muſt remember likewiſe, with the higheſt gratitude, before Thee, that, in order to ſecure and carry forward this gracious End of our Creation the more effectually, it hath pleaſed thy Goodneſs to ſend thy beloved Son into the World, to teach, and live, and die, in order to ſave Us from Our Sins, and to conduct Us effectually to our true and everlaſting happineſs. I bleſs thee for the Divine Inſtructions He hath given his Followers concerning the certain method of obtaining eternal life; for the blameleſs and perfect Example of Holineſs and Patience, He hath ſet before Us; for his *humbling Himſelf even to the Death upon the Croſs, and ſhedding his Blood for the remiſſion of our Sins*; and for his plain Declarations of thy gracious acceptance of all ſuch as ſincerely receive Him for their Maſter, and heartily endeavour to know, and comply with, his Terms. I bleſs Thee for the mighty evidences He gave that he was truly ſent by Thee on ſo gracious an Errand, by the purity of his Doctrine; by the integrity of his Life; by the nature and number of his Miracles; by the glory of his Reſurrection after an ignominious Death; by his Aſcenſion into Heaven; and by his pouring down from thence the wonderful gifts of the Holy Spirit, in order to the propagation of his Religion, and the ſetlement of his Church: by all theſe arguments eſtabliſhing our Conſciences in Peace and Truth.

I bleſs Thee that the joyful ſound of thy Goſpel hath arrived to this part of the world; That it hath here, by the peculiar favour of thy good Providence, been reformed from many groſs abuſes under which it long laboured; and now lies open to the view and ſtudy of all men: That, by thy merciful Appointment, I have been called to the Knowledge of it as it is in itſelf; and ſo am the better aſſured of the true way to happineſs; the more forcibly engaged to follow after it; and the more likely to obtain great degrees of it, if I be not wanting to myſelf: for all which Inſtances of thine Undeſerved and ineſtimable Goodneſs, no words can ſufficiently expreſs the grateful Sentiments which ought to fill and poſſeſs my Soul.

Accept likewiſe, O GOD, my moſt hearty and unfeigned Thanks for the conſtant regards of thy good Providence towards me: To which I am indebted for many ſingular and peculiar happineſſes. To Thee I owe, that I was born in a Country, where Chriſtianity is ſecurely profeſſed; that I have been inſtructed in the Principles of true Religion and Virtue; and my mind led to the knowledge of the moſt uſeful and important Truths: and particularly, that I have been ſecured, by thy Goodneſs, from many of thoſe great and hazardous Trials which have ſo often proved fatal to Others. To Thee I owe whatever opportunities I have enjoyed of improving myſelf in what is truly praiſe-worthy; whatever peculiar advantages there are in that condition, in which it has pleaſed Thee to place me with reſpect to this World, towards the attaining the greateſt Good and Happineſs of a reaſonable Creature. To Thee, the Great Creator and Governour of the World, I owe all theſe bleſſings; and to Thee I offer up my ſincereſt acknowledgments for them.

I bleſs Thee for that daily care of Thy Government over this world, by which I have been preſerved, ever ſince I was born, from innumerable dangers; many more than I can number, and many more than I know of. A mercy! which I ought thankfully to acknowledge, not merely with reſpect to this life, but to a better; as by this means I have ſtill greater opportunities of advancing yet farther in the paths of virtue, and adding an increaſe to my Happineſs in the World to come.

I deſire likewiſe to offer up my unfeigned thanks for all thoſe temporal bleſſings and conveniencies, by which Thou haſt made my paſſage through this World much more tolerable and eaſy than it could otherwiſe have been; for the uſe of my Reaſon, and Underſtanding preſerved to me, without which all other Bleſſings are vain; for that meaſure of health and ſtrength; that eaſe, and freedom from pain, which I have enjoyed; for the ſupports of Friendſhip and Society; for the comforts of Food, and Raiment, and Habitation: and for all the good things with which Thou haſt in Mercy ſurrounded Me, and Thoſe in whoſe good Eſtate I am nearly concerned: whilſt ſo many Others paſs their lives under the heavy preſſure of the contrary Evils.

What can I render unto Thee, O LORD, worthy of all the numberleſs inſtances of thy favour which I have experienced? I praiſe and magnify thy great and glorious Name: and acknowledge myſelf under the ſtricteſt and moſt indiſpenſable obligations to live, and act, in all reſpects, as becomes one that hath taſted ſo largely of thy Loving-kindneſs. I profeſs, O Lord, my hearty reſolution of endeavouring to do ſo; and offer up my ſincere deſires, that by the conſideration of what I have now remembered before Thee, I may be led to make returns in ſome degree ſuitable to ſo many, and ſo great, inſtances of thy Goodneſs.

Let the ſerious contemplation of thy Glories, and Perfections, incite me to endeavour conſtantly to adorn my own nature with thoſe moral Perfections which I acknowledge to be ſo worthy of Praiſe; and engage me to imitate what appears ſo truly lovely and glorious. Let the conſideration of thy merciful deſign in making me capable of knowing Thee, and being eternally happy in thy Favour, powerfully move me to make ſuch an uſe of thoſe Faculties Thou haſt endowed me with, that they may lead me to a due ſenſe of this happineſs, and conduct me ſafe to the poſſeſſion of thoſe Pleaſures which are at thy Right Hand. Let thy unſpeakable mercy in ſending thy Son into the World for the ſecuring and promoting my Happineſs, effectually influence me to embrace his Offers; to fulfil his Commands; to imitate his Example; and to live in all reſpects as becomes his Diſciple. Let the Senſe of thoſe peculiar advantages which I have, by thy eſpecial favour, enjoyed, lead me to ſuch a careful uſe and improvement of them, that they may be the happy occaſions of more than ordinary degrees of Perfection and Glory hereafter.

Let the conſideration of thy gracious deſign in affording me ſo many temporal good things, and ſo many comforts, in this imperfect State, influence me to uſe them all to thy Glory, as periſhing uncertain Goods; to be enjoyed with temperance; and to be employed for the uſe and ſupport of others, as well as my own. And let the ſerious remembrance of all thy great and undeſerved Goodneſs to me, open and enlarge my heart towards others; lead me to imitate what I praiſe and celebrate ſo much in Thee; and teach me to be ready to do good to All; to pity the follies and miſeries of Mankind; and, as far as I am able, to promote the happineſs of all around me: that by ſuch a Return to all the inſtances of thy Goodneſs and Mercy, I may ſhew myſelf truly ſenſible of them; and ſincerely thankful for them [1].

With theſe Prayers and Praiſes, I beſeech Thee, O GOD, to accept the ſincere expreſſions of my Charity and Good-will towards thy whole rational Creation: which I now offer to Thee, the Father of all, as a Member of the whole Society of Mankind; and more particularly as a Member of the Church of Chriſt, founded in Love and Charity. As ſuch, I ſincerely rejoice before Thee in every degree of Happineſs enjoyed by any of my Fellow-creatures here below; and heartily beſeech Thee to diſpenſe more, and larger, communications of it to this lower World: to increaſe it in all Thoſe who enjoy it in any meaſure; and to impart ſome Portions of it to all who are in any ſort of Miſery and Diſtreſs.

Look in great mercy upon the ſad Eſtate of that part of Mankind, who know not thy Nature; nor worſhip Thee, as becomes thy Perfections. Put an end to their Idolatry, and Superſtition, by ſhewing them the Light and Evidence of thy Goſpel, in its Simplicity; and, by bringing Them to the Knowledge of thy Truth, lead them to a capacity of greater degrees of Happineſs than they could otherwiſe arrive at. Have pity likewiſe on the Remains of thy ancient People, the *Jews*; and all Others, who are better inſtructed in the Belief and Worſhip of Thee, than the *Pagan* World: and guide them to a yet greater degree of true Knowledge, by directing their way to the knowledge of thy Son, and the practice of his Laws; and bringing them, by this means, to the juſtification and happineſs of Chriſtians.

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[1] *Whoever finds this* Form *too long to be uſed at once, may ſtop here, only adding*—Theſe *Prayers* and *Praiſes* I offer up to Thee, in the Name of thy Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, in whoſe words I farther call upon Thee, ſaying, *Our Father*, &c.

And when He returns to make uſe of the remaining part, He may begin thus—With the Prayers and Praiſes, which I have already preſented before Thee this day, I beſeech Thee, &c.

Viſit, with a more ſpecial Grace and Favour, the whole Chriſtian World; all who are called by the Name of thy Son, and profeſs his Holy Religion. Behold, O LORD, a large Scene of ſpiritual *Evils*, worthy of thy gracious and merciful interpoſition :—In many places, the *Faith*, once delivered to the Saints in Purity and Simplicity, enervated by vain and groundleſs Traditions; or darkened by the inventions of Men:—The Worſhip of Thee, O *Father*, expreſſly eſtabliſhed, by thy Son *Jeſus Chriſt, in Spirit and in Truth*, over-clouded by numberleſs Superſtitions; and even deſtroyed by Idolatry itſelf:—The moral Laws, which thy Son came to reſcue from the corruptions of Men, and to enforce upon his Followers, rendered ineffectual by many human devices; and falſe Notions of Religion, ſet up inſtead of them:—and the progreſs of Thy Holy *Goſpel* ſtopped and hindered by the wicked Lives, and ſcandalous Behaviour, of thoſe who profeſs it!

Interpoſe, I beſeech Thee, and put an effectual ſtop to theſe great and Unchriſtian Evils. Confound the devices of all ſuch as uphold, or encourage, any degree of Superſtition, for baſe and ſecular ends. Give a powerful check to all ſorts, and all degrees, of Perſecution and Oppreſſion, ſo ſcandalous and deſtructive to thy Holy Religion, which miſtaken or wicked Men pretend to promote by ſuch impious Methods. Put a ſtop to all Spiritual Tyranny; and to all Uſurpation over the Conſciences of Men: and diſſipate thoſe clouds of Ignorance which diſpoſe People to a baſe and ignominious ſlavery to the dictates of Men, rather than to a rational Enquiry into thy Holy Will which lies open to them. And above all, exert thine Almighty Arm in vindication of the Cauſe of Virtue: Leading all profeſſed Chriſtians to ſuch a ſenſe of the importance of it, as that they may ſtudy to adorn their Lives with a Behaviour ſuitable to their Holy Profeſſion; and recommend it to the Experience and Approbation of the Unbelieving World by the Integrity and Unblameableneſs of their whole Converſation.

Particularly grant that All Chriſtians, who have departed from the groſs corruptions of Popery, may depart entirely from the *Spirit* of it: that, as they profeſs to make the *Scripture* the Rule of Faith; ſo They may without reſerve leave it as ſuch to all their Neighbours: that, as They have nobly contended for their own Religious Liberty and Chriſtian Rights; ſo They may not loſe the Glory of this, by contradicting it in their Behaviour towards others: but that They may, by their exemplary deportment, and by their ſteady adherence to the Principles of Righteouſneſs, Peace, and mutual Forbearance, manifeſt to all the World the Sincerity of their Reformation; and reap the Fruit of it by ſtudying to excel in all that is praiſe-worthy.

Nor ought I to forget, O great Governour of the Univerſe, the Civil Eſtate of the Kingdoms of the Earth. Put an End, O LORD, at length, to the diſorders and confuſions, occaſioned by the weak and ambitious Lords of this World; And ſhew Thyſelf indeed, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. Permit no longer the happineſs of Humane Society to be, in any part of thy Creation, ruined and laid waſte by the inferior Government of Men, which was inſtituted ſolely for the Support and Comfort of it. Bring public Diſgrace and Confuſion upon all Tyrants and Oppreſſors; and honour with particular Marks of thy Favour, all Princes, who ſincerely ſtudy to anſwer the Ends of their Inſtitution: that ſo, the Triumphs of inſatiable Ambition may at length ceaſe from the Earth; and the Bleſſings of good Government be felt throughout the World.

Amongſt all the Kingdoms of the Earth, Look, I beſeech Thee, with a particular favour, upon This, to which, by the diſpoſal of Thy Providence, I belong; and for which, therefore, I am obliged in an eſpecial manner to ſhew my concern, by the heartieſt wiſhes of my Soul. Pardon our many and crying Sins; and, in order to avert thy Judgements, lead every Sinner amongſt us to ſuch a ſenſe of his Sins, as may engage him heartily to renounce and forſake them. Continue and confirm to us, that peculiar Form of Government, ſo wonderfully hitherto preſerved to us; by which we are more effectually ſecured againſt the extremes of Confuſion, and Arbitrary Power, than any other Nations; and of which we enjoy the happy fruits every moment of our Lives.

Preſerve and eſtabliſh us in the free Enjoyment of the Light of thy Holy Goſpel, and the ſecure Profeſſion of our Religion. What Errors ſtill remain amongſt Proteſtants, do Thou effectually remove, by the methods of thy Wiſe Providence; and eſpecially ſuch as may have a bad influence upon the conduct of Mens lives; and ſtrengthen their common Intereſt againſt their common Enemy. To this End, give a check to the mutual Violences, and Hatreds, and uncharitable behaviour, of Men of evil diſpoſitions on every ſide. Kindle once again the fire of Love and Charity amongſt us: and permit not our differences in Religious matters to extinguiſh this Fire, or to blow up another to our entire Deſtruction.

Pour down the choiceſt of thy Bleſſings upon our moſt gracious King *GEORGE*. Defend him, by the peculiar care of thy providence, from all attempts, of Violent and Unreaſonable Men, againſt his Perſon or Crown; and proſper all his good Deſigns and Endeavours, to preſerve his People in Peace, Liberty, and Happineſs. Together with Him, bleſs all who have any part in the Adminiſtration of our Government. Aſſiſt Him, and Them, in the great and important buſineſs of their Stations. Guide them into the beſt and wiſeſt Meaſures; and give ſucceſs to all their Counſels and Labours, for the Advantage of this Nation; or for the relief and ſupport of any of our injured Neighbours.

Permit not the diſpoſal of the Lives and Properties of thy People ever to come into the hands of Ignorant, or Partial, Men: but manifeſt thy great concern for Juſtice here below, in ſuch manner, as That the Guilty may ever meet with their due puniſhment, and the Injured and Oppreſſed find a ſure redreſs, in our Courts of Judicature. Direct all the Magiſtrates amongſt us to a deep Senſe of their Duty; to give all encouragement to Virtue, and all poſſible diſcouragement to Vice, both by their Example, and the due execution of their Offices.

Lead all Thoſe to whom the great Concerns of Religion, and of the Salvation of mankind, are more peculiarly committed, to ſuch a knowledge of all neceſſary Truths; ſuch an Exemplary and Chriſtian Converſation; ſuch a prudent and conſtant diſcharge of their Holy Office, as may effectually promote the Happineſs of themſelves, and of Thoſe committed to their Care. Encourage and promote amongſt us, the means and methods of ſuch a virtuous and laudable Education, as tends to ſound Learning and Religion; to the Reformation of This, and the better Eſtate of future Generations.

I deſire likewiſe to expreſs before Thee the real ſenſe I have of the miſeries and calamities of the diſtreſſed Part of Mankind; and the ſincere deſire I have of contributing to their Eaſe and Relief. O thou Father of Mercies, and God of all Conſolation, what can We do for that multitude of deplorable Objects of compaſſion, who are out of the reach of our Knowledge, or of our Ability to relieve, but offer up our earneſt Wiſhes to Thee, the great Diſpoſer of proſperity and adverſity? Behold, O Lord. I ſympathize with all the Unhappy, and bear a Part in all the miſeries experienced in this World; and do with the greateſt earneſtneſs beg of Thee for all the miſerable, of what ſort, or degree ſoever, whatever I could reaſonably beg for myſelf, were I in their condition. Aſſiſt them all in their ſeveral Trials and Conflicts; and guide them to ſuch a degree of Contentment, Reſignation, and Patience, as may render their preſent afflictions the happy occaſion of their greater future Glory: and, as far as it is conſiſtent with the purpoſes of thy Wiſdom, put an End to their preſent miſfortunes and troubles.

Reſtore light and comfort to the dark, melancholy, and diſtracted minds of Thoſe who have loſt the uſe of their Reaſon in any inſtance, or any degree. Pity the deſtitute condition of thoſe who are in want of any of the neceſſary circumſtances of Life; particularly of Thoſe who are fallen from the comforts of a proſperous Condition to the Miſeries of Adverſity; and raiſe them up Friends, and Patrons, in their low Eſtate. Relieve by thy good Providence the wants of the Poor and Needy. Be a Father to the Fatherleſs; plead the cauſe of the helpleſs Widow; and regard the unhappy Eſtate of all who mourn the loſs of thoſe, in whom any part of their Happineſs was placed.

Strengthen and aſſiſt, in an eſpecial manner, All who ſuffer any where for the Love of Truth, or the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience; and do Thou ſo proportion to their Strength, the meaſure and duration of their Sufferings, that they may work for Them a more exceeding Weight of Glory. Hear the Groans of all who are oppreſſed and barbarouſly treated, by the Tyrants of this World; and grant a redreſs to all their miſeries. Attend to the Sighs and Tears of ſuch as are in captivity and ſlavery; and open a way to their future Liberty and Security.

Viſit with thy Light and Comfort all who are afflicted with bodily pain, or any ſort of ſickneſs; and bring to their mind all ſuch conſiderations and aſſiſtances, as are neceſſary and proper to ſupport Them in their unhappy condition; or to diſpoſe and fit them for their paſſage into another ſtate. Remove in much compaſſion all thoſe unreaſonable doubts and deſpondences, with which many innocent and honeſt minds are, in this World, diſturbed and overclouded; and direct them to ſuch juſt notions of Thee, and of thy Holy Goſpel, as may eſtabliſh them in a courſe of chearful, and ſincere, obedience to the laws of it.

Succeed the endeavours of all who honeſtly and induſtriouſly labour after a convenient livelihood in this World, and are uſeful members of the Commonwealth; and bring to nought the deſigns of all who either privately, or openly, live upon the ſpoil of their Neighbours, and are the plague, and terror, of Humane Society.

Requite, in the courſe of thy Good Providence, the kindneſs of all who have at any time, or in any degree, endeavoured to contribute to the advantage of my mind, body, or outward eſtate. Upon all who have either done, or deſigned me good, of any ſort, ſhower down thy rewards, and favour. And, if there be Any, who have either deſigned, or done, me real miſchief; in return to their evil, I beg and entreat for thy pardon and thy bleſſings. Correct the evil diſpoſition of all ſuch Minds; and plant in them, inſtead of it, a temper worthy of Men and Chriſtians. Let the conſideration of their own eternal intereſt lead them all to Charity, and Love: and engage them to put on thoſe diſpoſitions which only can fit them for the Bleſſed Society above.

Bleſs all in whom I am more nearly concerned, or in whoſe happineſs I take a particular part, with ſuch a meaſure of health, ſucceſs, and proſperity, as may beſt carry forward the deſigns of thy Goodneſs towards them; and moſt effectually promote their happineſs here, and hereafter. But whatever be thy Diſpenſations towards them, with reſpect to this life; lead them all, I beſeech Thee, into thoſe Paths which will infallibly convey them to thine heavenly Kingdom in the World to come.

Finally, O Lord, I wiſh, and pray for, all good things to the whole Race of Mankind. I rejoice in every degree of Virtue and Happineſs to be ſeen here below. I mourn for every degree, and every inſtance, of Vice and miſery. Let thy Kingdom come, I beſeech Thee: and ſhew thine almighty Power, by eſtabliſhing True Religion amongſt Men; and putting a ſtop to all the calamities of this lower World.

Accept, O Lord, I moſt earneſtly beſeech Thee, the Sentiments and Deſires of my Heart, which I have now poured out before Thee, under an actual Senſe of thy Preſence, and of thy Providence over-ruling and directing all things. Favourably receive the Acknowledgments I have made of my Sins, and Moral Imperfections: and grant me Pardon and Peace upon the Terms of thy Goſpel. Hear and anſwer the Petitions I have offered up; for the obtaining all things truly Good, and the averting all things Evil. Let the Praiſes and Thankſgivings which my Heart hath ſent up, as the Homage due to thy Perfections and Goodneſs, be acceptable to Thee. And reject not the Interceſſions I have made for the temporal and eternal happineſs of all my Fellow-creatures.

And now, O Lord, take me, I once more entreat Thee, into thy powerful and wiſe Protection; and guide me, by the Diſpoſitions of thy Providence, and good Spirit, to the perfect knowledge and performance of thy Holy Will here, and to the enjoyment of that eternal and unalterable happineſs hereafter, which thou haſt reſerved for thy faithful Servants, and promiſed by thy Well-beloved Son, *Jeſus Chriſt*. In his Name, and as his Diſciple, I truſt for Acceptance of myſelf, and all my ſincere, though imperfect, ſervices: And in his Words I continue to entreat thy Mercy towards myſelf, and all whom I am obliged to pray for.

Our Father, which art in Heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven. Give us this Day our daily Bread. And forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us. And lead us not into Temptation; but deliver us from evil: For thine is the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

II.

PRAYERS for a FAMILY.

1. *A* Prayer *for* Morning *and* Evening.

O LORD, perfect in Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and Power; glorious in all that can be truly called Perfection; We thy Creatures, and thy Servants, proſtrate ourſelves before Thee, in the deepeſt Senſe of our own unworthineſs, and of thy lovely and incomprehenſible Perfections: Acknowledging the Glories of thy Nature, as it is in itſelf; and thy great Goodneſs to us, and to the whole World of thy Creatures.

We are truly ſenſible of the great happineſs of knowing Thee; and of imitating Thee; and of enjoying the communications of thy favour hereafter: upon which accounts, it highly becomes Us to praiſe Thee for that Act of Goodneſs in our Creation, by which Thou haſt endowed us with Faculties fitted for the attainment of this unſpeakable happineſs; and for the enjoyment of the higheſt Good hereafter.

We praiſe Thee for thy great Goodneſs in our preſervation here, ever ſince We were brought into Being, not only as it reſpects this World, in which We now live; but as by it We are enabled to make the better proviſion for our everlaſting intereſt in the world to come; and have greater opportunities of improving our Souls in Virtue, and of ſecuring our happineſs for ever. More particularly We now bleſs Thee for the care of thy Providence over us, by which We have been preſerved in ſafety through the paſt *Day*, [or *Night*,] and mercifully defended from all dangers and diſtreſſes.

It becomes us likewiſe to acknowledge the bounty and goodneſs, manifeſted to us through every part of our lives, to this time; to thank Thee for that meaſure of Health, and Strength, and Quiet, which We have hitherto enjoyed; for the Comforts and Supports of all thoſe neceſſaries and conveniences, without which We ſhould be much more unhappy in this State, than We now are; and for all other circumſtances and advantages of Life, which help to make our Paſſage through this World more happy, or more tolerable, than otherwiſe it could be.

But above all, We bleſs and magnify thy great and glorious Name for thy tender regards to our everlaſting Happineſs in a better State hereafter: for ſending thy Son into the World to declare to us the certainty of a future State of Rewards and Puniſhments; and for all that He did, and taught, and ſuffered, in order to reconcile Mankind to Thee; and to guide Us all to eternal life and glory: for the great happineſs of a good and virtuous Education: and for thoſe peculiar diſpoſitions of thy Providence, which have often guarded Us from many particular and hazardous Trials and Temptations. For theſe, and for all other thy mercies, which concern our great and eternal Intereſt, We ſincerely thank Thee, O Lord, and will ever praiſe thy Holy Name.

It is with ſhame and grief that we reflect upon the Returns we have made to ſo much mercy. We confeſs, O Lord, that We have not lived as becomes reaſonable Creatures called to the knowledge of ſuch a God, and of ſuch a Saviour. Many have been our failings; many have been our omiſſions, and neglects in the performance of our Duty, and in the perfecting ourſelves in all virtue. Many have been our offences, in Thought, Word, and Deed, againſt thy Divine Majeſty: and many are ſtill our Imperfections. But, O merciful Father, We beſeech Thee, in the Name of thy Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, to pardon us now returning to Thee, with the full purpoſe of regarding more ſtrictly the obligations of Gratitude and Obedience We are under; and of living, for the time to come, more like thy Servants, and like Chriſtians.

And, now, O Lord, confeſſing and renouncing all our Sins; and hoping for the pardon of all that is paſt, through thy Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, as far only as We ſincerely endeavour to reform and amend whatſoever We know to be amiſs in ourſelves; We beſeech Thee, ſo to concur with us, by thy merciful Providence, and good Spirit, that, in the future Conduct of our Lives, We may better anſwer the Ends of our moſt holy Religion, and adorn the Goſpel which we profeſs to believe.

Let the Experience of thy repeated mercies, inflame us with a Reſolution of making ſuitable returns to them. Let the Belief of future Glories raiſe our Minds above the ſordid views of this World. Let the conſideration of thine infallible Wiſdom, and undoubted Goodneſs, teach us heartily and quietly to ſubmit ourſelves to all the Diſpenſations of thy Providence towards us, as to the Will of One, who hath always wiſe and excellent purpoſes to ſerve; and knows what is beſt for us, infinitely better than we poſſibly can. Let the Example of our Bleſſed Saviour, ever placed before our Eyes, direct our Steps in every Station of Life, and every inſtance of Duty: and let our Hopes and Affections be unmoveably fixed upon thoſe Rewards which are laid up in Heaven for all who, by patient continuance in Well-doing, ſeek after Glory and Immortality. Finally, Let the Conſideration of thy Holy Preſence every-where, govern all our Thoughts, Words, and Actions, as under the eye of thy Majeſty; and lying open to Thee, our Supreme Governour and Judge; that ſo our irregular Paſſions may loſe their power over us, and We may daily proceed to greater degrees of all Holineſs and Virtue.

We now particularly deſire to put ourſelves under thy Protection, this *Day*, [or *Night*,] and to implore thy Fatherly care over us, that no evil may approach us; but that our Souls and Bodies may be ſafe under that good and powerful Providence, in which We entirely truſt.

We extend likewiſe our regards to all the World of reaſonable Creatures; and pray for the happineſs and good eſtate of all Mankind; that They may all know, and worſhip, and obey, Thee, as they ought; and particularly, that All who name the Name of *Chriſt*, may depart from iniquity, and live as becomes his Holy Goſpel. Put a ſtop to the miſeries occaſioned by Ambition and Tyranny, whether Temporal or Spiritual: Put an end to every degree of Idolatry and Superſtition; Perſecution and Oppreſſion; and give ſucceſs to the labours of All, who ſtudy the happineſs of thy Creatures, and preach the Goſpel of thy Son, in ſimplicity and love.

Regard, with much mercy, theſe Nations to which we belong; Pardon our crying ſins; and lead all ſinners amongſt us to true and unfeigned Repentance, that Iniquity may not be our Ruin, or prevent the Mercies We might otherwiſe hope for. Pour down the choiceſt of thy Bleſſings upon our moſt Gracious Sovereign, King GEORGE; and ſo direct Him, and all that are in Authority under Him, by thy gracious guidance, that they may faithfully diſcharge the great Truſt repoſed in Them, by being a Terror to Evil-doers only, and a Praiſe to all that do well. Let the remembrance of the great and ſolemn account to come, engage all orders of Men amongſt us, conſcientiouſly to perform their Duties in their ſeveral Places and Stations, with all faithfulneſs and charity.

Bleſs, we beſeech Thee, with all Bleſſings of Soul and Body, our Relations and Friends; leading them to all Virtue and Happineſs here, and rewarding Them with Eternal Life hereafter. Requite the kindneſs of all who have done, or deſigned, us any good: and pardon the malice of all who have done, or wiſhed, us any evil; guiding them to Repentance, and ſhewing thy mercy upon them.

We have a deep Senſe, O Lord, of the miſeries experienced in this World; of the wants of the Poor and Needy; of the Sickneſſes, the Pains, and Diſtreſſes, of the afflicted part of Mankind. We truly ſympathize with them, and intercede for them, that in thy Providence they may find Relief, and have Reaſon to rejoice, at the End, for the Days wherein they have ſeen adverſity.

And now, O Lord, We again commend ourſelves, and all belonging to us, to thy gracious protection and care; referring ourſelves wholly to Thee for what is truly neceſſary and good for us, in this World; and above all entreating Thee, effectually to diſpoſe the way of thy Servants towards the Attainment of everlaſting Salvation in the World to come; and beſeeching Thee to hear and to accept Us, as the Diſciples of thy Son *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord: in whoſe name We pray unto Thee, and in whoſe comprehenſive words We ſum up all our requeſts:

Our Father, which art in Heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven. Give us This Day our daily Bread. And forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us. And lead us not into Temptation; But deliver us from evil: For thine is the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

2. *Select* PRAYERS, *&c. out of the* Common-Prayer, *for the Uſe of a* Family, *Morning and Evening.*

Confeſſion.

ALmighty, and moſt merciful Father; We have erred and ſtrayed from thy ways like loſt Sheep. We have followed too much the devices, and deſires of Our own Hearts. We have offended againſt thy holy Laws. We have left undone thoſe Things which we ought to have done; and we have done thoſe Things which we ought not to have done; And there is no Health in Us. But thou, O Lord, Have mercy upon Us miſerable Offenders. Spare Thou them, O God, which confeſs their Faults. Reſtore thou them that are penitent; According to thy promiſes declared unto Mankind in Chriſt Jeſu our Lord. And grant, O moſt merciful Father, for his ſake; That we may hereafter live a Godly, Righteous, and Sober life, to the Glory of thy holy Name. *Amen.*

◆

ALmighty and everlaſting God, who hateſt nothing that Thou haſt made, and doſt forgive the Sins of all them that are penitent: Create and make in Us new and contrite Hearts; that We, worthily lamenting our Sins, and acknowledging Our Wretchedneſs, may obtain of Thee, the God of all mercy, perfect remiſſion and forgiveneſs, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

The two following Prayers to be uſed in the Morning.

[O God, who art the Author of Peace, and Lover of Concord; in knowledge of whom ſtandeth our eternal Life; whoſe Service is perfect freedom: Defend Us thy Humble Servants, in all Aſſaults of our Enemies; that We, ſurely truſting in thy defence, may not fear the Power of any Adverſaries, through the might of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

◆

O Lord, our heavenly Father, Almighty and everlaſting God, who haſt ſafely brought us to the beginning of this Day; Defend Us in the ſame with Thy mighty Power; and grant that this Day we fall into no Sin, neither run into any kind of danger: but that all our doings may be ordered by Thy governance, to do always that is righteous in Thy Sight, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*]

Theſe Two, at Night.

[O God, from whom all holy deſires, all good Counſels, and all juſt Works, do proceed; Give unto Thy Servants that Peace, which the World cannot give: that both Our Hearts may be ſet to obey Thy Commandments; and alſo, that by Thee, We being defended from the fear of Our Enemies, may paſs our Time in reſt and quietneſs, through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour. *Amen.*

◆

LIghten our darkneſs, We beſeech Thee, O Lord: and by Thy great mercy defend Us from all perils and dangers of this Night, for the Love of Thy only Son, Our Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*]

◆

O God, the Protector of all that truſt in Thee, without whom nothing is ſtrong, nothing is holy; Increaſe and multiply upon Us thy mercy: that, Thou being Our Ruler and Guide, We may ſo paſs through things temporal, that We finally loſe not the Things eternal. Grant this, O heavenly Father, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake our Lord. *Amen.*

◆

O God, whoſe never-failing Providence ordereth all Things both in Heaven and Earth; We humbly beſeech Thee to put away from Us all hurtful things, and to give Us thoſe things which be profitable for Us, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

For the KING.

O Lord, our heavenly Father, high and mighty, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, the only Ruler of Princes, who doſt from thy Throne behold all the dwellers upon Earth; Moſt heartily We beſeech Thee, with thy favour to behold Our moſt gracious Sovereign Lord King GEORGE: and ſo repleniſh him with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that he may alway incline to thy Will, and walk in thy way. Endue him plenteouſly with heavenly gifts. Grant him in health and wealth long to live. Strengthen him, that he may vanquiſh and overcome all his Enemies; and finally after this life He may attain everlaſting Joy and Felicity, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

For the Royal Family.

ALmighty God, the fountain of all goodneſs, We humbly beſeech Thee to bleſs our Gracious Queen CHARLOTTE, His Royal Highneſs GEORGE Prince of *Wales*, and all the Royal Family. Endue them with thy Holy Spirit; enrich them with thy heavenly grace; proſper them with all happineſs; and bring them to thine everlaſting Kingdom, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

For all Conditions *of Men.*

O God, the Creator and Preſerver of all mankind, We humbly beſeech Thee for all ſorts and conditions of Men; that Thou wouldeſt be pleaſed to make thy ways known unto Them; Thy ſaving health unto all Nations. More eſpecially we pray for the good eſtate of the Catholick Church: that it may be ſo guided and governed by Thy good Spirit, that all, who profeſs and call themſelves Chriſtians, may be led into the way of truth; and hold the Faith in unity of Spirit, in the bond of Peace, and in righteouſneſs of Life. Finally, we commend to Thy fatherly goodneſs, all Thoſe who are any ways afflicted, or diſtreſſed,

treſſed, in Mind, Body, or Eſtate: that it may pleaſe Thee to comfort and relieve them, according to their ſeveral neceſſities: giving them patience under their Sufferings, and a happy Iſſue out of all their Afflictions. And this we beg for Jeſus Chriſt His Sake. *Amen.*

◆

O God, whoſe nature and property is ever to have mercy and to forgive; Receive our humble petitions; and though we be tied and bound with the chain of our ſins; yet let the pitifulneſs of thy great mercy looſe us, for the honour of Jeſus Chriſt our Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

◆

A general Thankſgiving.

ALmighty God, Father of all mercies, We thine unworthy Servants do give Thee moſt humble and hearty thanks for all thy goodneſs and loving kindneſs to Us, and to all men. We bleſs Thee for our Creation, Preſervation, and all the Bleſſings of this Life: but above all for thine ineſtimable Love in the redemption of the World by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; for the means of Grace, and for the hope of Glory. And we beſeech Thee give Us that due Senſe of all thy mercies, that our Hearts may be unfeignedly thankful; and that we may ſhew forth thy Praiſe, not only with our lips, but in our lives, by giving up ourſelves to thy Service, and by walking before Thee in Holineſs and Righteouſneſs all our days, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord; to whom, with Thee, and the Holy Ghoſt, be all Honour and Glory, world without end. *Amen.*

◆

O Almighty Lord, and everlaſting God, vouchſafe, we beſeech Thee, to direct, ſanctify, and govern, both our Hearts and Bodies, in the ways of thy Laws, and in the works of thy Commandments: that, through thy moſt mighty Protection, both here and ever, we may be preſerved in Body and Soul, through our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

◆

ASSIST us mercifully, O Lord, in theſe our Supplications and Prayers; and diſpoſe the way of thy Servants towards the Attainment of Everlaſting Salvation: that, among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, They may ever be defended by thy moſt gracious and ready help, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

◆

O God, who haſt prepared for them that love thee, ſuch good things as paſs man's underſtanding; Pour into our hearts ſuch love toward Thee, that We, loving Thee above all things, may obtain thy promiſes, which exceed all that we can deſire, though Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

◆

LORD of all power and might, who art the Author and Giver of all good things; Graft in our hearts the love of thy Name, increaſe in us true Religion, nouriſh us with all goodneſs, and of thy great mercy keep us in the ſame, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

◆

OUR Father, which art in Heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven. Give us this Day our daily Bread. And forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us. And lead us not into Temptation; but deliver us from evil: For thine is the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

◆

THE Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Love of God, and the Fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt, be with us all evermore. *Amen.*

VIII.

A LETTER

FROM

The Lord Biſhop of **WINCHESTER**,

TO

CLEMENT CHEVALLIER, of Aſpal-Hall, in Suffolk, Eſq.

Occaſioned by Fournier's new Attack, ſince the legal Condemnation of *his Note* over the *Biſhop's* Name for 8,800 *l.* with an Account of that *Gentleman's* Conduct, in Favour of the ſaid Fournier.

To which is added an APPENDIX,

Shewing the ſeveral Steps of Fournier's Behaviour, from the Day of his *Appeal* to the Bishop; and the ſeveral *Variations* of his *Story* about the ſaid *Note*, in the Order of the Time, in which they happened.

P R E F A C E.

AFTER the *Sentence* pronounced in the *Rolls* upon *Bernard Fournier*, as the *Contriver* of a *groſs Fraud*, &c. one would naturally have expected at leaſt a little *Modeſty* of *Behaviour* from *Him*: I might add, ſome ſmall Acknowledgments alſo of an Alteration of *Opinion* about him, in Thoſe who had moſt zealouſly before eſpouſed his Cauſe; and had profeſſed themſelves ready to make ſuch *Acknowledgments* as ſoon as the Voice of publick Juſtice ſhould declare againſt Him. But, after waiting ſome Time, I found that all ſuch Expectations were vain: Nay, that He went on to add new Inſults to his former; and had the Honour of his greateſt Patron's Hand to ſome Part of what He diſperſed about the World to blacken me. By this Conduct I was led to lay together the *main* Materials of the following Sheets; that I might have them in Readineſs upon any proper Occaſion.

Some Friends, who came to the Knowledge of this, preſſed me to compleat, and publiſh, what I was putting together upon this Subject: to whoſe Advice, after ſome Length of Time, I have yielded. The Conſiderations which chiefly moved me, were theſe—That the *firſt* Part of theſe *Papers* relates principally to *Fournier's* Conduct *ſince* the *Hearing* of the original *Cauſe*, and the *Decree* made upon it; and, therefore, could not have any Place in the *Trial*, or be ſo much as known to Thoſe who attended it—That, as to the *other* Parts of what is here publiſhed, the *publick Trial* could not comprehend all the remarkable *Particulars* of ſuch a Cauſe; but only ſuch as were proper to be produced in that Court in which the Cauſe was heard.—That, though all the *Particulars* which had any *Title* to be ſo produced, were not only mentioned, but excellently well handled, explained, and argued: yet the Hearers were very few, in compariſon with the Many who were not ſo; and that the Hearers themſelves could not be diſpleaſed to have their Memories refreſhed.—That many of thoſe, who were inquiſitive after the true State of this Affair, did not at all apprehend it to be of ſuch a *Nature* or *Conſequence*, as it truly is; but took it for little more than a common Matter of Diſpute, occaſioned by ſome Miſtake, which happened to end at laſt in my Favour.—That very many had been often aſking of their Acquaintance a more particular Account of the *Caſe* than it was in their Power to give them.—To all which was added the Force of this Truth, that *Memorials* of *Wickedneſs* are as uſeful *Admonitions*, as *Memorials* of *Virtue* are *Guides*, to all the Members of *Civil Society*. And, as I myſelf knew the *Note* writ by *Fournier* over my Name to be an Inſtance of uncommon Iniquity; and am fully perſuaded that there never was a ſtronger Example of *Perſeverance* in wilful Wickedneſs, than *Fournier* has ſhewn forth in *Himſelf*, through this Affair: upon theſe *Conſiderations*, I came to think it a Sort of Duty to repreſent to the *Publick* the whole Tranſaction in it's true Light, (not merely as a juſt Vindication of myſelf; but) as a Matter of great and ſingular Importance to civil Society: to which nothing can be a greater Injury than the *Coinage* of falſe *Money*, or of falſe *Money-notes*.

As to what perſonally concerns Mr. *Chevallier*, in theſe Papers; every Reader muſt ſee that, if that Gentleman had acted a different Part from what he choſe, *Fournier's* Iniquity would have been at an End, in *Suffolk*, as ſoon almoſt as he had opened it; and my Trouble had never begun, or preſently had ceaſed. But as it was *his Opinion* that He was not obliged, either as a *Chriſtian*, or a *Gentleman*, to act otherwiſe than he did; and as *Fournier* owed his chief Strength, and *Aſſurance*, through a Courſe of many Years, to the Countenance of *one Perſon*; this *one* Perſon's *Teſtimony* demanded my particular *Attention* and *Examination*. And if, in this *Examination*, I have found, and proved, that, by *Fournier's* own Self-contradictions, in his Stories to this *Gentleman* Himſelf in *private*, and his *publick Oath* in *Court*, directly contrary to *One* of them, He ought to have been led, not to encourage at firſt, and to abhor *Him* at laſt: this Unhappineſs is owing to *his own* Conduct, and to the very Words of his own *Teſtimony*; and not to *Me*, who would gladly have repreſented his Conduct in the Affair otherwiſe than I have done, if He himſelf had not made it impoſſible to do ſo.

At the ſame time I muſt be ſo juſt as to declare that I have, from *All* to whom I have at any time ſpoke of Mr. *Chevallier*, heard a perfectly good Character of *Him*, as a very worthy Perſon, and of great Integrity: which always gave me the greateſt Concern to ſet Him right; and always made Me the more to wonder at his Behaviour, in the Caſe before us.

As *Fournier's Affair* has given Occaſion to many to make very particular Enquiries about *another Convert* from *Popery*, [I mean Mr. *Pillonniere*,] who once lived with Me, with regard to his Character, and whole Behaviour; it may not be improper to ſpeak a Word or two about *Him*: by which I may ſatisfy the *Curioſity* of *ſome*; and rectify the *Miſtakes* of *others*, who, I find, have confounded Them.

Mr. *P.* was of the *Society* of *Jeſus*; and a Prieſt. He came to *England* at the End of the Year 1714; but not in ſuch *Haſte*, as to forget his Inſtruments of *Orders*; or, as if he was flying from *Juſtice*. He was recommended, by ſeveral learned and great Men abroad, to their *Friends* here; and to *Me*, by the moſt unexceptionable Perſons at Home; as a Man of *Parts* and *Learning*, and good Character. What greatly confirmed the firſt good *Opinion* of him was, That *his own* Account of his leaving that *Society*, and their *Church*, was confirmed by every one, both Friends and Enemies, at *Paris*: Where the whole was ſo publick, that it was known and atteſted, by many *Travellers*, who happened to be there at that Time. In this Account every *Step* by which He was gradually led to take his Reſolution, was laid before the World, with ſo many minute Particulars, that the *Deceit* muſt have been diſcovered, if there had been any. And in his private Converſation, He was, from the beginning, always ready, without Reſerve, to name every *Place*, in which He had lived, through his whole Education, and Reſidence, amongſt the *Jeſuits*. How different a *Procedure* from That of *Another*, whoſe precipitate *Flight*, in the greateſt *Hurry*, is hardly yet explained!

I will not conceal from the *Reader* that Mr. *Pillonniere*, did not, for ſome Part of his Time, behave towards me agreeably to his Obligations. This, I ſoon found, was occaſioned by my not judging it proper for me to intereſt Myſelf at all, by any Solicitations of mine, for promoting and increaſing a *Collection* of Money, ſet on Foot by ſome worthy Gentlemen in his Favour, without the leaſt Motion from me. And this by degrees put an End to all *direct* Correſpondence between us. After this, He was very profuſe in giving away to others, in Appearance of Want, that *Competency* which had been moſt kindly provided for Him by his Friends. By this Weakneſs He ſoon found himſelf reduced to great Neceſſities; and then accepted from Me, through a Friend's Hands, a ſmall yearly Allowance: But without any *Attempt*, or Suſpicion of *Attempt*, to ſupply his Wants by forging *Money-notes*, over the *Names* of *Others*.

At length, from the Study of the *Mathematical*, and other uſeful, Branches of *Learning*, He ſuddenly departed into the *golden Dreams* of the *loweſt Chemical Projectors*. This *Change* was ſucceded by a Sort of *Religious Madneſs*, in which He was not content with his uſual great *Temperance*; but brought Himſelf to believe that, by the Promiſes of God, in *Scripture*, a good Man might, by Degrees, come to live without taking any Suſtenance at all. In this *Attempt*, He went to ſuch *Exceſs*, that his Condition at laſt could not receive any Benefit from a contrary *Regimen*. And by this Management He brought Himſelf to *Death*, in the midſt of imaginary *Viſions*, and nightly *Converſations* with Heaven. But enough of Mr. *Pilloniere*.

I muſt now add that *Fournier* has lately endeavoured to put into the Hands of *One* whoſe Conſent was neceſſary to his *Preferment*, then in View, ſeveral *Papers*, as *Credentials*, in order to his neceſſary Satisfaction about his *Character*; and that, whilſt this was in vain tranſacting, I came by Accident to the Knowledge and Sight of the *following Particulars*; of which I will now give ſome Account.

The *firſt* is a ſhort *Account* of his Departure from *his Monaſtery*, and *Religion*, written in *French*, and ſigned, by a *Perſon* whoſe Name I never heard of: and tranſlated into *Engliſh*. The *Tenor* of it is, that "*B. Fournier* was a *Religious*, " and a *Prieſt* of the *Abbey Royal* of *Chalis*—That upon ſome Ground for Diſ- " ſatisfaction, which he thought he had received from his *Order*, he formed his " Deſign of retiring to *Geneva*, and of changing his Religion *there*—That he " imparted ſomething of this to ſome of the younger *Monks*, whom he thought " his Friends—*That* they revealed the Matter to the *Superiour*; who, upon " this, ſummoned a *Chapter*—That *Fournier* got from the *Bourſer*, ſome Money " for his Journey; and in the Night eſcaped over the Wall—That He came " ſafe to *Geneva*, where he abjured Popery," *&c*. And this, it ſeems, is what he himſelf thinks fit to ſhew, as the only, or main, Proof of his having fled from his *Convent* for the ſake of Religion, and a good Conſcience.

Who it is that could come to the Knowledge of all theſe Particulars, *viz*. The *ill Uſage* he had received, and his own *inward Diſſatisfactions* about it; his Deſign of going to *Geneva*, to change his Religion; his going to the *Treaſurer* of the *Abbey*, and getting a Sum of Money for his Journey; and his Eſcape in the Night over the Wall: who it is, I ſay, that could know all this, but by Information from himſelf, will not be explained without great Difficulty. And therefore, till better Authority appears, this cannot be accounted any thing but his own miſerable Teſtimony to a *Tranſaction*, which is of the greateſt and moſt particular Importance to the Defenſe of his Character. But let this *Teſtimony* come from what Hands it will, ſince it is all that we are yet allowed to know of this moſt intereſting *Fact*; the following *Remarks* upon it cannot be thought improper.

1. As far as this *Account* goes, we find no Marks of any Regard to his *Religion*, before theſe *Diſſatisfactions* at the Uſage he had received ſtirred up the Thought. From whence we muſt be apt to conclude, that theſe *Diſſatisfactions* did not proceed from any Thing about *Religion*; but that his Reſolution to change his *Religion* followed cloſe and immediately upon theſe *Diſſatisfactions* at the ill Uſage he had met with, upon ſome Account quite different from That of Religion. If he knew this important Affair to be otherwiſe, no Reaſon can be

given, why he did not plainly ſet forth, in this Teſtimonial, what would have been for his own Intereſt and Honour.

2. The next Point is, the great *Improbability* that he ſhould truſt his *young* Companions with his Deſign to fly, or to change his Religion. But, indeed, how far it was that he truſted them, does not fully appear; though enough to let us know, that they thought beſt to reveal ſomething to the *Superior*, which made Him think it neceſſary to ſummon a *Chapter* to meet.

3. The much greater Improbability of his getting from the *Bourſer* of ſuch a *Society* a Sum of *Money* for his *Journey* is never, I believe, to be got over. That a *Monk* ſhould go to the *Treaſurer* of his *Abbey*, and ſay to Him, Sir, I am going to take a Journey which will be chargeable to Me; and therefore, muſt deſire you, without any Loſs of Time, to let me have ſome Money for my Expenſes; and that ſuch *Treaſurer* ſhould immediately comply, and give this Man the Sum he wanted: *Theſe* are *Impoſſibilities*, by all the Rules by which ſuch *Societies*, and ſuch *Officers*, muſt be, and always are, governed. A Sum of Money was certainly neceſſary to his Purpoſe, and ſuch a *Sum* as might ſupply his Wants much longer than till he could fly ſafe to *Geneva*. And that he had got, ſome how or other, ſuch a Sum of Money, into his Poſſeſſion, ſeems evident. But how he could poſſibly get ſuch a *Sum* exactly ready for the *Hurry* of his *Flight*, I believe, he will never acquaint us. For, if he could, he would have been glad to have done it here, in plain Words, and not have left it in ſuch Obſcurity.

4. *His Eſcape over the Wall in the Night* has, and always will have, the Appearance of *Guilt*, much more than of *Religion*; till he can ſhew us the Neceſſity or Juſtifiableneſs of it in his Caſe. At preſent it ſeems very like the precipitate Flight of a Man, in haſte to carry off what would have been taken from Him, if he had delayed.

5. That he abjured *Popery* at *Geneva* I think credible, becauſe nothing was eaſier than a publick Abjuration of what, he knew, he never could profeſs again without a Scene of grievous Mortification amongſt his old Friends.

Upon the whole, this Paper appears to be a moſt *imperfect*, *dark*, *abſurd*, *unſatisfactory*, Account of a Matter, the *Ground* and *Conduct* of which ought to have been made as clear, in every reſpect, as Words could have made it; and being ſo improbable in ſome Parts, and ſo obſcure in others, muſt appear little more favourable to his *Character*, than even a *total Silence* about the Particulars of his *Flight* would have been.

The *ſecond* Paper, which came into my Hands by the ſame Way, was, what *Fournier* always ſpoke of, as the late *Biſhop* of *London's Licence* to Him to preach in his *Dioceſe*; but what I never had a Sight of before. The Hiſtory of this he knows to be what follows. The late Dr. *Le Moine*, who had received from a learned *Profeſſor* at *Leiden*, for whom *He* had a great Value, a *Teſtimonial* of *Fournier's* good Behaviour, whilſt he reſided there, believing his Story, and pitying his Caſe, thought it might be of ſingular Uſe to him, if he could obtain of the *Biſhop*, his Permiſſion for Him to aſſiſt the *French Clergy*, at *London*, in preaching and reading Prayers; and one Day preſſed him ſo much, that the *Biſhop* bad the *Doctor* to write ſuch a ſhort Permiſſion as he deſired; as the Caſe did not require the Expenſe of a *Licence* with the *Epiſcopal Seal* to it. And when this was done, the *Biſhop* ſigned the Words ſo writ by Dr. *Le Moine*. And in this haſty Paper were Words ſignifying the Biſhop's *confirming Fournier in his Prieſthood*: of which Words, I confeſs, I cannot frame any poſſible Meaning, but that the *Biſhop* believed *Fournier*, upon what the *Doctor* had ſaid, to be a *Prieſt*;

though he had no *Orders* to ſhew. That the Deſign of this *Licence* went no farther than the aſſiſting the *French Clergy*, in their Congregations, Dr. *Le Moine* always affirmed: and that it *could* not mean any Thing more, is moſt evident, becauſe it was ſigned at a Time when *Fournier* did not pretend to underſtand *Engliſh* at all; or to ſpeak it in any Degree. And hence ariſes another Inſtance of ſomething very bad; *viz.* that *Fournier*, knowing this to be the *literal Truth*, and that Nothing was meant by it, but what is here ſaid, has often ſpoke of it, and ſometimes ſhewn it, as a *Licence* given Him to preach and officiate in what Place, and in what Congregation, of *Engliſh* as well as *French*, he ſhould, at any Time hereafter, think fit, through the whole *Dioceſe* of *London*.

A *third* Fact came, by the ſame Means, to my Knowledge: and that relates to the ſo much boaſted Inſtance of *Fournier's Honeſty* in the Reſignation of a *Living*, which he held for a *Minor*; and which he might have kept, in Mr. *Chevallier's* Way of repreſenting it, *if he would have forfeited his Promiſe*: for it was always ſpoken of in the Style of a Promiſe only. Who would not wonder to hear it repreſented as a prodigious Heighth of Virtue, for a Man, and a Chriſtian, to keep his Word, or obſerve his Promiſe? My Remarks upon *this*, as *thus* repreſented, may be ſeen in Pages 937 and 938 of this *Letter*. But now I have, amongſt his Credentials, met with a *Letter* from the Rev. Mr. *Jones* to Him, letting him know, that he [*Fournier*] having reſigned the *Living*, Mr. *Jones* had writ to Mr. *Chevallier* to deliver up to Him his *Bond*. From this the following Points appear—That *Fournier* was not truſted by Mr. *Jones*, nor anſwered for by Mr. *Chevallier*, without a *Bond*, which always has a ſufficient *Penalty* inſerted in it—That Mr. *Chevallier* had this *Bond* in his Poſſeſſion; and therefore, muſt know that *Fournier* could not have kept this Living without paying the *Penalty* of this *Bond*, as well as diſhoneſtly breaking his *Promiſe*; Or, if this Payment ſhould be refuſed, not without being publickly tried in a *Court* of *Juſtice*. I cannot account for the Conduct of Mr. *Chevallier*, in hiding this Fact of the *Bond*, whilſt he was ſetting forth to Me the ſupereminent *Honeſty* of a Man, for reſigning a Living, which, it now appears, this Gentleman knew he could not keep, not only without an Infamy through his whole Life for a Breach of his Promiſe; but without paying a ſufficient Sum of Money for his *Falſhood*.

The *Particulars* which I have mentioned ſeemed to me to be worthy of the Conſideration of all Perſons who are willing to know truly the *Merits* of the *Man*, who has been the Occaſion of ſo much Trouble to Me, and of this preſent Addreſs to the *Publick*. I have honeſtly endeavoured to give a faithful Account of theſe *Credentials*. But, as I had them in my Hands only for a few Minutes, if I have miſtaken any Part of them, I will, upon the firſt Notice, publickly correct the Miſtake.

B. W.

A
LETTER
TO
CLEMENT CHEVALLIER, Eſq.

SIR,

THE very extraordinary Conduct of *Bernard Fournier*, an Acquaintance of yours, and, if I may have leave to ſay ſo, one greatly favoured by You, will, I think, be a juſt Apology to all who may read this, for addreſſing myſelf particularly to *You*, upon this Occaſion: When they ſhall, at the ſame Time, ſee the Continuance of his ſhameleſs Behaviour; and how much I am indebted to You, for a great Part of what I have, through a courſe of many Years, ſuffered from Him.

I beg leave, without any farther Ceremony, in the *firſt* Place to put you in mind; and, by this, to inform Thoſe who may not know it already; That the *Note* [a] ſhewn to You in *Suffolk* long ago, for 8,800 Pounds, written by *Bernard Fournier*, with my Name appearing under it, has undergone a ſtrict Examination in the *Court* of *Chancery*. All Perſons, on each Side, were ſummoned, who could ſay any Thing relating to the Matter. And, after their *Depoſitions*, in Anſwer to the *Interrogatories* put to them, a *Trial* of the *Merits* of the Cauſe came on. In this Trial, and the Management of his Defenſe, He had the Aſſiſtance of very eminent *Counſel*; of great Abilities and Reputation; who preſſed every Thing that could poſſibly be urged for the Cauſe they had undertaken. I do not mention the Advantage he propoſed to his Cauſe, from that *Demonſtration* he choſe to give of his *Innocence*, by appearing in *Perſon*, in View of a *crowded Court*, and ſhewing an *unbluſhing Countenance*, amidſt all the Pleadings; becauſe this, I believe, was what no one Friend he then had in the World wiſhed to have appeared.

After a long *Trial*, which took up *ſeveral Hours* of *two Days*, this *Judgement* was given on *July* 23, 1752: "That the *Note*, bearing Date the 4th of "*September* 1740, ſet up by the *Defendant Fournier*, againſt the *Plaintiff the* "*Biſhop of Wincheſter, appears to be, and is, a groſs Fraud and Contrivance of the* "*Defendant Fournier*; and decree, that the ſaid Note be depoſited in the Hands "of the *Regiſter*, ſubject to the further Order of this Court; and the *Defendant* "pay unto the *Plaintiff* his *Coſts* of this Suit, to be taxed by the Maſter, and "refer it to Mr. *Spicer*."

Now, as this *Judgement* was paſſed upon this *Note*, as written by *Fournier's* own Hand; my *Name* appearing under it; I hope, I may argue, from this particular Circumſtance, that the ſaid *Note*, conſidered as ſo written by *Him*, cannot be a *groſs Fraud*, without being a *Forgery*. This latter *Word* is not, indeed, in the Language of a *Court* of *Equity*: but yet, in the preſent and like Caſes, the *Thing* itſelf is as certainly implied, and the perſonal *Guilt* of it as effectually declared, in the Expreſſion of a *groſs Fraud* and *Contrivance*, as if the *other Word* were uſed. For though, in many Caſes, there may be, and is, a *Fraud*, without a *Forgery* of any Writing; yet, in the Caſe of a *Note* for a Sum of Money, written by the Perſon who ſets it up againſt Another, whoſe Name appears under it; there cannot, (as far as I can judge,) be a *groſs Fraud*, without a *Forgery*. Nor can ſuch *Note* be declared to be a *groſs Fraud*, without being, in Effect, and by certain Implication, declared to be a *Forgery*. Nor can ſuch Note-maker be declared the *Contriver* of this *Fraud*, without being effectually declared to be the *Forger* of the ſaid *Note*. And *Forgery*, as it ſtrictly relates to *Money-notes*, is exactly the ſame Crime, (in *Law*, as well as *Morality*,) whether *my Name* be written *under* a *Note*, or a *Note* be written *over* my *Name*, without my Knowledge and Conſent.

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[a] The *Note* here referred to, is this—" I promiſe to pay to Mr. *Bernard Fournier*, Min. or his Order, three "Months from Date hereof, the Sum of Eight thouſand Eight hundred Pounds, for Value received; as Witneſs "my Hand this 4th Day of *September*, 1740,

"B. WINCHESTER."

The *Decree* orders alſo the *Complainant's* Coſts to be paid him by the *Defendant*: which, I am informed, is never done in this Court, but in flagrant Caſes, void of every good Appearance, and without the Mitigation of having any Probabilities, or alleviating Circumſtances, in their Favour; which appeared to be the miſerable Condition of the *Defendant's* Cauſe.

What followed upon this, You know. This unhappy Man, after he had been at the *Trial* himſelf, in the Face of Multitudes, preſently poſted down to *Ipſwich*, the Scene of Favour and Encouragement to Him; and offered to the *Printer* there an *Advertiſement*, which he refuſed to print, unleſs *Fournier* would ſet his Hand to it. Of this he made no Difficulty: and ſo the following Words were publiſhed:

" Whereas in a Paragraph of the *General Evening Poſt*, there is an *imperfect*, " and in another of the *Whitehall Evening*, a *falſe* Account, of the Affair be- " tween the Right Reverend the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and a Clergyman, deter- " mined before the *Maſter* of the *Rolls*: This is to certify that, in the late " Hearing, the *Counſellors* of the *Biſhop* agreed unanimouſly, they *could not prove* " *Forgery, and therefore they pleaded ſtrongly, that the Note ſhould be delivered up to* " *the Biſhop*; but the Counſellors of the Clergyman oppoſed That as ſtrongly; " and prevailed ſo far, as to have the Note ordered to be left in Court, for both " Parties to try the Affair at common Law, when they pleaſe.

" B. FOURNIER."

The beſt Comment upon this *Advertiſement* is the Determination itſelf, or the *Decree*, of the *Court*, juſt now laid before the Reader. To *this*, therefore, I refer him: that He may ſee, with his own Eyes, that, in this *Advertiſement*, profeſſedly deſigned to inform his Friends what the *Decree* was, in Oppoſition to the Miſrepreſentations of others; *Fournier* has not produced any one Word of the *Decree*, relating to the *Merits* of the *Note* itſelf; nor any one Part of the *Decree*, but that the Note was ordered to be left in *Court*; which could not but lead his Friends to conclude, that *no* Judgement had been given about the Merits of the Note, or of the *Note-maker*: He himſelf knowing, all the while, that the *Merits* had been thoroughly entered into, and a final *Decree* paſſed upon them.

I ſhall here juſt obſerve *two* Things, as we paſs. The *firſt* is, That it is impoſſible to believe That Gentlemen of ſuch Abilities, as the Perſons here meant are known to poſſeſs, could be ſo abſurd as to argue, that, *becauſe* they could not prove *Forgery*, therefore, or, for *this* Reaſon, the *Note ought to be delivered up to the Biſhop*: and, upon this Account, it will be juſtly concluded, that *This* muſt be the mere *Fiction* of *one*, who either has not Underſtanding enough to know what He himſelf hears; or has not Honeſty enough to repreſent it truly.

The *other* is, that the *Part* of the *Decree*, lodging the Note with the *Regiſter, ſubject to the farther Order*, &c. was in a particular Manner *agreeable* to *Me*; and, upon Conſideration, more ſo, than if it had been delivered up to me; as leſs liable to any Objections. But I muſt obſerve, that, though the *Prayer* of my *original Bill* of *Complaint* was indeed, for the *Delivery of the Note*; yet, it was not *abſolutely*, but upon *Condition*, in *expreſs Words*, of my *paying whatever ſhould appear to be due to him upon that Note*: a Circumſtance, which he ought not to have hid; it being a plain Declaration, that I meant Nothing but the ſtricteſt Juſtice; even debarring myſelf from pleading the *Act* of *Limitation*, or any *Privilege* whatever, when I needed not to have done it.

He himſelf, indeed, at the very Time of this *Exploit* at *Ipſwich*, ſeemed afraid of a ſevere Cenſure on ſuch a *prevaricating Advertiſement*. For, as I am credibly informed, when he had delivered the *Advertiſement*, He ſaid, that He had indeed, attended the Court; but did not ſtay long enough to *hear* the *Decree*: thus laying in Matter for Excuſe, by a new *Prevarication*, when the *former* ſhould be diſcovered. For it is obſervable, that his Words were not, that he did not know what the *Decree* was, when he *belied* it; but that he did not ſtay long enough in the *Court*, to hear it pronounced. But, whatever his Art was in this Part of his Conduct; whether he took eſpecial Care not to hear it with his own Ears, that he might the better *bely* it; or, whether he retired a Step or two out of Sight, for ſome Minutes, upon a *Whiſper* of one in Court; there is not a Man living, I dare ſay, who can believe it poſſible, that *He*, who was ſo particularly intereſted in this *Decree*, himſelf attending the Hearing of the Cauſe, as far as he pleaſed; and having his *Counſel* and *Solicitor* there, to be ſo eaſily ſpoke with; could poſſibly reſt one Minute without enquiring after what eſſentially concerned himſelf in the *Decree*.

But, whether he did, or did not, enquire into this; his *Iniquity* is much the ſame. For, if he did *not* enquire, or know, what the *Decree* was; it was *wicked* in him to pretend, with ſuch Aſſurance, to give an Account of it at all, in Contradiction to other Accounts. And if he did know, by Information, what the *Decree* was; the *Prevarication* and wilful *Deceit* of his *Advertiſement* were exactly the ſame, as if he had heard it with his own Ears, and then *belied it*. In all Views, I am confident, a greater Inſtance of *Impudence*, equally an *Affront* to his beſt Friends in *Suffolk*, and to a *Court* of *Juſtice*, was never before ſeen. And I leave it to thoſe very Friends Themſelves, to determine, what Name that Man deſerves, who ſigned and publiſhed ſuch an *Advertiſement*, moſt manifeſtly intended to abuſe thoſe very Perſons, to whom he had the ſtrongeſt Obligations, into a Belief of his *Victory* by that *Decree*; whilſt he himſelf knew, at that very Time, this Repreſentation of it, as a *Victory*, to be his own *wilful Falſhood*. You, Sir, in particular, could not but be ſenſible, *after* the early Information I gave you concerning the *Decree* itſelf, of this *Farce* of *Iniquity* acted at *Ipſwich*, the very Centre of thoſe uncommon Obligations; though you thought fit, in your Anſwer to my Letter, to be quite ſilent about your own Senſe of any *Wickedneſs*, either in *this*, or any *other*, Inſtance of this Man's Behaviour.

About a Year after this memorable Exploit, when the *Coſts*, ordered by *the Decree*, were taxed and ſettled in due Form; a proper Notice of them, according to the Courſe of *Law*, was delivered at his Houſe at *Earl's-Coln* in *Eſſex*, which had been the Place of his Reſidence, ever ſince He left *Suffolk*. Upon this Notice, He ſent me a *Letter*; of every Word of which, the following is an exact Copy.

" My Lord,

" I received only this very Day two Summons's, in order to pay your Lordſhip firſt 192*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*; and ſecondly 65*l.* 5*s.* But as I cannot raiſe the " Sum, *I am ready to be your Priſoner when you pleaſe.*

" I am, My Lord,

" *Your Lordſhip's moſt humble*

Earls-Coln, July 31, 1753.

" *and moſt obedient Servant,*

" B. Fournier."

It muſt be obſerved, that the Reaſon why there were *two* ſeparate *Sums* mentioned, was, that the *firſt* Sum was That of the *Coſts* of the *Original Cauſe*; and the *ſecond* was That of the *Coſts* of my *Anſwer* to a very extraordinary *Croſs-bill*, which he voluntarily filed againſt me; and, when I had put in my *Anſwer*, fled from it; like Himſelf, upon a former Occaſion.

In the *Letter* above, you ſee, there is not the leaſt Deſire of any *Favour* upon this *Occaſion*, or Requeſt for any *Compaſſion*; but another Sort of a Spirit, exalted above all ſuch *Condeſcenſions*. But, of whatever Kind *his* Spirit was, I own *mine* was of ſuch a Kind, as to be moved with the laſt Words of it. *Others* were not affected in the ſame Manner. For, when I ſhewed it to Some, who knew the World better than I did, They declared to me, at firſt reading it, that it was a manifeſt *Inſult* upon me; and that I ſhould find it ſo, upon Trial. As I was therefore adviſed, I ſent a proper Perſon to call upon Him for the *Coſts*, ordered by the *Court*. And it preſently appeared, that They, who judged *his Letter* to be an *Inſult*, judged rightly. For ſo far was he from being *ready to be my Priſoner*, as he had affirmed himſelf to be; that he did not appear, nor was to be found.

But what follows will be an unanſwerable Proof, that *this Letter* was not only an *Inſult*, but a *deſigned* one, upon me. For on the ſame Day; I ſay, the ſame 31ſt of *July*, 1753, on which the *Letter* above was *dated*, He himſelf wrote an *Advertiſement*, and preſently ſent it about to many Perſons; of which I have in my Hands two *Copies*, or rather *Originals*, in his own Hand-writing; and *both dated* on the ſame *July* 31, 1753, and from the ſame Place, *Earls-Coln*; beſides other *Copies*, which have been communicated to me by Friends.

The *Advertiſement* here follows:

" Whereas the Right Rev. Dr. *Benjamin Hoadly*, Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, " inſiſts now on my paying him a large Sum of Money for *Coſts*, when, on the " contrary, he offers himſelf to pay them, together with many other Advan" tages, *if he cannot prove Forgery*; this is to let the Publick know, that if he " pleaſes to delare in the *Ipſwich Paper*, that he will be as good as his Word, " I am ready to *ſurrender myſelf his Priſoner*, waiting for a Trial in a *Court* of

“ *Common Law*, which ſeems to be the Court for a *Charge* of *Forgery*, agree- “ able to the Words of his own Letter.

“ Witneſs my Hand,

Earl's-Coln, 31 July, 1753. “ B. Fournier,

“ late *Vicar* of *Winſton*.”

Then he adds what follows, as a Proof of this Offer of mine, from a Letter I formerly wrote to *You*; which he introduces in theſe Words—*The Cloſe of the Letter is as follows: To* Clement Chevallier, Eſq. *at* Aſpal-Hall, *near* Debenham *in* Suffolk, *Oct.* 26, 1749. “ I will only add This, that if he ſtands and “ makes his Defence againſt the *Charge* of *Forgery*, which muſt come in its “ Courſe, in a *Court* of *Common Law*, by Way of *Indictment*; and *proves his* “ *Innocency*, [I muſt by juſt Judgement of the Court pay him his Coſts,] and “ do here promiſe under my Hand, that [beſides theſe] I will pay him ten “ Times the Value of any *Curacy*,” [*viz.* any Curacy which he had loſt by Means of the *Archbiſhops's cautionary Letters* ſpoken of, in this Letter,] “ and of what He would have received from it, from the Date of the *Arch-* “ *biſhop's Letters*, to the Time of ſuch Trial ended. And I am ſure, if he “ knows, and can give any tolerable Proof, of ſuch *Innocence*, it is worth his “ and her while, that every Farthing they can command ſhould be ſpent in “ what will be ſo much to their Advantage, and my Infamy.”

At the Bottom of all is placed the *Sanction* of *your Name* in theſe Words: “ The above is contained in *Letters*” [You ſhould have ſaid, a *Letter*] “ wrote “ to me by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

“ Clement Chevallier.”

N. B. What I have above put in Hooks, about *Coſts*, proceded entirely from my Ignorance of the Nature of Trials upon *Indictments*.

In ſome Copies, and particularly in that which *Fournier* ſent to the late *Biſhop* of *Ely*, he adds ——

“ Some of the Printers, who have been applied to, to inſert This in their “ Papers, having kept it for ſome Time, to adviſe, as they told me, with one “ another, returned it me again, ſaying, That they could not inſert it upon any “ Account in the World. They never gave me a Reaſon why; therefore I “ trouble the Publick in writing [to ſhew how *barbarouſly* I am uſed,]” which laſt Words are not in the other Copies. He alſo in the ſaid Letter adds, “ which “ Words” [*viz.* my Words to you in *December*, 1749] “ are ſo *peremptory*, that “ the Biſhop *himſelf* wrote to the ſaid Gentleman,” [Mr. *Chevallier*,] “ even ſince “ he could not on my Oppoſition obtain to have the Note deſtroyed in Chan- “ cery, that, *if he proceeds farther*, it will be for Perjury *and* Forgery.” [He ſhould have ſaid *(or)* inſtead of *(and.)*] Here I muſt add a Remark, or two.

1. A freſh Inſtance of this Man's utter Diſregard to the Truth of what he ſays, or writes, appears here. For he knows that there never was any Motion, or the leaſt Hint of a Requeſt, for *deſtroying the Note* in *Chancery*; but that the Prayer of my Bill was, for *delivering it to Me*, upon my *paying whatever ſhould appear to be due upon it*.

2. As the Words here cited by *Fournier*, as my Words, are taken from a *Letter* written to *You*, after the *Decree* in *Chancery* in *July*, 1752; this ſhews me my farther Obligations to *You*, for your continuing your Correſpondence with this Man, and communicating to *Him*, my private Letters to *Yourſelf*, even

after you knew his publick Condemnation, and *after* his Removal from your Parts.

3. Such as the Words are, I will leave it to the meaneſt of all, who underſtand the common Signification of plain Language, whether the Words, *if I proceed farther*, are not *Words* of *Doubt* and *Uncertainty*; and *Words* that ſuppoſe a *Deliberation* about the Matter ſpoken of; that is, whether they are not Words abſolutely contrary to what can be called *peremptory*; and therefore, not at all proper for his Purpoſe, in this *dark Paſſage*; whatever that *Purpoſe* was. To return;

You cannot but ſee, from this *Letter* to me, and this *Advertiſement*, compared together, *Both* of the ſame *Date*, the *Falſhood*, and open *Self-contradiction* of this Man. For here it appears, from his own expreſs Words, that *Bernard Fournier*, on *July* 31, 1753, gave it under his Hand to *me*, that *he was ready to be my Priſoner, when I pleaſed*; and this, expreſsly on Account of my *Coſts* of the *Suit* already finiſhed in *Chancery*; the very *Sums* of which Coſts He himſelf names, as what he was not able to pay; and that the ſame *Bernard Fournier*, on the very ſame 31ſt of *July*, in the ſame Year 1753, declared to Others, under his own Hand likewiſe, that he had no ſuch Intent; and that he was *not* ready to be my *Priſoner*, on Account of thoſe *Coſts*: but that he would, indeed, *ſurrender himſelf my Priſoner*, upon quite another Account, *viz.* if I would publiſh in the *Ipſwich Journal* my Reſolution of being at ſtill more Expenſe, and more Coſts, in trying over again his *Guilt* in *another Court*, before he has accounted for the *Coſts* adjudged already in *Chancery*. Thus can he think it lawful to play with *Words*; and with his own *Character*; whenever he pleaſes.

Fournier cannot complain that I thus make publick an *Advertiſement*, which, He himſelf aſſures us, he in vain deſired to have printed. Nor can *You* complain of my publiſhing that *Part* of it, to which you have thought fit to put your Name. I myſelf have ſome Reaſon, indeed, to be a little uneaſy on this account, That, in publiſhing *it*, I publiſh *One* Inſtance, out of *Many*, of that uncommon Readineſs to give myſelf *Trouble*, for *your Satiſfaction*, which, from the Effects produced by it, gives me no great Cauſe to applaud my own Judgement, or Diſcretion. But I am content with the Thought, that it may be eſteemed an Inſtance of my *Weakneſs*; whilſt I am ſure, it muſt be eſteemed a certain Proof of my *honeſt Intention*, of doing the utmoſt Stretch of *Juſtice* to a poor Man, if it ſhould appear that I had injured him.

I muſt not forget, that this *New Advertiſement* is ſubſcribed *B. Fournier, late Vicar of Winſton*. This had its Meaning: and I the rather take Notice of it, becauſe it was often urged by his Friends, and particularly by *yourſelf*, in a *Letter* to me, that He had given an extraordinary Proof of his *Honeſty*, by reſigning the *Vicarage* of *Winſton*, when he could by *Law* have held it, if he would have broken his Promiſe. Now, Sir, give me Leave to appeal to yourſelf. *You* was Witneſs to this Promiſe, and, in ſome Senſe, anſwerable for his Performance of it, when you recommended Him to hold that *Vicarage*. He could therefore, neither *deny* nor *evade* it, in your Life-time. You had alſo heard much from his own Mouth of his *greater* Affair againſt *Me*. Do you not, therefore, in your Conſcience, know that He had then ſuch other Things in View, that his own worldly *Intereſt* and common *Prudence*, without a Grain of *Honeſty*, muſt have induced Him to this promiſed *Reſignation*? Had he not a Character to get, or to maintain, amongſt you? Had he not, in his Poſſeſſion, a *Note*, which he charged to my Account, to work his Intereſt upon? Had he not his *chief Support* from *your* Countenance, and the Favour of your Neighbours? You know he had. Could he ever again have ſhewn his Face amongſt you, if he had *broke* his Promiſe? You know *he could not*. Would not you yourſelf, and all his Friends about you, at once have given him up, as a moſt abandoned Man; and declared againſt ſuch a Wretch, as not fit to be believed or truſted, in any one Word he ſpake; and all have become my Witneſſes againſt him? All this He could not but know, and foreſee, at that Time. And therefore, both *He* and *You* ſhould ſeek for, and produce, *Other* and better Evidences of his *Honeſty*, than an *Act* of his, which muſt and would have been the ſame, even out of *Knavery*, for the Support of himſelf and his Credit, in his wicked Aſſertions and Deſigns againſt *Me*, and the *Dean* of *Jerſey*.

I might add that there are many Inſtances of Men, deſervedly condemned and executed for *Robberies*, and the like Crimes, who have been for ſome Time before, ſo remarkably punctual in paying their Debts, and behaving themſelves honeſtly in their Neighbourhoods, that they have juſtly received the concurrent Teſtimonies of many, both *Clergy* and *Laity*, when they moſt wanted them. But very little Weight is ever laid upon *ſuch Appearances*, when particular *Facts* are to be judged of.

I will now only juſt mention, as we paſs, That *before* the final *Hearing*, and *Decree*, He thought fit, in *Letters* dated *Auguſt* 14, 1750, and *February* 8, 1752, to put me in Mind of this Promiſe ſent to You in *October* 1749; and again, *after* the *Decree* in *Chancery*, in one dated *June* 2, 1753, when he was acquainted with the Reſolution of *taxing* the *Coſts* allotted Me: and *Letters* filled with ſuch *Inſults*; and ſuch Abuſes of the *holieſt Words* and *holieſt Things*, as are too ſhocking to produce.—That, as ſoon as this *Advertiſement* was ready, and armed with all its Force, he ſent Me the Letter, already produced, dated 31 *July*, 1753, profeſſing his Readineſs to be *my Priſoner*, on Account of *the Coſts*: And then abſolutely contradicted this in the *Advertiſement* itſelf, dated the ſame Day, and Year.—That, in a Letter to the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*, dated *Auguſt* 27, 1753, he incloſed this *Advertiſement*; with the Addition of ſome Rudeneſs, and a Menace of ſending it to the *King* himſelf.—That, on *Sept.* 18, 1753, He wrote another Letter to me, preſſing me, even as I regarded the Salvation of my own Soul, to perform my Promiſes; *that is*, to *reward him* for his *great Wickedneſs*.—That, this not being ſufficient for *one* Day, he ſent a Letter to my own Son, Dr. *Hoadly*, of the ſame Date; with a Copy of this ſame *Advertiſement* in it; and *Words* of Abuſe, not to be repeated—That, after this, he ſent a long Letter to the late Lord *Biſhop* of *Ely*, dated *November* 1, 1753, in which alſo was a Copy of this *Advertiſement*, with the Addition of much *Impertinence* and *Miſrepreſentation*. Theſe I know of. And how many more *Copies* were diſperſed abroad *He* beſt knows.

After theſe Particulars, That the Reader may the better judge of what I am going to ſay, about the *Merits* of *this Advertiſement*, I will give an Account of the *Occaſion* of this *Letter* of mine, to you, dated *October* 26, 1749, by which He may ſee the true and whole Meaning of my Declarations in it.

1. It appears from your own, and my *Letters*, that, in *December*, 1747, and *February*, $174\frac{7}{8}$, near *two Years* before this Date, I made you the kindeſt Offers, to anſwer all, or any of, the Reaſons, You might think, you had, for your Regard to this Man; if you would let me know them: and this, on Purpoſe to prevent your being farther miſled by Him. Theſe Offers you totally rejected, on very trifling Accounts, as will appear preſently. Afterwards, in *October* 1749, I offered to ſhew You that, in his *Anſwer*, in *Chancery*, to my firſt Bill, He had *upon Oath* given an *Account* of the Note for 8,800 Pounds, abſolutely *contradictory* to *That* given to You, and tranſmitted to *Me*, by *You*, in *December*, 1747: and this alſo in Order to your own particular Satisfaction. In your Anſwer to *Me*,

you took not the leaſt Notice of *This*; though alone enough to awake you from your *Lethargy*. But, at the ſame Time, whilſt you refuſed to let me know any *One* particular, which made you ſo favourable to this Man, you thought fit to let me know, what I enquired not after, and what ſignified Nothing to the *Guilt*, or *Innocence*, of *Fournier*, *viz*. That my procuring *cautionary Letters* from his *Grace* of *Canterbury*, againſt *Fournier's* being admitted, or licenced, to *officiate* as a *Clergyman*, *before* farther Enquiry made about Him, was much *cenſured*; as condemning him before he was heard, and as hindering Him from being employed; and ſo from getting more Money for carrying on his *Defence*, and I know not what. This immediately moved me to ſhew my *Regard* to *You* ſtill farther, by anſwering to all that was urged upon this Head; and by ſhewing you the *Reaſonableneſs*, and *Uſefulneſs*, as well as conſtant *Cuſtom*, upon all ſuch and much leſs Occaſions, of ſending ſuch Letters. And, being warmed with this moſt unjuſt Accuſation of *injuring* the *Man*, and to ſhew my honeſt *Abhorrence* of the Thought; I added my *Promiſe* of making him the ample Amends, mentioned in the Words of my *Letter*, already produced, upon the *Conditions* there expreſſed. And this, you muſt be ſenſible, I ſhould equally have ſaid to you, whether I had been, at that Time, adviſed to go forward in *Chancery*; or by Way of *Indictment*: the Reaſon of my Words being exactly the ſame in both Caſes. But

2. The *Occaſion*, and *only Occaſion*, of my mentioning, in my *Letter* to *You*, the Way of *Indictment*, in another *Court*, was, becauſe it was then the *Opinion* of Some, whom I conſulted, that the Method of *Indictment* might be ſucceſsfully purſued, now the *Note* itſelf was ordered into *Court*. And, this being then their Opinion, ſurely it was natural and honeſt for *Me* to mention ſuch *Indictment* to you at that Time.

And, that this is the ſtrict literal Truth of that Matter, any Perſons may by their own Eye-ſight be convinced, if They pleaſe. For I have now in my Poſſeſſion the very *Indictment*, in due Form ſetled at that Time: which they may ſee. And I can direct them to another *Fact*, which cannot lie; *viz*. an Order of my Lord *Chancellor*, upon a Motion of my *Counſel*, at the Time agreeable to this, that the *Clerk*, who had the *Note*, ſhould attend, with the ſaid *Note*, both the *Grand-jury*, in order to the *finding* the *Bill*; and the Court of *Law*, when the *Trial* of ſuch *Indictment* for *Forgery* ſhould come on. And there cannot be a greater Proof, that *This* was the *real Intention*, at that Time, when I wrote You that Letter, than theſe *two Facts*.

3. This *Advice* was ſoon altered. For it appeared, upon farther Conſideration, that the Method of *Indictment* was not ſo free from all *Objections*, as it was thought; and that the *Court* of *Chancery* could as properly enter into the *Merits* of the *Cauſe*, relating to *Fournier's* real *Guilt* or *Innocence*, as any *other Court* could do. As ſoon as the proper Time came, after this was ſo fixed, you know, I continued my particular Regard to You, by ſending *You* a *Letter*, to inform you that I muſt go on, in *Chancery*, by the Advice of the beſt *Lawyers*; and to give you Notice, that I was going to ſend down a *Commiſſion* to *Ipſwich*, in order to make the neceſſary Examination of *Yourſelf*, and *Another*, as eaſy as poſſible. So that all my Concern, in this Part of the Man's Charge, is, that I was *once* adviſed to go into *another Court*, by Way of *Indictment*; and accordingly prepared for it: but that, upon farther *Deliberation*, I was adviſed to proceed in the *Court* in which I had begun; and that I did ſo: in Both following what was the Advice, at the Time, of Thoſe whom I conſulted. I hope, it is no Sin, in any Perſons, obliged to ſeek Redreſs in *Law*, to alter their Methods of proceeding,

ing, whenever they are ſo adviſed. The only Queſtion here is, whether I did *Fournier* any *Injury* by this; which will be determined preſently. I ſhall only ſay, as we paſs, that I did not, by this Proceeding in the *Court* of *Chancery*, pretend to diſengage myſelf from any Part of my ſaid *Promiſes*, made in *October* 1749; but thought myſelf, in this Method, as much obliged to make him the *Amends* mentioned, upon the *Conditions* mentioned, as if I had gone into the Method of *Indictment*, once propoſed.

It is impoſſible to forbear *one Obſervation*, before we ſtir a Step farther; *viz.* that He ſets out in this *New Attack*, with a moſt palpable *Falſhood*, in the very Face of *thoſe Words* of mine, which he afterwards cites as the only *Proof* of what he lays upon Me. He affirms that the *Biſhop* promiſes all the Advantages beforementioned, *if he cannot prove Forgery.* Now caſt your Eyes upon the Letter produced to prove this Affirmation, and you will find not one ſingle Word of this *Condition, if he cannot prove Forgery.* But you will find *two Conditions*, expreſſed in the plaineſt Words, *viz.* 1. *If he* (Fournier) *ſtands and makes his Defence againſt the Charge of Forgery.* By which I alluded indeed, to his ſhamefully running away formerly from the *Trial* He himſelf began in the *Common Pleas*, as ſoon as the Dean of *Jerſey* had appeared, and charged him, upon Oath, with the *Forgery* of the *four* Notes then in Queſtion over *his* Name. 2. The *other Condition* was in theſe Words, *And proves his Innocency*; which muſt mean, If, in his *Trial*, ſuch *Evidence* ſhall appear, as ſhall *prove him* really and truly *innocent*, in this Affair of the *Note*; *then*, and in ſuch Caſe, I promiſe to do what I ought to do, and what I certainly would do, *without a Promiſe*; *viz.* to make him the *ample Amends* here mentioned, for the Injuſtice I muſt be thought, upon this Suppoſition, to have done him. Every one muſt ſee that, by thus putting in *Words*, which are *not* in my *Promiſe*; and leaving out the *Words*, which not only are in it, but are the expreſs *Conditions* of it; he has made it what it was *not*, and hid from his Reader what it *was*: which may be added to the Heap, as a new Inſtance of his Wickedneſs.

But though a Perſon, who can give himſelf this Liberty of *forging a Promiſe*, and framing it for his own Purpoſe exactly, has forfeited all Right to be regarded: yet I will not give him ground to ſay, that I have any Thought of evading my own Obligations. I will therefore find out (if I can,) what it is that he intended to charge Me with, in this *Advertiſement*: which is indeed drawn up, in ſuch Contradiction to the Rules of *Grammar* and *Conſtruction*, that it is not eaſy to diſcover any Meaning at all in it. But, as far as I can judge, his *Charge* againſt Me muſt be what follows, or nothing.

"Whereas the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in the Year 1749, promiſed to pay me "Coſts, and to do much more than that, *if I ſhould prove my Innocence*, in caſe of "an *Indictment for Forgery of a Note*, in the Court of *King's Bench*, which was "then threatened: It is therefore, great Injuſtice in *him* now to demand of *Me*, "the Coſts allowed to *Him* by a Decree made in a Cauſe about the ſame *Note*, "*already determined in another Court*, in which I was ſo far from *proving my Innocence*, that I was declared the *Contriver* of a *groſs Fraud*." Or, "therefore "it is great *Injuſtice* in *Him*, to claim and inſiſt upon the *Coſts* adjudged to Him "in *Chancery*, before he has brought that *Indictment* againſt Me, of which he "once ſpake."

This is the utmoſt I can make of what he charges upon Me, in this *Advertiſement.* And what follows will, I believe, ſufficiently ſhew the Weakneſs and Abſurdity of it.

1. Suppoſing it, by the Advice of the beſt Counſellors, to be my *Reſolution* to take the Method of *Indictment for Forgery*, at a proper Time; yet, I have a ſtrict *Right*, and ought to make uſe of that *Right*, out of Regard to the *Court* in which I acquired it, to expect and demand that the Law ſhall be fulfilled in the *firſt Step*, before I ever conſent to take another. He may know therefore, that, till this be done, I ſhall never go into any other Method. If he has a Right to *my Promiſes*, upon Condition of the *future* Proof of his *Innocence*; I have a prior *Right* to what is ordered to Me, upon the actual *paſt proof* of his *Guilt*. And I adviſe Him to find any *one Lawyer* in *England*, who will ſign, or ſay, that this is an *unjuſt Procedure in Me*; nay, that it is not a perfectly right *Procedure*; before he contradicts or cenſures it again. But,

2. In order to make this Matter ſhort and plain, I will at once grant him all he ſeems to aim at, as far as the Method of *Indictment* can carry Him. I will ſuppoſe ſuch Bill of *Indictment* found, and a Trial for *Forgery* entered into, and carried to the End: I will ſuppoſe, upon this Trial, the Verdict of the Jury to be unanimouſly, *Not guilty*: Even *this*, I preſume to ſay, will be *no Proof of his Innocence*; but only a Proof that the *Evidence* then produced of his *Guilt*, was not ſtrictly of *ſuch* a Nature, or *ſuch* a Sort, as *that Court* always requires and admits; or ſufficient, according to the Rules by which the *Jury* there are ſtrictly obliged to go, to juſtify them in finding the contrary. And in Support of what I have now ſaid, I might produce many Caſes, in which it is acknowledged to be the Duty of a *Jury*, to bring in a Perſon *not guilty*, even when every Man of the ſame *Jury* is inwardly perſuaded of His *real Guilt*. He may therefore ſee, what would have been the Effect of a Trial upon an *Indictment*, had it been purſued, when it was firſt ſpoke of by *Me*, *before any Trial*, and definitive *Judgement*, *in Chancery*. But,

3. After the *Merits of the Cauſe* have been thoroughly tried in the *Court of Chancery*, and a *Judgement* given that *Fournier* is *not innocent*: it may juſtly be ſaid that nothing can be more abſurd than for him *now* to call for a *new Trial* of his *Innocence*, *in another Court*; or to pretend to expect any Advantage from thence. For, ſuppoſe him now to be declared *not Guilty*, in ſuch Court of *Common Law*, upon the Evidence which alone can be produced in that Court; yet it remains certain that, by proper Evidence produced in *another Court*, he has been actually proved *not Innocent*, and has been ſo declared. What then follows? Moſt certainly, that ſuch *Verdict*, in a *Court of Common Law*, (which always conſiders a Man's Innocence with Regard to one Sort of *Evidence* only) cannot annul the Judgement given before, upon other Sort of proper Evidence in *another Court*; and that therefore the *Judgement in Chancery* will ſtand firm, and unmoved by any thing that can now be done in a *Court of Common Law*.

I will here add that my own mention of an *Indictment*, either for *Forgery*, or *Perjury*, *after* the *Trial and Judgement in Chancery*, which he has taken Notice of, was only as a Matter of *Deliberation*, and that the *Deliberation* was not at all about it, as a Step *neceſſary* to prove *Fournier's Real Guilt*, in the Matter of the *Note*, which had been ſufficiently ſetled in *Chancery*; but to prove his *Guilt*, in ſuch a *Manner*, in a *Court of Common Law*, that he might be brought to *publick Shame, and corporal Puniſhment*. For this was what many loudly called for, after the *Trial in Chancery*, and thought it my Duty to the *Publick*, to endeavour to bring about.

4. It is to be obſerved alſo, that the Way, I choſe to proceed in, for the Trial of the Merits of the *Cauſe*, was of *his own* pointing out: and that he himſelf afterwards followed *my Steps* in it, with all ſeeming Willingneſs, and the Ap-

pearance at leaſt of his own *Conſent* and Approbation. The infamous *Advertiſement*, publiſhed in the *General Evening Poſt* of *June* 7, 1748, (which was ſent to Me, for fear I ſhould not otherwiſe ſee it, with a rude Letter in his Name, by one who wrote as *his Lawyer*, or *Agent*,) threatened me with a ſpeedy Application to my *Lord Chancellor*, if I did not do him *Juſtice*, as He called it. Upon which Defiance, about the 21ſt of the ſame Month of *June*, I myſelf called him into *Chancery*, to give an Account of the *Note* for 8,800 *l.* over my Name. He profeſſed in Words all Readineſs to obey this *Call*; and, about a Year after it, put in his *Anſwer* upon *Oath*, to my *Bill:* as ſoon (he ſaid) as he could procure *one* Gentleman of the *Law* to ſign it, after *many* unſucceſsful Trials during the Space of ſeveral Months, in which he laboured this Matter. And, as the Cauſe proceded, he followed; and at the proper Time, ſummoned all *Witneſſes*, whom he thought capable of ſaying any thing to his Purpoſe. And may not all this be juſtly ſaid to imply his *Conſent*, that the *Merits of the Cauſe* between Us, ſhould be tried in the Court of *Chancery*; eſpecially, when theſe laſt Steps of his were long after my mention of an *Indictment*, and my Promiſes in *October* 1749, and when, for ſix Years from the Date of the *Note*, he might by an *Action* have applied to a *Court of Common Law?*

5. But I muſt go farther, and add that, in the midſt of the *Proceedings* in the Cauſe, He himſelf, ſtill chuſing the ſame *Court of Chancery*, filed a *Croſs-bill* againſt *Me*; and a *Bill*, I believe, without example. And, after a Series of numberleſs Falſhoods, known to him to be ſuch, the Prayer of his Bill is, that I may, by Writ of Subpœna, be commanded to appear, *&c. then and there, full, true, diſtinct and perfect Anſwer to make to all and ſingular the Matters and Charges aforeſaid, and farther to ſtand to, abide, and perform ſuch* Order, *Direction and Decree, as to the* Lord Chancellor *ſhould ſeem meet*, &c. Now, as this was his own *voluntary Attack* upon *Me*; it therefore, may juſtly be eſteemed not only his *Conſent*, but his *Deſire*, that the *Merits* of the whole Affair, to which this *Croſs-bill* profeſſedly led, and into which he had crowded all the Particulars he could invent for his Advantage, ſhould be tried in this ſame *Court of Chancery*. He himſelf, indeed, following *his own* Example in the *Action* he brought againſt the Dean of *Jerſey*, fled from this *Attack*, as ſoon as I had *full, true, diſtinct, and perfect Anſwer made to all his Charges*, with a very uncommon Particularity; and ſo choſe that his *Bill* ſhould ſtand undefended; and remain as a Monument of his *Aſſurance*, in firſt affirming any thing he pleaſed, and then leaving it all to ſhift for itſelf. But though he *forſook this Attack*, which was voluntarily begun by himſelf, yet I have a ſtrict Right to demand, as I now do, that Juſtice ſhall be done Me, by his purſuing, and bringing to a final Determination, the declared Intent of this *Croſs-bill*, before I ſhall anſwer any new Demand of his upon me: or elſe, by acknowledging the *Wickedneſs* of the many *Charges* in it; and that he neither can prove his *Innocence*, nor ever will attempt it.

6. But if He be in earneſt in crying ſo loud for a *Trial at Common Law*, why does He not bring an *Action* againſt Me, upon the Note for 8,800 Pounds? which *Note* he may, at any Time, by a Motion in the Court of *Chancery*, be allowed to make uſe of, for this Purpoſe. Nothing can be eaſier to him than this: And I not only recommend this Method to him, but have a Right to expect it of him. For in the Year 1745, a Gentleman of *Ipſwich* wrote me word that *Fournier* had aſſured him, as a Proof of his *Innocence*, and of the Truth of the *Note*, that he was determined to ſue me upon it, the very *next Term*. And the ſame Perſon will teſtify this now. On *June* 21, 1748, his own Letter to Dr. *Le Moine*, now to be ſeen, ſpeaks the ſame Language: the whole Tenor of one

Part of it being to that Purpoſe of bringing an Action, upon that *Note*, even after the *ſix Years* of the *Limitation Act* were expired. Theſe, and ſeveral Declarations to other Perſons of the ſame Kind, having been made long before my ſpeaking to you of an *Indictment*, in *October*, 1749; I may juſtly ſay that theſe *Declarations* of his, being firſt in time, ought to be fulfilled, *before* his preſent *Claim* can be admitted, even ſuppoſing it a *juſt* one. But, If he has found Reaſon to drop this *Reſolution*; let *his own Example* teach him, that there is *no Crime*, or *Injuſtice*, in any *other* Perſon's altering his Mind, about the *Meaſures* of proceeding in *Law*.

7. I cannot forbear to add this *one Obſervation* more, which will entirely, I think, put an End to the Demands made by *Fournier*, in this *new Attack*, upon Me: *viz.* Suppoſing the *Cauſe* had been carried to the *King's Bench*, by *Indictment*, and all to have been ſo happily ended to *Fournier's* Advantage as that his *Innocence* itſelf had been totally cleared beyond all Exception; and in Conſequence of this, *my Promiſe*, of the *ample Amends* before-mentioned, to be *juſtly* demanded; All then would depend upon the *Curacy*, or *Curacies*, which he actually *loſt* by means of the *Archbiſhop's cautionary Letters*. But, upon the Suppoſition now made, all will allow that ſome Proof muſt be given that ſuch *Loſs* was occaſioned by *thoſe cautionary Letters*. Otherwiſe, the Promiſe is nothing. To come therefore, to particulars; I remember, Sir, that you told me of *one* ſo loſt, in your Neighbourhood, or within your *Knowledge*: and I have heard that afterwards *another* was offered him at *Earl's Coln* in *Eſſex*, for which the Lord Biſhop of *London* refuſed to grant him a *Licence*. Of any other I never heard: and of theſe two I have to ſay what will effectually conclude againſt any others, which poſſibly may be ſupplied and produced by the fruitful Invention of ſuch a Man as I have to deal with.

1. Of the *former* of theſe, I can affirm, with ſtrict Truth, that the then Lord Biſhop of *Norwich*, Dr. *Gooch*, having been informed of ſome Part of *Fournier's* Behaviour, with relation to the Dean of *Jerſey*, which was *publick*; and alſo of the *Note* over my Name, though not then ſo publick; and having heard that this Man was lately licenſed to a *Curacy*, and alſo inſtituted to a *Vicarage* in his Dioceſe, in his Abſence, by his Chancellor, Dr. *Naſh*; wrote immediately to *Him* upon this Subject, and let him know that *Fournier* lay under ſuch violent Suſpicions of *Forgery*, that he did not think it fit, he ſhould be admitted to any Office in his *Dioceſe*. Of this the *Biſhop* aſſured me himſelf, long before the *Archbiſhop's cautionary Letters* exiſted, or were even thought of. From hence it appears that, ſuppoſing theſe *cautionary Letters* never to have been written, if *Fournier* had applied to the ſaid *Biſhop*, or his *Chancellor*, who had been ſo eaſy before, for a *Licence*, and had been refuſed, (as he muſt have been) ſuch Refuſal would have been on Account of what the *Biſhop* had heard of him, and writ to his *Chancellor*: or probably, upon his not being able to produce any Orders of *Prieſthood*; nor any *authentic Proof*, that he ever had any. But upon whatſoever the Refuſal had been founded; here is a Demonſtration, with regard to the *Curacy* mentioned by *you*, that the *Refuſal* would have been exactly the ſame, whether his *Grace's circular Letters* had ever been written, or not; and therefore, ought not to be put to their Account. And this holds good equally for all, and every Curacy, within the whole Dioceſe of *Norwich*, which comprehends the Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*.

2. As for the other Curacy, at *Earl's-Coln*, in *Eſſex*, I cannot do any thing better than refer you to the Reverend Mr. *Bernard*, Rector of that Pariſh[b]; who,

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[b] This Worthy Gentleman was dead at the Time the firſt Edition of this Letter was printed; a Circumſtance at that Time unknown to Biſhop *Hoadly*.

I dare ſay, will be ſo good as to ſatisfy you, that the Biſhop's Refuſal of a *Licence* for that *Curacy*, or for *Fournier's* officiating in his *Dioceſe*, was ſo far from being occaſioned by *theſe Letters*, that not one of the Reaſons given for ſuch *Refuſal* had the leaſt Relation to *them*; but were all founded entirely upon thoſe Rules of *Epiſcopal* Proceedings, by which that *Prelate* juſtly thought it proper to act upon that Occaſion. And therefore, without entering into Particulars, it is a juſt Concluſion, that this *Refuſal* would have been exactly the ſame, had theſe *Letters* never been ſent. And, as this Argument holds good for every *Curacy*, in the Dioceſe of *London*, as well as for that of *Earl's-Coln*, it furniſhes a plain Proof that *Fournier* loſt neither the Curacy of *Earl's-Coln*, nor any other in the Dioceſe of *London*, by Means of the Archbiſhop's *Letters*.

3. If he had applied to all the other *Biſhops* ſucceſſively, upon a like Occaſion; it is evident that they all had the ſame juſt Reaſons for refuſing to grant him ſuch Licence to officiate in their reſpective Dioceſes, which the Lord Biſhop of *London* had, in *his*; and Reaſons quite diſtinct from theſe *Letters* from his *Grace*. Particularly, They might have juſtly refuſed it him, merely and ſolely becauſe he could not produce certain Proof of his *Prieſthood*. And if this had been ſo, what Pretence could he have to ſay, upon a *Refuſal* in *any, or all*, other Dioceſes, that the Archbiſhop's *Letters* had been the Cauſe of ſuch Loſs to him?

I think, I have now ſhewn, *firſt*, That, ſuppoſing a *Trial* upon an *Indictment* for *Forgery*, to be ſucceſsful to *Him*, in the *Verdict, Not guilty*; ſuch Succeſs would not prove his *Innocence*, nor enable Him to prove it; which was the expreſs Condition of my Promiſe: *ſecondly*, that it was eaſier for him to have proved ſuch *Innocence*, if he had it, in a Court of *Equity*, in which I and He both agreed to try it; but that, in that *Court*, to which he himſelf firſt called me, he was ſo far from proving his *Innocence*, that he was, after a long Trial, declared the *Contriver of a groſs Fraud*: And *thirdly*, ſuppoſing even his *Innocence*, as to the Note over my Name, to have been clearly and fully demonſtrated; yet that he loſt *not one ſingle* Curacy, by Means of the *Archbiſhop's cautionary Letters*: And conſequently, that not one Farthing can be claimed as due to him, by Virtue of my *Promiſe* beforementioned. This ridiculous Charge againſt *Me*, in this *new Attack*, may, therefore, juſtly be thought the laſt *Refuge of unrelenting Guilt*, and an *hardened Heart*.

But though I ſhall now ſay no more to *Fournier* himſelf, with regard to this *Advertiſement*, by which he has thought fit to give the World a new Proof of his *Iniquity*; yet, I have a great deal ſtill to ſay to *you*, Sir, with regard to your particular Behaviour, through the whole Courſe of *his Stories* about *Me*, from your firſt Renewal of your Acquaintance with him, in the *Summer* 1743, to the Date of this *new Attack* upon Me, in which you have been pleaſed to ſuffer your *Name* to appear, without any Mark of Diſlike of the Man.

Before I enter upon this, I muſt give a *Caution*, that you will not interpret what I ſhall ſay, in ſuch Senſe, as to impute to me the *Iniquity* of thinking that you ought not, upon any proper Occaſion, to teſtify to any Matter of Fact in *Fournier's* Favour, which you know to be true. I abhor ſuch a thought. On the contrary, I think you ought to do it, when neceſſary, in the Caſe of the vileſt Wretch that was ever tried at the *Old Baily*. But, as it is evident to me that you were not called to it, upon this Occaſion, by any Voice, but that of your own Inclination to have your Name appear with his; if I affirm your doing this to be an *unneceſſary Officiouſneſs*; I ſhall endeavour to prove it. And if I go farther, and ſay, that *You*, of all Men, had the juſteſt Reaſons, not only not to ſuffer *your Name* to grace this Paper of *His* ; but even to ſeparate yourſelf for ever from *him*, in as publick a Manner as you once joined yourſelf to him; or, if you thought it neceſſary to give your Hand to any true *Fact*, not to do it, without adding at the ſame time, your particular Abhorrence of *Him*, as a wicked *Impoſer* upon *You*, and *Injurer* of *Me*; I will give you, and the World, ſome good Reaſons for ſuch Affirmations.

Firſt, As you had, on, or about, *May* 9, 1751, given into *Chancery*, amongſt my *Letters*, this particular one, which he has cited in this *Advertiſement*; if it were *after* this 9th of *May*, 1751, that you ſigned your Atteſtation to the Truth of *this Part* of the ſaid *Letter*, I have juſt Reaſon to ſay, that this was an *Officiouſneſs* abſolutely *unneceſſary*; and therefore, owing to your continued moſt kind *Inclination* to appear ſtill, as you had before. For you were not called to this by any Act of a *Court of Law*. You had before, put this *Letter* into *Court*, upon your *Oath*, the ſtrongeſt Confirmation you could give it. He knew this, and where to find it. Your Name and Word could add nothing to that ſolemn Sanction; and therefore, was, after *that*, quite unneceſſary. What one Reaſon, then, in the World can be given for this Part of your Conduct, but your own *Choice* and *Inclination*; without the leaſt Neceſſity from any one Circumſtance belonging to it? Would it not have been much more reaſonable, to have ſaid, that, if He had any Uſe to make of any thing in my *Letters*, he knew where to find them witneſſed upon *Oath*; and therefore, not wanting any Teſtimony of leſs Weight, under your Hand. I acknowledge that this Argument depends upon your having given him this *Atteſtation*, *after* that Day, *May* 9, which I have mentioned. And this I have Reaſon to think to be the Caſe, from comparing together *two* of thoſe *Letters*, with which *Fournier* was often abuſing me by the *Poſt*; and from the *Date* of this *Advertiſement*. But,

Secondly, Suppoſing me miſtaken about the Time of your *Atteſtation*; and that you gave it *before* you had put into *Chancery* this, and other *Letters*; I have ſtill juſt Ground to affirm, that *You*, of all Men living, had the moſt Reaſon not to lend your Hand to him, on any Account, without expreſſing, at the ſame time, as plainly and publickly as might be, your Senſe of his Wickedneſs, which muſt have appeared to you, in the *Accounts* he had given You of the Note for 8,800 Pounds, and the Occaſion and Circumſtances of it, long before my Letter of Promiſes ſent to You in 1749.

For Proof of what I have here ſaid, I will now produce to You a few remarkable *Inſtances* of his *Wilful Abuſe* of *You*, as well as of *Truth* and *common Honeſty*, which you could not but *know*, at the Time of this *Atteſtation*, ſuppoſing it to have been given him *before* May 9, 1751, becauſe they were affirmed to yourſelf in private, and to the *publick* in his *Anſwer* to my Bill, in *May*, 1749, long before that Day. Nay, you yourſelf ſhewed that you knew them, by remembring them on that very Day, when You gave the Court upon *Oath* your very particular Account of what he had ſaid to You, by Word of Mouth in 174¾, and what he had delivered to you in *Writing*, in 1747, upon the aforeſaid Subject.

The *principal* Inſtance ſhall be taken from the groſs and palpable *Contradictions* He entertained you with, in the *two Accounts* he gave you of the *Note* in queſtion; to Both which, as *His*, you have ſworn.

1. The *firſt* of theſe he gave You, in *one* of your Converſations with Him, in 1743, or 1744, about the ſaid *Note*, in which, you have ſworn, He told you, "it was ſigned by me; and that the *Occaſion* of my ſigning, and giving it, was "to tye myſelf under an Obligation to provide for Him by ſome Preferment;—

“and not for the Payment of ſo much Money abſolutely.” Which is as much as to ſay, in other Words, that the *Sum* of *Money*, promiſed in it, was not underſtood by *Him*, or intended by *me*, as a Sum *abſolutely to be paid*.

2. The *Second* is, *That Paper* which he gave you in *December*, 1747; and of which you then ſent to me a Copy, in a *Letter*; and which you afterwards, in 1751, put into *Chancery*, amongſt other Letters. Of this *Paper*, or *Letter*, which is a Mixture of his *Wife's* Stories, and *his own*, you gave, upon your Oath, the following Account, “That, it was writ by you to me—That the whole of the middle Paragraph, beginning with theſe Words *(Mrs. Fournier has told me)* and ending in the Words *(under fair Promiſes)* was brought in Writing under *Fournier's* own Hand, and delivered to you, his *Wife* being preſent, and tranſcribed by you, and ſent at the particular Inſtance and requeſt of *Fournier* and his Wife—That at the time of delivering the ſaid Paragraph, *Fournier* declared that every particular, both in regard to the Sum of *Five Guineas* received of me, and the Note of Acquieſcence, and all other Matters contained in the ſaid Paragraph, were true.”

The *Stories* in this *Letter* ſaid to be his Wife's, of Promiſes I made to *her*, and of *ſomebody*, who ſaid *he had it from Me*, viz. the *Tale* of Proviſion for Her, &c. and what other of theſe Particulars, he has put into his *Anſwers in Chancery*, and made *his own*, are of no concern to yourſelf, but in common with *others*. And, as to *Her* who is here cited for them, *Pity*, I think, is the beſt Return to a *Wife*, thus brought by her own Huſband to you, as a Witneſs in a Caſe of ſo critical Importance to *Him*.

I ſhall now produce the Contents of this *middle Paragraph* juſt mentioned: in which he does, in Effect, affirm, that, at *my requeſt, he ſigned a Note wherein it is reported* (as he expreſſes it) *that he will never trouble me any more, about the Affair of the Church*, (as he uſed to call his *Cauſe)* and he adds that, in this ſame *Note* of Acquieſcence, the *Sum (viz.* the Sum of 8,800 Pounds) *mentioned in my Note*, (ſo he is pleaſed to ſtile it) *is related as an Indemnification, or Recompenſe*, as his Words are, *upon ſuch Conſideration.* In plainer Words, *this Note of Acquieſcence* (which, in his *Croſs-bill*, he makes Me to write, and to deſire him to ſign) is here declared to be the *Conſideration:* and the Sum of 8,800 Pounds promiſed in *the Note* over *my* Name, is here declared to be promiſed, as a *Recompenſe*, on the ſaid *Conſideration.* I ſhall at preſent particularly recommend to *you* the following *Obſervations* on the *Paragraph* here cited, as of concern to *yourſelf* in a peculiar manner.

1. You might have ſeen, with the leaſt Attention to his own *Tale*, the Fiction of this whole Story of a *Note of Acquieſcence*. You knew, from his own Account, of his bringing his Appeal to *Me*, and demanding Juſtice of *Me*, that I was his legal *Judge* in that Affair. Let me therefore, aſk you ſeriouſly, Did you ever hear, before, of any one *Judge* in the World, the meaneſt Creature that ever bore that Name, who ſaid to any one, applying to him for Juſtice, Sir, pray don't trouble me about your Complaint : for, in one Word, to avoid the trouble of hearing, and out of a particular good liking to the Man againſt whom you complain, I offer, if you will ſet your Hand to this *Note*, which I have writ for you, promiſing never to trouble me more about your Cauſe, I will give you 8,800 Pounds ; and I have mentioned this very Sum (of 8,800 Pounds) as the Sum to be given you, in this very *Note* of your *Acquieſcence*, which I deſire you to ſign. If there never was ſuch a monſtrous Thing known of any one Man living ; how can you anſwer to God or Man, your receiving and believing it of *Me*, of whom you knew nothing, that could juſtify your doing ſo?

Or, if you did *not* believe it, how can you anſwer for your not abhorring ſuch a Man, and not renouncing all Correſpondence with *Him?*

2. Suppoſing you did not know it before, *one* Queſtion to your Friend himſelf would have informed you, that I was not only Judge, but the *only Judge* of his Cauſe, from whom *no Appeal* could be made: and this muſt have forced you to ſee that it was out of his Power to give any trouble, but that of *Impertinence*, to *Me*, conſidered as a *Judge*, who had nothing to do but honeſtly to give the beſt Judgement I could, to which he muſt ſubmit, whatever he thought: and conſequently, You muſt have ſeen that this pretended *Note of Acquieſcence* was not worth to Me one ſingle Half-penny, for which alone he here makes me give 8,800 Pounds. And what Right you had to think me either an *Idiot*, or a *Madman*, I leave to You.

3. But whether you did, or did not, know what I have mentioned; you muſt be blind indeed, if you did not ſee the *Contradiction* of his Story, in *Writing*, to his *former Account* of the *Note* and the Occaſion of it, which he had given you in *Converſation*. For when this Man thus gave it you under his own Hand in 1747, that the *Note* for 8,800 Pounds was a *Recompenſe* for his great Goodneſs, in promiſing me a little Reſt from his *Impertinence*; can you make any one believe that you could forbear to call to *Remembrance* his *former Story to yourſelf*, in 1743, *viz.* that the ſame Note was ſigned and given by me, to ſecure to him a promiſed Preferment to come? Or, that you could help ſaying to yourſelf, "This Man now ſhews himſelf to be a Wicked Man, who could firſt tell "me, the *Note* was a *conditional* Note, or a *Security* for the future Performance "of a *Promiſe* on the Biſhop's Part; and now gives it under his hand that the "ſame Note was an *abſolute Money Note*, given him as a *Recompenſe*, for a "*Promiſe of Acquieſcence, on his own* Part?"

4. You could not but ſee that, in this Paper of the Year 1747, he repreſents the ſaid *Note* for 8,800 Pounds, as a real *Money Note*, and nothing elſe. For he aſſerts in it, as a Fact, and at the End declares this, in particular, to be true, That I had actually begun to pay off the *Note*, by paying him *Five Guineas*; and that theſe *Five Guineas* were to be diſcounted on the Sum of this ſaid *Promiſſory Note*, and conſequently, that the remaining Part of the ſaid Sum was to be paid. And you know, he could not have given you a more exact Deſcription of an *abſolute Money Note*, than he did in theſe Particulars, *viz.*—a Sum of *Money* promiſed in it, as a *Recompenſe* for ſomething paſt done by *Him*; or, in the Words of the *Note* itſelf, *for Value received*, and this, without any *Condition* mentioned—A Part of that Sum affirmed to be already paid in Money—and this Part to be diſcounted upon the whole—the reſt of which Sum therefore, was to be paid. If theſe be not the very *Properties* of an *abſolute Money Note*, it is impoſſible to tell, *what are.*

Such are the *two Stories* with which, you teſtify, he entertained your *Ears*, and your *Eyes*. Now, at the time of your receiving the *ſecond* of theſe, in *Writing*, you certainly ſaw that they could not *both* be *true*, if you then made uſe of your *Eyes*, and your Underſtanding, at all. You knew alſo that he had told You, in 1743, or 44, that the *Note* was a Tie upon *Me*, to give him *Preferment*, and not for the *Money* mentioned in it: which was ſo fixed in your Memory, that ſo long afterwards, as in the Year 1751, you teſtified upon Oath, that this was his Story in 1743, or 44. Nor could you be ignorant, that, if the *Note* were only a *Security for Preferment*, it could not be an abſolute *Money Note*; Or, if it were a *Money Note*, that it could not be a *Note* for *Security of Preferment*, or any thing but the *Money* named in it. And conſequently, you could not but ſee that *one* or *other* of theſe Stories muſt be falſe, and a *wilful Impoſition* upon You; and that *Fournier* himſelf was a moſt wicked Man, according to that conſtant Rule of Judgement, in all like Caſes, that the Man, who gives two inconſiſtent Accounts of *Matters*, on which his *Defenſe* muſt depend, betrays and proves his own Guilt.

There are a few other Particulars in this written Account, which could not but appear to you as *Abſurdities*, and *incredible Tales*, at your firſt tranſcribing this *Paper of Fournier's* in 1747: which *tranſcribing* it, with your own Hand, commanded your ſtrict *Attention* to the *Contents* of it, much more than a common *Hearing* or *Reading* of it could have done.

1. You found in it, that the *Note* for 8,800*l.* which is called *mine*, when ſent to me, *was paſted to another Paper*. And ſo alſo you found the *Dean's four Notes*, in this *Paper*. The *Note*, called *mine*, being denied by Me to be ſo, you knew then, could not be of any Uſe to *Fournier*, without being tried, and judged of, in a Court of *Juſtice*. And this *Fact* of *paſting* it to *another Paper*, taken by itſelf, ought to have made you ſtrongly ſuſpect that *He*, who had ſuch a *Note*, probably to be *tried* in *Public*, and certainly to be often ſubmitted to *private Examination*; and had dared to *paſte it to another Paper*; muſt have intended *this* to prevent the one only Sort of *effectual Examination*: and therefore, probably was the Forger of it. For, in ſuch Caſes, the looking nicely and carefully through it, to ſee whether any *Raſures*, or the like, were to be diſcovered; is the conſtant Way of ſuch Examinations: and, by this *Paſte*, once thoroughly dried, all ſuch viewing of it was rendered of much leſs Uſe; perhaps, of none at all. The ſame you ought to have argued about the *Dean's four Notes*, the *Paſte* of which was quite dry.

2. You found, in this *Paper* of 1747, a Reaſon given for this *paſting* the *Note* to another Paper, *viz.* in order *to be the better preſerved*, which could not but affect you even more than the Thing itſelf. For you had been long enough in the Buſineſs of this World, to have ſeen many *Bank Notes*, upon much thinner Paper than this was writ upon, as *good* in all reſpects of Uſe, as at firſt, even when Length of Time had worn, and tattered them: and in all your days, I believe, never ſaw *one Promiſſory Note*, from one Man to another, which was likely to come into any Diſpute, ſo paſted. When you, therefore, ſaw ſo weak and ſilly a Reaſon given for ſo extraordinary an *Appearance*, this ought to have made it worſe in your Eyes, than if the Perſons concerned had not pretended to give any.

3. This *Paper*, of 1747, told you that *I returned the Notes*, (the *five* Notes) *all rent, and much damaged.* I muſt call to your mind that *Four* of theſe were over the *Name* of the *Dean* of *Jerſey*; and *all four* paſted, if I remember right, upon *one* Piece of Paper. No one can doubt that you *ſaw theſe Notes* over the *Dean's* Name, as you conſented to hear the Man's ſtory againſt him; and as your Duty, therefore, required you to do. And, if you did, you ſaw, with your own Eyes, that, though there had been a Trial juſtly made whether they could be taken from the *Paper*; (of which ſome Marks might remain ;) yet, the *Paſte* being thoroughly dry, from length of Time, they all remained fixed to the *Paper* unmoveably; and were not *rent* or *damaged* at all in any Part of the *Notes*.

In this ſame Account, it is added by the Story-tellers, that *my Note* (ſo called) *eſpecially, was rent and damaged, which was paſted upon another Paper to be the better preſerved; but by me returned unglued*, as the Words are. Now, *Sir*, from what you have ſworn, it appears that you had often ſeen this *Note*, called *mine*, before 1747. And therefore, you knew, when they gave you this *Falſhood* to *tranſcribe*, that, though the ſaid Note was a very little *jagged*, at one *Corner*, where no Word, nor Letter of a Word, was written; yet, it was not, in any one other Part of it, in the leaſt Degree, *hurt, torn*, or *damaged.* And, what alone is ſufficient to the preſent Purpoſe, you ſaw, with your own Eyes, that this Note, conſidered as a *promiſſory Note*, was as *unhurt*, and *undamaged*, with regard to all poſſible Uſe of it in Law, as it was the firſt Moment after it was *framed* by the *Maker*; and as it is, at this very Day, in *Chancery:* In which Court *Fournier*, in his *Ipſwich Advertiſement*, declared it to be left, in order to a *Trial* at *Common Law.* And this is a plain Acknowledgement that it ſtill remains as perfect, as ſuch *Trial* requires it to be. You could not avoid ſeeing theſe *Contradictions* at the very Time of your being entertained with this *Story*; and therefore, that your *Hiſtorian* was guilty of a wilful Falſhood.

4. You found in this *Paper*, given you in 1747, an Aſſertion, that I aſked for the *Dean's* four *Notes*, and the Note called *my own*, expreſly *in order to be deſtroyed*; and that Mr. and Mrs. *Fournier* ſent them to me, in order to *their being deſtroyed*; or that their *Expectation* was, to have *them immediately deſtroyed*, agreeably to my pretended *Meſſage*. This Account of my *Meſſage* has been indeed, proved falſe, upon the Oath of the only Witneſs who knew what it was. But I go no farther now, than what they themſelves ſay here of their own *Expectation*, that this Note was to be *immediately deſtroyed*, when it was ſent me. Go to other Words in this ſame Paper; and theſe very Story-tellers acquaint you, that this Note of *mine (ſo called)* was *paſted upon another Paper to be the better preſerved*; and they add that it *was returned by me unglued*; or, taken off from the Paper to which it was *paſted*. Their own *Tale*, therefore, entertains you with this ridiculous Abſurdity, *viz.* that I having, according to their own Account, ſent for my Note *to be deſtroyed*; and *they* ſending it to me, with the View of its being *immediately deſtroyed, paſted* it to another Paper in order to its being the *better preſerved*. For, that this muſt have been done at the Time of their reſolving to ſend it to me, is plain from the Wetneſs of the *Paſte*; without which I could not poſſibly have taken it from the Paper: and not at the time when the *Dean's* Notes were ſo paſted, becauſe *their* Paſte was as dry as poſſible; and had been found ſo when the *Dean* of *Jerſey* ſaw them ſome Months before I did. Would not this have made any *Gentleman* to aſk them, If you ſent this *Note to be immediately deſtroyed*; how could you poſſibly paſte it freſh, at that Time, upon another Paper, *to be the better preſerved?* And to add, that this *paſting* muſt have been for the better hiding ſomething bad, as *Raſures*, or the like; and not for the better *preſervation* of a *Note* which was to be *immediately deſtroyed.* But you, Sir, *cared not for theſe things*; and thought it too much to condeſcend to acknowledge ſuch *Falſhoods, Contradictions*, and *Abſurdities*, in your *Friend's Account*, as were too glaring not to be ſeen.

Let me add that, with regard to all *theſe Points*, which, I have preſumed to ſay, *you muſt at firſt have plainly ſeen*, there is no need of *Learning*, or an *extraordinary Education*, or an *uncommon Capacity:* the want of which you ſpeak of, in a Letter to me, as an Excuſe for not ſo much as hearing any thing I had to ſay, though offered to you only as what might direct your own Conduct. For any Man of *common Senſe*, and of the leaſt *Experience* in worldly Buſineſs, needed only to have judged in *this* Caſe, by thoſe Rules by which he conſtantly judges in all *other* like Caſes; and not, all at once, to have given himſelf up to ſwallow a long Roll of Abſurdities, affirmed without the leaſt Proof, concerning *One*, of

whom

whom (I hope, I may ſay) he had never heard before, one Inſtance of ſuch *mad* Conduct.

5. I will now put you in mind of his publick Diſavowal, and ſolemn Denial, of what He had given you, as the *Truth* He would abide by, in the *Account* now before us. It was, you know, in *December*, 1747, that he gave you this written Account of the Note for 8,800*l.* and of ſome *Circumſtances* relating to it, with *Aſſeverations* of the Truth of them: particularly, That it was deſigned for ſo much *Money*, as it mentioned; and that five *Guineas* of the Sum were *paid*, and to be *diſcounted* upon the whole Sum. In *May*, 1749, He put in his *Anſwer*, upon Oath, to my *Bill:* In which he calls God to Witneſs, as effectually, as if he had ſworn in theſe very Words, "That the *Note* was *not* deſigned for *Payment* of the *Money*; but only to *ſecure Preferment:*—That the *five Guineas* were *not paid* to him in *Part* of the ſaid *Money*; and were ſo far from being deſigned to be *diſcounted* upon the *Sum* of the *Note*, that the *Sum* of the *Note* itſelf was not deſigned to be paid; and conſequently, that ſuch a *Diſcount* was never thought of." Nay, he calls God to Witneſs, in expreſs Words, "that the *five Guineas* were *given* him by me;" and therefore *not paid in Part*.

Thus did he ſhew you, and the *World*, how *wickedly* he had uſed you, *his beſt Friend*; by ſwearing to Facts, which were the moſt direct Contradictions to what he had, with little leſs Solemnity, affirmed to *you* to be exactly true. And, methinks, how little Faith ſoever you had in any Teſtimony of mine, about his *Wickedneſs*, from *my own Knowledge*; it was very hard in you not to believe your *Friend* and *Favourite* himſelf, when in effect, and by juſt Conſequence, he thus called God to Witneſs, in a publick *Court*, that in the Year 1747, *he himſelf had been to you a wilful abandoned Deceiver and Liar*.

And that you knew this wretched Man to have thus ſworn that He himſelf had been your *wicked Deceiver*, *before* You witneſſed my *Letter*, in his *new Attack* upon *me*, no one can doubt, who knows that his *Anſwer* was put into *Court*, in *May*, before the *October*, 1749, in which that *Letter* to you was written; and conſiders that you had taken too great a Part in his Affair, not to be very ſolicitous to *ſee* what he himſelf declared upon Oath, about the ſame *Note* for 8,800 Pounds, of which, he had ſo often, and in ſo particular a Manner, ſpoken to *you*, in your private Converſations. I myſelf, indeed, was fully convinced of your having ſeen his *Anſwer* in *Chancery*, not only for this Reaſon, but for another, more peculiar to myſelf: *viz.* that, when I kindly offered to ſend you his *Anſwer*, if *you had not ſeen it*; and to point out to you the *Parts* of it in which he had ſworn directly *contrary* to the *main Particulars* affirmed in this *Paper* delivered to you in 1747; and from thence to convince you of his *Wickedneſs*, by which your Character otherwiſe would come ſtill more to ſuffer; you did not, in your Anſwer, *deny that you had ſeen it*; but, in Effect, owned it, by paſſing over, in total ſilence, my friendly offer of ſending it to you, *if you had not already ſeen it:* Which is Proof ſufficient, that you knew, at the Time of your late *Atteſtation*, what he had actually *Sworn* in his *Anſwer* to my Bill.

Theſe are *Inſtances* of his vile *Uſage* of *you*, and Wickedneſs towards *me*, which I now produce, as *juſt Reaſons*, why you, of all Men living, ſhould *not* have given *him* your *Right Hand*, upon any Account, without making a publick *Declaration*, at the ſame Time, or preſently after it, of your Abhorrence of the *Man* whom you had found ſo *wicked* and wilful an *Impoſtor*.

But theſe are only a *few* Inſtances, which, I think, you could not but be ſenſible of, at the very Time of your giving Him *your Hand*. I have many more to produce of his wicked and contemptuous *Uſage* of *you*; whoſe great Kindneſs and Partiality to *him*, he ſeems to have made an Argument for entertaining *you* with *more* of his *Fictions* and *Inventions*, than he favoured any *other* particular Man with, of all his Acquaintance: Without doubt, encouraged by always finding a ready Ear, and an *unenquiring* Tongue. I will now ſhew you ſome *Proofs* of this, from your own Teſtimony.

1. In your *firſt Depoſitions*, in Anſwer to the *Interrogatories* propoſed to you, you gave it upon *Oath*, that, " ſome ſhort Time after having renewed your Acquaintance with *Fournier* in 1743, *Fournier* produced to you a promiſſory *Note*, for 8,800 *l.* which, you have Sworn was the ſame *Note* ſigned *B. Wincheſter*, ſhewn to you in the Cauſe; that you had ſeveral Conferences with him about this *Note*, and the *Occaſion* of its being given; In *ſome*, or *one*, of which he declared that whilſt he was *Curate* in *Jerſey*, he was interrupted and diſturbed by the rude and indecent Behaviour of a young Woman, whilſt he was performing Divine Service, in the Church, for which he *libeled* her in the *Dean's* Court; and not being ſatisfied with the Sentence there pronounced, he appealed therefrom to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter's Conſiſtorial Court*, for redreſs; and that *having* met with great Delays there, he perſonally *applied* to the *Biſhop* himſelf and expreſſed to him his Diſſatisfaction at the *Delays* he had met with in *his Court*; and that, if he was not redreſſed, he would *complain* to the *Archbiſhop* himſelf."—I ſtop here a little, that you may the better, and the more diſtinctly, ſee the *Wickedneſs* of this Man, as we paſs through his ſtories; his particular *Contempt* of you; and your own imprudence in opening your Ears to ſuch ſtories, without proper *Inquiry*. For, in this little compaſs of Words, there are no leſs than *four* groſs *Falſhoods*, given you in *one Doſe* to be ſwallowed: And all of them known by himſelf to be what I have now called them, at the very time when he made up this *Compoſition* for you.

(1.) He knew, when he told you this ſtory, That he did *not* appeal from the Sentence given in the *Court* in *Jerſey*, to any *Conſiſtorial Court* of the *Biſhop* of *Wincheſter*: and that, by the *Canons* in force at *Jerſey*, no *Appeal* can be made from the *Dean's Court* there, unleſs directly to the *Biſhop himſelf perſonally*, when there is one: which is ſo ſtrict, that the *Biſhop*, as far as I know, cannot ſo much as by *Commiſſion* appoint any Perſon, or Perſons, to judge for him in theſe *Appeals*; nor ever did. The *Biſhop* has *two Conſiſtorial Courts* in *England*: But he has no *Conſiſtorial Court*, to which *any Cauſe* from the *Court* in *Jerſey* can poſſibly be brought, or ever was brought. And *Fournier* himſelf knew this when he gave it, in the Year 1740, as a Reaſon for his *Appeal* to *me* perſonally, that by the *Canons* of *Jerſey* he was obliged ſo to do; and, in Fact, came to *Me* directly, without the leaſt Appearance, or *Hint*, of any ſuch *Appeal* to the *Biſhop's Court* in *England*, as he afterwards invented for your Ears.

(2.) It follows from hence, that he knew, when he forged this *ſtory* for you, that he neither did, nor could, meet with any the leaſt *Delay* in a *Court*, to which he neither did, nor could, *appeal*: And therefore, that he could not *apply* to *Me*, on Account of meeting any *Delay*, in a *Court* of mine which never exiſted for the *Purpoſe* He mentions, but in his own Brain.

(3.) He knew, when he thus made Uſe of your eaſy Ear, in 1743, or 44, that, when he made his *Application* to *me*, in 1740, he neither did, nor could, *expreſs any diſſatisfaction at the* Delay *he had met with in my Court*; becauſe he knew at that very Time, not only that there was no ſuch *Court* in being, to which he could *appeal*; as I have already obſerved; but, that there could not have been any *Delay* for him to complain of, if ſuch a *Court* had exiſted, for him to *ap-*

peal to, as he *forged* in this *Narrative.* For, after *ſentence* given in the Court at *Jerſey*, (which was on, or about, *May* 5, 1740,) there was not Time enough before the 30th of the ſame *May*, (on which Day his Letter of *Appeal* to *me* was dated, and brought to me, by himſelf, on *May* 31,) for him firſt to ſail from *Jerſey* to *England*; and then to travel to *London*, and then to lodge an *Appeal* in ſuch *Court*, and then to have any ground for a *complaint* of *delay*: There being in the whole but *ſix* and *twenty* Days; and, perhaps, not *ſix*, probably not *three*, Days from his Arrival at *London*, to his coming himſelf to *me*. And, accordingly, there was not, in Fact, in his Letter of *Appeal*, or in all his *Diſcourſe*, when he firſt came to me, or in any *Paper*, or *Letter* of his, relating to the *Appeal*, one ſingle Word of any ſuch ridiculous Complaint of *delay*, in any *Court* of *mine* to which he had appealed, according to this *Romance.*

(4.) He knew, at this very Time, when he thus abuſed you, that he was *not* guilty of ſuch uncommon *Impudence*, as he has charged himſelf with, *viz.* that of *threatning* me that he would complain to the *Archbiſhop*, *if he was not redreſſed.* For 1. he knew, as I have already ſaid, that, by the Laws of *Jerſey*, there was no one, but the *Biſhop* of *Wincheſter perſonally*, who could redreſs him, if injured; and alſo that, by the ſame Laws, the *Archbiſhop* had no more to do with the Affair, unleſs when the *See* of *Wincheſter* ſhould be vacant, than you have. And 2. He knew that, at the Time to which he has fixed this idle Tale, I was ſo far from having given him Occaſion for any ſuch *Menaces*, or high Words, that I had received *Him*, and his *Appeal*, with the greateſt Civility; and promiſed, (if he perſiſted in deſiring it) to give my *Judgement* upon it: Which implied *redreſſing* him, if I ſhould find he had been *wronged* by the *ſentence* of the *Court* in *Jerſey*. On which Accounts, it is impoſſible to believe that he ſhould chuſe, at the very Time of his applying to Me, to give me ſuch rude Uſage; or, to treat me as one likely to do him *Injuſtice*, without the leaſt Provocation: But much more eaſy to believe, what I affirm to be true, and now to be ſeen under his Hand, that his Declaration then was, that he expected nothing from *Me*, but *Juſtice*; with the Addition of many ſoft Words of *Flattery*, which I then deſpiſed, and now cannot think it worth while to recite.

But one Obſervation offers itſelf too naturally from this Part of his Tale, to be paſſed by, *viz.* that in this Converſation with *You*, rather than not *abuſe* ſomebody, He choſe to *abuſe Himſelf*: one would think, to keep his Tongue in Uſe; and to try, to the utmoſt, how far he might depend upon *your* Attention to all the Prate that He could utter.

Here, Sir, are *four* Inſtances of his offending God, injuring *Me*, and abuſing *you*, wilfully and knowingly, in the compaſs of a very few Words, in that *Account*, which he gave you, in ſome, or *one*, of the many Converſations you had with Him about the ſaid *Note*, and the *Occaſion* of it. You have teſtified his Affirmation of all theſe, upon your Oath, without any Word of *doubt*, or uncertainty, about them: and therefore, will be ready to ſupport what you have ſworn to, againſt any *Cavils* of his.

His *Account*, according to your *firſt Anſwers* to *Interrogatories*, upon *Oath*, goes on thus:—“ Upon which the ſaid Biſhop adviſed Him to drop his Appeal, and “ alſo his *Claims* upon the *Dean* (between whom there was an Intimacy and “ Friendſhip ſubſiſting) on Account of certain *Notes* given to *Fournier* by “ the *Dean*: And declared, if he would comply with his Requeſt, and give “ him a Writing under his Hand not to trouble him any farther with the *Ap-* “ *peal*, which *Fournier* accordingly gave, he would give him ſome Preferment; “ [or make ſome other Proviſion for Him and his Family.]” This laſt particular,

cular, here put in Hooks, you did not mention at all, in your *Depoſitions* afterwards, in *Chancery*, in *May*, 1751. The Words of which I ſhall now tranſcribe, *viz.* " That, when He *(Fournier)* produced the *Note* to you firſt at *Ipſwich*, or " at your own Houſe at *Aſpal*, in or about the Year 1743, or 1744," [it was only 1743, in the former Depoſition] " he then told you, it was ſigned by the " *Biſhop*; and that the Occaſion of his ſo ſigning, and giving it, was to tye " himſelf under an Obligation to provide for *Him* by ſome Preferment." Here, I ſay, you have not mentioned *the Clauſe*, " Or, *to make ſome other proviſion for* " *him and his Family*." And therefore, I take it for granted you were now become ſenſible of your miſtake about the Time when *Fournier* charged *Me* with promiſing a Proviſion for his Family: which could not be at his firſt *Application* to Me; but was invented, above a Year afterwards, when his Wife was come to *England*, and had received a Requeſt from Me to ſee the *Note*.

In this your *ſecond* Account of his *Story*, as far as it relates to the Occaſion of my giving Him this *promiſſory Note*, you ſay much the ſame that you did in your *firſt*, *viz.* That it was done, " in *conſideration* of his having, at the *Biſhop's* " requeſt or recommendation, *dropped*, or given up, a Demand he had upon " the *Dean* of *Jerſey*; and alſo for dropping a Proſecution he *(Fournier)* had " commenced againſt a young Woman in *Jerſey* for diſturbing him in the Exer- " ciſe of his Duty and Function in the Church, in the Dean's Court there, in " which the Dean had given Sentence, which he had appealed from to the " *Biſhop* of *Wincheſter*, in whoſe Juriſdiction *Jerſey* is; and not for the Pay- " ment of ſo much Money abſolutely."

But there is one Point in this *Account*, relating to his *Appeal* from the *Sentence* in *Jerſey*, ſo very different from, and inconſiſtent with, your *former* Account; and therefore ſo ſhocking; that I muſt find a Place, before I end your trouble, to call this Procedure to a ſtrict Examination. I now only concern Myſelf with the Particulars relating to the *Note*, and the Occaſion of it.

1. He affirmed to you, in the *firſt mentioned* of theſe *Accounts*, that, at, or about, the time of his coming to me, which was *May* 31, 1740, he threatned me that he would apply to the Archbiſhop; [of the Falſhood of which, I have already ſpoken:]—That, *upon this*, *(viz. Threatning,)* I adviſed him to drop his *Appeal*, &c. as above:—That he conſented to this Propoſal, and did *actually drop his Appeal*,—and that he ſigned a *Note*, declaring he would trouble me no more about it. This is expreſſed alſo in your *other Account* of his Story upon your *Oath*; *viz.* that I made him a Promiſe of Preferment; and that I gave him the ſaid *Note*, as a Security for it; in Conſideration of his having dropped the ſaid *Appeal*, &c. at my Requeſt. Now, Sir, I pray you, obſerve that all this was affirmed to you to have paſſed about the time of his making his Complaint to *Me*, in our firſt Converſations upon the Subject of it; and that, *upon his threatning me with applying to the Archbiſhop, I adviſed or requeſted him*, &c. all following cloſe in the Thread of his Story: and then pleaſe to conſider what follows.

At this very time of his *Appeal* to me, I did indeed, for his own ſake only, adviſe him, after I had juſt caſt my eyes over the *Evidences* he had put into my hands, to go back to his Duty; and not ſpend his time, in Proſecution of an *Appeal*, which did not appear to me, at firſt ſight, to promiſe much. But I added that, if he ſtill deſired it, I was ready to give him my Judgement, after a more exact and careful Conſideration: which has been teſtified upon Oath by a *Clergyman*, who accompanied him to me. This very *Fournier*, Sir, immediately refuſed this *Advice*, and inſiſted upon having my Judgement; and agreed to have it in writing, from *Farnham*, whither I was then going. This alſo has been teſtified by the ſame Perſon. And he was ſo impatient for it, *after* I was gone to *Farnham*, that he demanded it of me, in a Letter dated *July* 12, 1740, ſtill to be ſeen; and in another Letter dated *July* 19, which began with this violent Declaration, that, *though it ſhould coſt him his Life, he would never ceaſe to demand it*; or to that very effect. Behold this ſame Man, who told you, that he had at my requeſt *dropped* his *Appeal* in the beginning of *June*, 1740, himſelf teſtifying the contrary, in Letters now exiſting, *viz.* that he was, about and on *July* 19 after the time named, ſo far from having *dropped his Appeal*, that he declared, he would *die*, rather than *drop* that ſame Appeal, as his Words plainly ſignify. This is not all: for, in one of theſe ſame *Letters* to *Me*, he goes on in a very high Tone; and even directs me what *Sentence* to give in the *Caſe*: particularly aſſuring me that I had in my Poſſeſſion all proper *Extracts* of the *Proceedings* below; and all his *Evidences*; and therefore, had no Pretenſe for delaying to ſend him *my Judgement*. Accordingly, I ſent him *my Judgement*, in a long Letter, dated *July* 26, 1740; now alſo to be ſeen.

After this followed a Courſe of *Letters*, from *Him* to *Me*, with my *Letters* in anſwer to them, ſtill to be ſeen: in which Way ſome Weeks were employed, chiefly about *his Appeal*, and *my Judgement* upon it: to which, though deciſive, he made ſeveral *Objections*. So far was he from having *dropped* his *Appeal*, that, you ſee, it was purſued vigorouſly by him, till he had *my Sentence* upon it; and even after *ſuch Sentence*, alſo, as far as his Impertinence in debating about it, could be born. Here then, you have a Demonſtration, never to be anſwered, of his *wilful and wicked Falſhood and Deceit*, when he told you, he had *dropped*, or *given up his Appeal at my Requeſt*, at the Time named to *You* by *Himſelf*; or indeed, at any Time.

Now, if all this be true, of which your own Eyes may ſatisfy you, if you pleaſe; then it muſt be abſolutely *falſe*, what he told you, that he ever ſigned, at my Requeſt, ſuch a *Note of Acquieſcence*, as he pretends, which was a *Promiſe* of never troubling me any more with his *Appeal*. For, if he had ſigned ſuch *Note*, it is impoſſible he ſhould have inſiſted upon my Judgement, in the Caſe of an Appeal, which he had, under his own hand, given up; and which therefore, did *not exiſt*. And if I had received from him ſuch a *Note*, it is impoſſible that I could have troubled myſelf to ſend him my *Judgement*, in a Cauſe ſo given up by himſelf, as to make ſuch a Proceeding in Me, moſt ridiculous and abſurd.

2. In the ſame *Account*, he aſſured you alſo, that he did, at the ſame time, and at my Requeſt, *drop* his *Proſecution of the young Woman, who diſturbed him in divine Service*. Now, Sir, you need not be told that his *Appeal* to me, was that very and only *Proſecution* of the ſaid *Gentlewoman*, which he could poſſibly mean here. And, as I have given you undeniable Proof that he did not, at the time he mentions, nor at any Time, *drop*, or *give up*, *his Appeal*, but carried it on, as far as poſſible; it follows that this Affirmation muſt alſo be *falſe*: and that he only multiplied his Abuſes of your Ears, when he told you, that, at *my Requeſt*, he dropped a *Proſecution*, which *Proſecution* was that very *Cauſe*, and the Subject of that very *Appeal*, which, it appears, he *never dropped* at all, either at *firſt*, or *afterwards*. For indeed, it never was ended, or ſunk, but by my adhering to my *Sentence*, given upon his reſolute Continuance of his *Appeal*.

3. I go on to obſerve that, in your Account, he aſſured you that, at the ſame time, and at my *Requeſt*, he *dropped* his (pretended) *Claim* of Money due from the Dean of *Jerſey*, on Account of certain *Notes* given to him, by the ſaid *Dean*, &c. Here, again, you will ſee his *wicked* Falſhood. I will not inſiſt,

to you, on my own ſolemn *Teſtimony in Court*, *viz.* that, at that Time of his *Appeal* to me, and till about a Year after it, (when a Cauſe in the *Common Pleas* made it publick) I did not know, nor ſo much as ſuſpect, nor ever had heard by common Report, that any ſuch *Notes*, or any ſuch *Claim*, did exiſt: and therefore, could not, at the Time named, requeſt him to drop a *Claim*, which I did not then know he ſo much as pretended to have upon the Dean, on Account of *Notes*, of which I had no Suſpicion. But, waving my own Word, as of no Force with you, I will now ſhew you his groſs Abuſe of *You*, in this Part of the Story, from his own *Hand-writing*; and from his *own publick Behaviour* upon *Record:* which are Evidences too ſtrong for *his* Wickedneſs to elude.

1. I appeal to his own *Hand-writing*. For the *Note* which, in this Story, was the *Security* for the *Recompenſe* he was to receive from Me, was, every Word of it over my Name, writ by Himſelf; and, what I particularly here remark, was *dated by Himſelf, on Sept.* 4, 1740. And this Day of its Date was about *three* Months *after* his firſt coming to Me; *that is*, according to his *Tale*, about *three Months after* that I had requeſted him to drop his *Appeal*; and promiſed him *Preferment*; and ſent Him for the *Note* to ſecure it; and even ſigned the ſaid *Note:* for all this comes together, in his *Story* to you, crowded into the one particular *Time* of our Converſation, named by *Him*. This *Date* you could not but ſee; having, as you ſwear, inſpected the *Note* ſeveral Times: and conſequently, you could not but ſee the Falſhood of his *Tale*, when he firſt told it you, unleſs you choſe wilfully to ſhut your Eyes; becauſe the very Date of the *Note*, which you then ſaw, muſt have aſſured you that *he* could not *drop* his *Appeal*, and his *Claim*, nor *I* ſend him for a *Note*, and ſign it, as a Recompenſe for that Favour, in *June*, 1740; which very Note, upon the face of it, is dated in *September* following. But this is not all.

2. His own *publick Behaviour*, in a *Court of Juſtice*, is a Demonſtration that this *Story* of his having, at my Requeſt, *dropped* his *Claim* upon the *Dean of Jerſey*, founded on the *Notes* before ſpoken of, was an abſolute, wilful, *Forgery*, for your Entertainment; and known by Himſelf to be ſo, at the very time when he vented it. For you will obſerve that this Claim muſt have been *dropped*, according to his own *Story*, before *Sept.* 4, the Date of the *Note:* otherwiſe, the *Note* could not have been given by Me, as a *Recompenſe* for his *having dropped* it; as the ſame *Story* aſſured you, it was. Now it appears, beyond all Contradiction from his own *Oath*, taken by himſelf on *November* 6, 1740, before an Officer of the *Court of Common Pleas*, that he, on that day, made a *Claim* of *One thouſand Pounds*, in due Form, upon the *Dean*, with *Intereſt*; and grounded this *Claim* on theſe very pretended *Notes* over the *Dean*'s Name. And it likewiſe appears, from public Evidences, that the *Dean* was actually *arreſted* for the ſaid pretended *Debt*, in *May*, 1741, by *Proceſs* out of that ſame *Court*; and came up to Town, and upon Oath affirmed the ſaid *four Notes* to be the Forgeries of *Fournier*, and that the *Cauſe* went on ſo far, that the original *four Notes* were *ordered* into Court, though never actually brought into it; the *Cauſe* being given up by his own Attorney.

You will particularly obſerve that All I have now ſaid about his *Affirmations* to You, that, *at my Requeſt*, he dropped his *Appeal* to Me; his *Proſecution* of the *Gentlewoman*; and his *Money-claims* upon the *Dean* of *Jerſey*; is built upon *Evidence*, which cannot deceive, or be ſuſpected. *Letters to Me*, of his own writing; *Letters* from me, anſwering exactly to them; *One* of theſe dated *July* 26, 1740, containing my final *Judgement* about his *Appeal*; which *Appeal* was his *Proſecution* of the abovesaid *Gentlewoman:* Theſe are ſtrict *Demonſtrations* of the Falſhood of this Part of his *Tale*. For it is abſolutely impoſſible that *He* ſhould, *at my Requeſt*, have *dropped* his *Appeal*, when he firſt came to me, at the beginning of *June*, 1740, who in *July* afterwards, in the moſt furious Expreſſions, demanded and inſiſted upon my *Judgement* about it; and received that *Judgement*, dated *July* 26, 1740: Or, that *He*, who had inſiſted upon my Judgement of his *Appeal*, and had received it, (which are *Circumſtances* quite inconſiſtent with the Suppoſition of his having *dropped* it,) ſhould, on *Sept.* 4, 1740, receive from Me a *Note* for 8,800*l.* in conſideration of his having *dropped* an *Appeal at my Requeſt*, which he had *not dropped* at all, either *at my Requeſt*, or on any other Account.

And as to the Dean of *Jerſey*'s Affair; *Fournier*'s own voluntary *Oath* of the *Dean's* Debt to him, two Months *after* the *Date* of the *promiſſory Note*, *Sept.* 4; the Dean's *Arreſt*, by Virtue of that *Oath*, in *May* following; the *Cauſe* opened, in due Form, on both Sides; the *Dean's* Anſwer upon *Oath* given into *Court*; the *original four Notes* ordered into *Court*, above eight Months *after* the aforeſaid *Date*: *Theſe* are publick, recorded, *Demonſtrations* that he had not, *at my Requeſt*, or on any other Account, *dropped* theſe *Money-claims* upon the Dean of *Jerſey*, before, or on, the *fourth* of *Sept.* 1740. And from hence it follows moſt certainly that it is abſolutely impoſſible to be true, that he received from Me, on *Sept.* 4, 1740, a *Note* for 8,800*l.* in conſideration of his having, *at my Requeſt*, *dropp'd* his *Money-demands* upon the *Dean*, which he had not *dropped then*; nor about *nine Months after* the ſaid Day.

What ought to ſink deeply into your Mind is, that theſe *Affirmations* of *Fournier* to you, are not only demonſtrably *falſe*; but might have been known to *you* to be ſo, if you had thought any *Enquiry* becoming you, when he firſt entertained you with them.

His *Invention* that there was then ſubſiſting an *Intimacy* and Friendſhip between the *Dean of Jerſey* and *Myſelf*, which he has wickedly ſworn to, in his *Anſwer* to my Bill, not being of any peculiar Concern to you; I ſhall at preſent paſs over the ſilly *Argument* deſigned to be drawn from it: and go on to conſider ſuch *Circumſtances* of the remaining part of his *Story* to you, as may claim *your* particular Attention.

Your Account of it goes on, “ That, as a Security for the Performance of ſuch Promiſe, I offered to give him a *Note*, for ſuch a Sum as he would require; and appointed a Day when he ſhould attend me with a *Note*, to be ſigned,—and he, being unacquainted with the Manner of writing *promiſſory Notes*, applied himſelf to a Friend or Acquaintance of his, to draw him a *promiſſory Note*, and at the Day appointed carried the Note that had been drawn for the Payment of 8,800*l.* from me to him; which Note I refuſed to ſign, but delivered him Pen, Ink, and Paper, and deſired him to write a Note with his own hand, from the Draught which he had brought; which he accordingly did, and then I ſigned it.” Now,

1. It appears that, in this Part of his *Story*, he thought *that* to be fit and proper for *your Ears*, which he judged afterwards to be too abſurd for him to put into his *publick Anſwer* in *Chancery*: in which he ſpeaks of the *Note*, being a *Security*; but wholly omits this pleaſant *Circumſtance*, which he ſeems to have reſerved as a Dainty for *your Ears* alone, as far as I have ever heard; *viz.* that I not only offered to give him a *Note*, as a Security for *my Promiſe of Preferment*; but a Note for *any Sum that He himſelf would require*. And did not your Ears feel uneaſy at ſuch an unuſual Tale? Or, had you ever before heard of any Man in the World, (not an *Idiot*, or a *Madman*,) who either offered of Himſelf, with-

out being deſired; or ever conſented, at the moſt earneſt Deſire of another, to ſign and give to *any Perſon*, upon any Account, a Note for *whatever ſum of Money* that Perſon himſelf ſhould pleaſe to *require?* Or, was no *Abſurdity*, no *Affirmation* of what was never before heard of, too groſs to be received againſt *Me?*

I might ſafely leave this *Invention* to be confuted by its own native Abſurdity only. But I cannot forbear the mention of *two Particulars*. In the Year 1745, a Gentleman at *Ipſwich* wrote down a few *Queſtions*; to which *Fournier*, with his own Hand, wrote *Anſwers* upon the ſame *Paper*. One of the *Queſtions* was, *Did He (viz.* the *Biſhop) order the Sum mentioned*, viz. in the Note? The Anſwer, in *Fournier's* own Hand, is, *Yes*.—And again, in his *Croſs-bill*, in or about the Year 1751, he affirms that on *Sept.* 4, 1740, *I ordered him to go to his Attorney, to draw or prepare a Note for* 8,800 *l. payable to him in three Months*, &c. Let him, therefore, be himſelf my Witneſs; and let both theſe *Affirmations* of *His* (unaccompanied, as they were, with the leaſt Hint of my having left the *Sum* at all to *Him)* be eſteemed, as they ought to be, *his own* Confutations of *his own Fable:* Though Both as falſe as what they contradict.

2. I muſt particularly take notice of the Reaſon he gave you, for his applying to a *Friend*, *viz. that he was himſelf unacquainted with the manner of writing promiſſory Notes*. Now, as you muſt have ſeen the *Dean* of *Jerſey's four Notes*, as well as my *Note*, ſo called, you could not but know at the very time of his telling you this Falſhood, that he had unhappily, long before this, given a notorious Demonſtration that he was not at all *unacquainted with writing promiſſory Notes*; and particularly, that he well underſtood that a *Note* for Security of a *Promiſe*, ought to have that *Promiſe* expreſſed in it. For You ſaw, with your own eyes, *four Notes* writ by *Fournier* in *French*, over the *Dean* of *Jerſey's Name*; and therefore, you muſt have ſeen that, by the *firſt* of theſe *Notes*, which was dated *May* 25, 1734, ſeveral Years before the *Note* over my *Name* was in his Brain, he made the *Dean* promiſe him a *Pariſh*, OR a *thouſand Pounds:* which is a Demonſtration that he was well apprized that a Note for *Security of a promiſed Preferment*, muſt have *this* expreſſed in it. In the *ſecond* of theſe *Notes*, dated *Dec.* 29, 1739, You found, he had made the *Dean* to own his Inability to give Him a *Pariſh*; and upon this, to promiſe the Payment of the *thouſand Pounds*. This, again, is a Proof of the very ſame thing, *viz.* that he knew very well, long before 1740, that the way to make this *ſecond Note* a *Money-note*, was to throw out of it the Promiſe of that *Pariſh*, or *Benefice*, for which the firſt *Note* was a *Security* in expreſs Words. And *this Security* for *Preferment*, he could as eaſily have explained to his *Attorney*, to be put into the *Note* over my Name, as he did the Contents of the *Note*, as it now ſtands. I give you this, as a Demonſtration, that, at the time named, he was not *unacquainted* with the affair of *Note-making*; nor particularly with that Branch of it, relating to a *Note* given as a Security for ſomething elſe: and therefore, that in *this* he told you what he knew to be falſe.

3. In his *Tale* to you, in 1743, or 44, he ſays alſo, that "I appointed him a " Day to attend me with the *Note*, and that he came on that Day and brought " it." But afterwards, in his *Croſs-bill* in *Chancery* againſt Me, in or about 1751, he himſelf affirms that on *Sept.* 4, when, he ſays, I ſent him for the *Draught*, I waited for him till *eleven o'Clock*, when he returned with the Note *that ſame Morning:* which, though falſe, you muſt own to be a moſt effectual Declaration from himſelf that "I did *not* appoint him a Day to attend me with the " *Note*." For, if *he went that very Morning to* Mr. *Ruſſel* in *Soho*, who *prepared a Draught of ſuch Note, and returned therewith to Me, about eleven of the Clock the*

ſame Morning, as his *Croſs-bill* affirms; then is it impoſſible to be true, that *I appointed him a Day to bring me ſuch Note*, becauſe this muſt mean *another* Day, different from that on which, according to his Story to You, I had made him this Offer. Thus does He himſelf continually furniſh Me with *Confutations* of his own *Falſhoods*.

4. His *Story* acquainted you farther, " That I refuſed to ſign the Note (*viz.* " which he brought from his *Attorney*) but deſired him with his own Hand to " write a *Note* from this *Draught*, which he did." This *Part* of his Tale, you muſt have ſeen, was moſt evidently deſigned as a *Reaſon*, or *Excuſe*, for his writing the *Note* over my Name with *his own* Hand; and leaving that Argument for *Suſpicion* upon it. But I do not find, he had the Aſſurance to tell you that I was unable Myſelf to write a *promiſſory Note*, as a *Security* for a *Promiſe* which he pretends I had made him. And methinks, this alone might have made you ſtrongly to ſuſpect the *Honeſty* of the Man, that, if this Promiſe of *Preferment* had been true, I ſhould, by choice, have writ the *Note* myſelf, in order to have it exactly to my own Mind; and ſufficiently plain for what, He told you, was my declared Purpoſe, *viz.* the *Security* only of my *Performance* of the ſaid *Promiſe*. Nor did He himſelf, in his own *Tale* to You, pretend to give one Reaſon why I did not write it myſelf. I will only add that, if I had been ſo weak as to offer him ſuch a *Note*; and, according to his *ridiculous Invention*, had reſolved it ſhould appear in *his* Hand-writing; I could eaſily have writ one myſelf, which he could have copied full as well as That of *his Attorney*.

5. But He affirmed to you alſo, ſomething which may be ſaid to be more wonderful: *viz.* That, when he brought me this *Note*, at the time of my pretended *Appointment*; and, conſequently, when I ſaw it with my own Eyes to be free from every Mark of any *Condition*; and without any mention of that *Security*, for which alone, (his own Story tells,) I offered and ordered it; and when, inſtead of this, I found it framed in the exact Form of an abſolute *Money-note*, for ſo vaſt a Sum as 8,800 *l.* and this, (whether any Living ſhould become vacant, or not,) to be paid, in *three Months time*, *for Value received*, the ſtrongeſt of all Conſiderations: That, I ſay, I was not at all ſtartled at ſuch a total *Alteration* of what, He himſelf ſays, was my Deſign in the offer of it; but, without taking the leaſt Notice of ſo amazing an Appearance, immediately deſired him to tranſcribe it; and then ſigned it, with as much eaſe, as if I had taken a pleaſure in ſigning to my own Ruine, and that of my Family.

And now, if I could add any thing ſtill more wonderful than what I have already produced, it ſhould be, That you, Sir, could ſit with Patience, through ſo many Weeks and Months, under the Diſcipline of ſuch a Tongue; and ſwallow all the *Nonſenſe* and *Abſurdities*, that the Owner of it could invent and dictate to you, not only without one *proper Enquiry*; but without one *Shrug* of Reluctance, as far as appears: nay, That, after all this *Heap* of *Incredibles* had been vented upon you, in 1743, and 1744, this ſame worſt, and ſillieſt, of Story-tellers, was not only honoured by your Countenance, but even by *Preferment*, procured for him by *you* from *others*, or given by yourſelf, about the Year 1745.

Having thus put together the foregoing *Particulars*, I will now, before I leave You, recommend it to you, to take a *Review* of your whole Behaviour, with regard to *Fournier*, from the Day of your firſt meeting him in *Suffolk*.

I. In this Review, you will call to your Remembrance, that, in the Year 1742, *Fournier* came down, with his Family, from *London* to *Ipſwich*, under a total diſguiſe of *Name*, *Habit*, and *Profeſſion*: which you could not but know, becauſe it was a *publick* matter *advertiſed* by himſelf, under the Name of *John Bequer*, in the *Ipſwich Journal*. And you have yourſelf acknowledged that, when you had an opportunity of ſeeing Him, you found him to be the ſame Man, whom you once knew, under the Name of *Fournier*, officiating as a *Miniſter* in *Jerſey*. Theſe are *Circumſtances*, one would think, uncommon enough to have alarmed you into a ſerious Thought, that ſome farther Enquiry about him would be proper. But you choſe rather, without any ſuch Ceremony, to *renew your Acquaintance* with him in 1743, or 1744, and to receive from *Him* alone, thoſe *ſhocking Stories* about *Himſelf* and *Others*, which I have now tranſcribed from your own *Depoſitions*. And as thoſe *Stories*, received as *true*, muſt make *Me*, (not to mention any others), in your Account, one of the vileſt and wickedeſt of Men, who had wilfully refuſed him common *Juſtice*, and denied to give or pay Him what was in ſtrictneſs his due; ſtop a little, and aſk your own heart, Whether, ſince you reſolved, as it appears, to intereſt yourſelf in his Affair, which was inſeparable from that of *Others*, it was not your *Duty* as a *Chriſtian*, and becoming you as a *Gentleman*, to have acquainted *Me* with what ſo deeply concerned *Me*; and to have heard, once at leaſt, what I had to ſay, before you had formed *your Reſolutions* about this Man. What Advantage this might at firſt have been, you may now ſee from what I have laid before you, about his earlieſt Stories, particularly *thoſe* of his having appealed to my *conſiſtorial Court*; and having *dropped* his *Cauſe*, and his *Money-demands* upon the Dean of *Jerſey*, at my Requeſt; and the like. Theſe, it appears, could *then* have been demonſtrated to be *Falſe*, ſo plainly, that you yourſelf muſt have been convinced at firſt of his being a wilful Inventor of Falſhoods: and all that followed, would have been effectually prevented. For, I ſuppoſe, I may be allowed to conclude that, if he had been diſcovered to you, to be the *Inventor* of many Falſhoods, or even of *One*; you would not have behaved yourſelf towards *Him*, as his Encourager, or Protector. But you, Sir, without regard to Me, your Neighbour; or to Yourſelf, who was to anſwer for your own Conduct in ſo critical an Affair; wilfully and reſolutely kept off all ſuch Diſcoveries as might interrupt your quiet Attention to *Fournier* alone, relating his own Innocence, and the Guilt of others.

II. That you gave your *Aſſent*, as well as *Attention*, to theſe Stories of *His*, your Conduct has demonſtrated. For, as you proceed in your *Review* of yourſelf, you will find that, after his Budget of *Tales* had been emptied upon you in the two Years 1743 and 1744, you were ſo far from *dropping* or *diſcouraging* the *Man*, that you not only perſiſted in giving him the *publick* Encouragement of your *Countenance*, but thought him worthy of being employed in ſacred Offices, in the *Church*. For you procured him a *Vicarage* to be held by him for a ſhort time; and gave him the perpetual *Curacy* of your *Chapel* at *Aſpal*. And theſe, though ſmall in *Profit*, were as ſtrong publick Proofs of your believing his *Tales*, and encouraging him in them, as if they had been of the higheſt Value. Now, Sir, ſtop again, and aſk your own Heart, whether any *Chriſtian*, conſiſtently with the Rules of his *Religion*, can poſſibly permit himſelf to have any part in placing a Perſon in the Station of a Preacher of the *Goſpel*, whom he knows, at the ſame time, to be thought by *ſome*, and ſtrongly ſuſpected by many others, to be an *Highwayman*: and then aſk, whether you, Sir, did not place one in the exerciſe of that ſacred Office, whom you knew to be accounted by Perſons not unworthy of all Credit, much worſe than an *Highwayman*; and of much worſe conſequence to human Society?

You will have but a ſlender Excuſe to make from your not actually knowing the *Perſon's Guilt*; when *this* proceeded from your own Reſolution not to make one proper Enquiry of any one proper Perſon; but to acquieſce in the *Affirmations*, and nothing but the *Affirmations*, of a Man, of all in the World, the moſt improper to be truſted in this Caſe, becauſe it was *his own*. You have acted thus. You contented yourſelf with enquiring of the Man himſelf, whether he was a *Forger* of *Money-notes*, or not; and, he having aſſured you that he was perfectly innocent of a Crime which no one dares to own for fear of the Penalty, you believed *Him*, upon his own bare Word; even againſt all Probability. Nay, you preferred this Man in the *Church*, whom you knew, at the ſame time, to be ſpoken of, by a *Biſhop* of the ſame Church, as a *Forger* of a *Note* for a large Sum of Money over his *Name*; without one Word to that *Biſhop*, about him. And, whether you are not as truly anſwerable to God, for acting in ſuch a manner, without one proper Enquiry which might have led you to the Knowledge of his *Guilt*, as if you had done it againſt your actual Knowledge of it; I leave you to judge.

III. But this is not all I have to offer upon your Conduct in thus regarding this Man, in 1745. For here I muſt put you in mind of what I declared above to deſerve a ſtricter Conſideration; *viz.* that before you thus publickly ſhewed your Regard to this Man, you had been an Ear-witneſs to *two contradictory Stories*, which he told you about his *Appeal* from the Court at *Jerſey*. And theſe alone, affirmed to *You* by *Himſelf*, ought to have ſtartled you into an *Opinion* of his Guilt; and therefore, make your *Favour* to him the more inexcuſable. In your *firſt Depoſitions* at *Ipſwich*, you ſwear that *Fournier's* Account was, that he *appealed* from the Dean's Sentence in *Jerſey*, to the *Biſhop's Conſiſtorial Court*; and, upon Delays made there, *applied* to the *Biſhop perſonally*, in order to complain of ſuch *Delays*, and to demand his Interpoſition for a ſpeedy Redreſs. In your *ſecond Depoſitions* ſoon after, at *London*, when you were called on *his* part, you do not ſo much as mention his *Appeal* to the *Biſhop's Conſiſtorial Court*; nor utter a Word, as far as I can judge, to lead Us to think you had ever heard of ſuch a Thing. On the contrary, you ſwear his Account to have been, that he *appealed*, from the *Dean's Sentence*, to the *Biſhop* himſelf; without the leaſt Hint of any intermediate Step into a *Conſiſtorial Court*, or any *Application* from thence to the *Biſhop*, on Account of *Delays*. Here, therefore, appears a moſt remarkable *Contradiction* between the *Accounts* he gave you of his *Appeal*. And upon this, it may juſtly be aſked, whether it was agreeable to Reaſon and Juſtice for you to go on to countenance a Man, and favour him with *Preferment*, from whoſe own mouth you had heard two inconſiſtent Stories about his own Conduct, in one and the ſame *Appeal*; and theſe *Stories* ſo well attended to, and underſtood, by You, that you have, ſeveral Years afterwards, ſworn to the *Particulars* of *both* of them, as *his own* Accounts. What it was that induced you, when you were called to give Teſtimony in a *Court of Judicature*, upon *Oath*, on *his* part, to vary ſo much from the whole *Phraſe*, and *Senſe*, of your former Depoſitions; and to make no more mention of his having appealed to my *Conſiſtorial Court*, than if you had never heard him ſay one word to that Purpoſe; I will not allow myſelf to gueſs. If you know; you may be your own Judge, what to think of yourſelf, and your own Conduct. What followed after the Year 1745, I muſt now remark, and *you* conſider.

IV. Providence itſelf ſeemed ſtill to throw *Conviction* in your Way, whether you would ſeek it, or not. In the Year 1747, *Fournier* himſelf brought you a *Paper*, writ with his own Hand, of which I have before, in *p.* 946, given a very particular Account: and which I will now conſider as his own Warning to you, of his own Wickedneſs. And in this view, I do not at all aggravate the Matter, when I ſuppoſe him, at the time of his delivering it to you, to ſpeak to you thus: "Sir, you may remember that, in our Converſations in 1743, and "44, I affirmed to you that the *Promiſſory Note* for 8,800 *l.* was given me by "the *Biſhop* of *Wincheſter*, only as a Security for Preferment; and not for the "Payment of ſo much Money abſolutely. But I am now come to give you, in "Writing, a quite different Account, which I affirm to you moſt ſeriouſly to "be the very Truth of the Matter; *viz.* That the ſaid *Note* was *not deſigned to tie* "*the Biſhop* to give me *Preferment*; but for the Payment of the *Money* mentioned "in it: in proof of which, I affirm that he *paid* me *five Guineas* in part of the "8,800 *l.* which were to be allowed him, upon Payment of the reſt." This is as plainly the purport of his *Paper*, as if he had ſpoken theſe very Words: and that *Paper* itſelf was as truly an *Alarm* to you, and a *Demonſtration* of your *Friend's* being a *Cheat*, as if ſuch a *Speech* had accompanied his *Delivery* of it to you. For you knew that he had before declared to you, by Word of Mouth, that the *Note* for 8,800 *l.* was *not deſigned* for the Payment of ſo much *Money* to *Him*. And you ſaw with your own Eyes, that he effectually affirmed, in this *Paper*, that the ſame *Note was deſigned* for the abſolute *Payment* of the *Sum* mentioned in it.

I know not whether you are in the *Commiſſion* of the *Peace*, in *Suffolk*, or not. But you cannot but know that, in the Caſe of a Man brought before Thoſe who are ſo, with only a *Silver Spoon* found upon *Him*, when he is aſked, how he came by it, if he tells two different Stories about it; ſuppoſe, firſt, that it was given him, as a Security for five Shillings; and then, that it was given him abſolutely for its own Value, and not as a Security; He will be committed: this *Contradiction* being juſtly thought a Proof of his not coming by it honeſtly. But you, Sir, have a Man before you, upon whom a *Note* for 8,800 *l.* is found. You aſk him an Account of ſo ſtrange an Appearance. And having received, from himſelf, the two aforeſaid *Accounts* of this *Note*, abſolutely inconſiſtent with one another, you are no more moved with this Demonſtration of his *Guilt*, as far as appears, than if he had never furniſhed you with it.

When you had received this written Account from his Hands, you inſerted a Copy of it in a *Letter* to me, without a Word of the leaſt Suſpicion of his *Guilt*, on your part; or of any *contrary* Account that *Fournier* had ever given you before. And I therefore, could not but receive it as the *one* only *Account*, which he had given to you yourſelf, of the *Note*. For I did not *then* know, nor indeed afterwards, till your *Depoſitions* in 1750, and 51, what his former *Account* to *you* yourſelf had been in the Years 1743 and 44.

V. In my *Anſwer* to your Letter, *Dec.* 17, 1747, I firſt give you my Aſſurance of the *Falſhood* of his written Account; and then add a ſtrong Caution againſt your Belief of his Stories: after which, I deſire to know whether it will be as agreeable to you to hear on *my* Side, as on *his*. Not receiving any *Anſwer*, I wrote again, *Feb.* 23, 174$\frac{7}{8}$, offering you all poſſible Information; begging you to let me know thoſe particular Reaſons which you had to favour this Man, that you might hear my *Anſwers* to them. I added, if you choſe rather to deſire any *Clergyman*, or other Friend, in *London*, to come to Me, and talk the Matter over; I would lay before him, with all Freedom, what he might repreſent to you, with his own Opinion about the principal Point; Or, if you liked better, to deſire any worthy *Clergyman*, or Gentleman of the *Law*, in your Neighbourhood, to convey your Thoughts or Reaſons to me, I would moſt readily and ſeriouſly enter into ſuch a Correſpondence, before any more publick Notice was taken of the Affair: declaring again, at laſt, my Willingneſs, through any ſuch hands, or in any other Method you ſhould chuſe, to give you the beſt Information, *&c.* This was the Deſign, and Subſtance, of my *Letter* here mentioned.

In your *Anſwer*, dated *March* 18, 174$\frac{7}{8}$, All my Offers were abſolutely *rejected* for the following Reaſons:

" 1. I had ſaid, in a Letter to you, that I thought myſelf obliged to lay the " whole before the *Biſhop* of the *Diocese:* and therefore, you excuſed yourſelf " from what I offered for your own particular Satisfaction." As I cannot poſſibly ſee the leaſt *Connexion* between my acquainting you that I intended to lay the *Caſe* before the *Biſhop* of the *Dioceſe*; and your refuſing to hear what I had to ſay, for your Information, in an affair, in which you had already intereſted yourſelf ſo far, as to liſten to all that *Fournier's* Invention and Aſſurance could entertain you with; I can make no other anſwer to this, than that it only ſeems deſigned to ſhew your ſetled Reſolution to ſhut your Ears againſt all ſuch Evidence, as might poſſibly awaken you to any ſort of Repentance for your precipitate Favours to this Man.

" 2. You had now little hope of *accommodating* the Matter; and therefore, did " not chuſe to hear what I had to ſay, *&c.*" Another excellent Reaſon! when the Point to you, was not, whether the Matter could, or ſhould, be *accommodated*; but whether you could, with a ſafe Conſcience, go on to give your Countenance to a *Man*, without ſo much as hearing what was abſolutely neceſſary to be heard, before you could determine whether the Man deſerved your *Favour*, or your *Abhorrence.*

3. You then intimate that you had not been ſo careleſs and *unguarded*, as I ſeemed to think; and add that, as to your being his *Patron*, you have *no Reaſon at preſent*, *from his Behaviour*, *ſince he came into your Neighbourhood*, *to repent of the little Services you had done him*, *&c.* And you alledge his having ſhewn himſelf an *honeſt Man*, when ſeemingly he had great *Temptations* to the contrary: in proof of which, you tell me the *Story* of his *reſigning* a *Benefice*, according to his *Promiſe*, which he might have kept, if he would have broke his word: of which Argument I have already, in *p.* 937, 938, ſaid enough. Upon all this, I now obſerve,

1. You *firſt* give a Man Preferment in the *Church*, without one proper previous Enquiry about the *only* Wickedneſs laid to his Charge; and then *juſtify* this Conduct by appealing to that *good* Behaviour of *His*, which was *after* this *Favour* of yours. And to what *good Behaviour?* Why, his *good Behaviour* in *another* Matter, of no kind of Relation to the Crime with which alone He was charged. This is juſt as if you ſhould ſay of one accuſed of being an *Highwayman*, " I have indeed openly protected him; and find no reaſon to *repent* of " it, becauſe he has (ſince this) acted, in *another* Caſe, as an honeſt Man would " have done; Or, becauſe he has payed the Tradeſmen in his Neighbourhood, " with whom he deals, what is due to them."

2. As you ſay here abſolutely that *you have no Reaſon to* repent, I muſt conclude, that, according to your Eſtimation, his having given to you yourſelf, in 1743, or 44, two different and *contradictory* Accounts of his *Appeal* from the *Sentence* of the Court of *Jerſey*, was no *Reaſon* againſt your preferring him in 1745, nor for your *repenting* afterwards that you did ſo.

3. Nay, it ſeems, your having received from his own Hands in 1747, a *written Account* of the promiſſory *Note*, abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Account he

gave you in $174\frac{7}{8}$, is no Argument to you, why you ſhould *repent* of your having preferred in 1745, a Man who, out of his own ſelf-contradicting Mouth, proved himſelf to you a *Cheat*, and a *Deceiver*. This, indeed, ſeems to me inconſiſtent with all *Chriſtian Morality*. And what Excuſe to frame, I know not: Your own *Oath* having born Teſtimony that it was to yourſelf he gave *both* theſe *Accounts* of the *Note*, *before* you wrote this *Letter* to Me, in 1747. For nothing can be plainer to me, than this, that You yourſelf, having received from his own *Mouth* and Pen, theſe Self-contradictions, had *found* abundant *Reaſon* to *repent* of your preferring this Man, from theſe *Inſtances* of his *Behaviour*, to which you yourſelf were witneſs, at the very time when you thus declared you *had found none*. But I muſt add,

4. That, at the End of this ſame Letter to me, your Expreſſion is a little varied, when you ſay, "His Behaviour ſince he has been in this Country, "*(ſetting aſide the Affair with your Lordſhip)* has been, in my thoughts, un-"blemiſhed." By *ſetting aſide* this Affair, I will not be ſo unjuſt as to ſuppoſe you to mean to *except* it, as acknowledging him guilty of the *Crime*, or *Wickedneſs*, laid to his Charge: Becauſe then you would not have declared yourſelf to have *found no Reaſon to repent*. As it ſtands here, I think, it can mean Nothing, but the laying that Affair quite out of the *Queſtion* about the Merits of his Behaviour; and not taking it at all into your Conſideration. And thus underſtood, give me leave to ſay, Nothing can be more unworthy of you than to ſpeak of *ſetting aſide this Affair*, at a time when you knew I had taxed him with one certain great Crime, and had offered to give you the Evidences of it; and when you yourſelf were declaring your Judgement about his deſerving what you had procured for him in the *Church*. For, in this Caſe particularly, the *ſetting aſide* his Affair with me, is *ſetting aſide* an Affair, without which you could not judge whether you ought to *repent* of your *Conduct*, or not. It is the laying out of your Conſideration, what it was your Duty, in the *Queſtion* before you, to conſider more than any other Part of his whole Behaviour. It is, indeed, the *ſetting aſide* the main, nay the only, Matter laid to his Charge. He was not accuſed of breaking his Word, or of being falſe to his Truſt, in the *Benefice* he held; of *Drunkenneſs*, or the like *Immorality*; but of a moſt wicked *Fraud*, not leſs than the *Contrivance* of a *Note* for 8,800 *l*. And, after preferring this Man, and refuſing to hear what I offered againſt him, you *wipe your Mouth*, and ſay, I beg leave not to trouble myſelf with this Affair, whether *true* or *falſe*: For, *ſetting this aſide*, the Man, for aught I know, has behaved unblameably. This way of Talking deſerves more ſevere Words than I care to give it.

But, before I quit this Subject, I muſt obſerve that *you* come too *late* with this *ſetting aſide* Fournier's *Affair with me*. For you had long before this entered into this Man's Cauſe, which was *his affair with* Me; liſtened to his *Stories*; and actually *judged*, in his Favour, that he came honeſtly by this Note; and, was an injured Man. For otherwiſe, how could your Conſcience have ſuffered you to have procured him a *Living*, and a *Curacy*, after hearing his Tale? or afterwards to declare that you *had found no Reaſon to repent* of your having ſo done? How muſt it appear therefore, for you to talk of *ſetting aſide his Affair with me*, *after* you had ſo notoriouſly paſſed your Judgement about it, by your publick Regard to him? To proceed,

VI. In the Year 1749, ſome Months after *Fournier* had put his *Anſwer* into Chancery upon his *Oath*, I was reſolved once more to try whether the plaineſt Evidence of *Guilt*, out of his own Mouth, might not be of force to convince you of it. And accordingly, on *Oct.* 7, 1749, I wrote to you thus: "I ſuppoſe he has long ago ſhewn you his Anſwer to my *Bill* in *Chancery.* If not, I will, with your leave, ſend you a true Copy of it. Then you will ſee whether his Account of the promiſſory Note, upon Oath, be the ſame which he has always given you; and particularly, That he gave you, when you favoured me with an Anſwer, *Dec.* 9, 1747." [*N. B.* I ſaid *always*, becauſe I did not *then* know that he had been ſo infatuated in his Wickedneſs, as to give you yourſelf any Account of the *Note*, contrary to his *written* one in 1747.] Could I have done any thing more kind, or more effectual to convince *you* that the Account of the *Note*, in his *Anſwer* upon *Oath*, was quite different from his written one in 1747, and abſolutely inconſiſtent with it; which muſt at the ſame time have convinced you of his *Guilt* in the Affair of that *Note?* But all was in vain; as appeared evidently from your *Anſwer*, *Oct.* 13, 1749, in which, after a ſort of Acknowledgment of the *Favour* of my Offer, you give me this Account of yourſelf: "I have had very little Experience in any Affair of Importance, and therefore am very unfit to have a Caſe ſtated to me of ſo *intricate a Nature*, that I have heard Men, of far better Education and Learning than I have, ſay that they were at a Loſs what to ſay about it, and that it is one of the moſt extraordinary Caſes that they ever heard of." This is the Excuſe you make for your Refuſal of my laſt Offer. To which ſuffer me to ſay a Word.

1. If you had really ſuch an Opinion of your own *Unfitneſs* to have *the Caſe ſtated to You* by *Me*, and on *my* part; how came you to think ſo well of your *Fitneſs* to hear the *Caſe* on *his* Part, *ſtated* to You; and even to judge *Him* to be worthy of your Patronage: which you could not have done, without firſt *judging* him to be an *innocent*, *injured*, Man? Was your *Fitneſs* juſt *great* enough for *his Side* of the *Queſtion* only; and too *little* for any one Fact, or Evidence of a Fact, on the *other?* For Inſtance; After your receiving the ridiculous Affirmation in his *firſt* Account, that, at *my Requeſt*, he had given up his *Money-demands* upon the *Dean* of *Jerſey*, which were for about 1300*l*; was You unfit, or unable, to underſtand a few Words of his own to the contrary, which I could then have produced, as I have now: Or, to ſee that his *Proceedings* in a publick Court of *Juſtice*, in order to recover this Money, were Proofs, that he had *never* given up theſe *Demands* at all; and therefore, had affirmed to you what was *falſe?*

2. How *evaſive* an *Anſwer* to my Offer muſt this appear, when the *Reader* is told, that there was not a ſingle word in it, of *ſtating* any *Caſe* to *You*; but ſolely an Offer to ſend You a Copy of *Fournier's Anſwer* to my *Bill*, if you had not already ſeen it, that you might be convinced by your own Eye-ſight, that he was wicked enough to give you one Account of the *Note*, as *Truth*, in 1747; and, in 1749, to ſwear to another directly contradictory to it! But,

3. If the Truth was, that you had, before this Offer of mine, ſeen, or been informed of, the Contents of his *Anſwer* in *Chancery* (which is too evident to be denied from what I have already ſaid, *p.* 950, 951,) and conſequently, that you knew his Account of the *Note* given in it, upon *Oath*, to be a *direct* Contradiction to the whole Tenor of that Account which he had delivered to you in 1747; you ought to have honeſtly acknowledged it to me, and alſo, what was unavoidable, your full *Conviction* of his Guilt.

I will ſay but one Word more upon this Subject, *viz.* That I truly believe you are the *firſt* Man in the World, who ever made the *Intricacy* of a *Caſe*, in which he had in earneſt concerned himſelf, an Argument againſt all farther *Information*.

VII. I muſt now mention what followed, when you were called to anſwer to *Interrogatories*, upon *Oath*, in the Cauſe.

In your *Depoſitions*, at *London*, in 1751, ſome years after you had received from *Fournier's* own Hands his ſecond Account of the *Note* in *Writing*, you ſwear that you "*can depoſe nothing about the ſigning or ſubſcribing of it, ſave what you was informed by the Defendant* [Fournier] *when he produced it firſt to you at* Ipſwich, *or at your Houſe at* Aſpal, *in or about the Year* 1743, *or* 1744, *to the beſt of your Remembrance as to the Time*; *who then told you, that it was ſigned by Me, and that the Occaſion of my ſo ſigning and giving it was to tie myſelf under an Obligation to the Defendant* [Fournier] *to provide for him by ſome Preferment*, in Conſideration of, &c. *and* not *for the Payment of ſo much Money abſolutely*." [The particular *Conſiderations* here mentioned by you, may be ſeen, *p.* 953.] Theſe are your own Words, in which you declare upon your *Oath* that, in 1743, or 1744, He told you that the *Note* was given him by me, as a Security for *Preferment*; and, That it was *not* given for the Payment of the Money abſolutely: and alſo ſwear, That you can *depoſe nothing about the ſigning or ſubcribing of it, ſave what he told you in* Year 1743, or 1744, *viz.* the *Particulars* aforeſaid, that I ſigned it for the purpoſe of *tying* myſelf to give him Preferment, and *not* for Payment of the Money.

There is ſomething ſo ſhocking in *this*, that it is very hard to know what to ſay to it. I am far from pretending to ſearch into your heart; or, to take from you any one of thoſe *Allowances* and *Alleviations*, which the *great Knower of Hearts* may judge proper. I will not call this the very Crime of *Perjury*. But I will call it a ſwearing to what is *Falſe*; and, as it appears to me, what you knew to be ſo. For, how arrogant ſoever it may ſound, I take upon me to affirm, that you could, at the very Time of your appearing as a Witneſs in *May*, 1751, have depoſed, that the ſame *Fournier* had told you *another*, and a quite *contrary* Story; nay, that he had writ down, and delivered into your own Hands, this ſecond *Account* of the ſame *Note*, with a warm Aſſeveration of its Truth: *viz.* that I ſigned it, and gave it to Him for the Payment of the *Money* named in it, without the leaſt mention of *Security* for *Preferment*; That I did this in *Recompenſe* for his *Acquieſcence*; and that I had *paid* Him *five Guineas*, as Part of my *Debt* to Him, of which the *reſt* was to be paid. His own Words are uncapable of any other Meaning. And from hence it appears plainly, that you *could have depoſed* in 1751, that he gave you this *ſecond Account* of the *Note* in 1747, full as well as you then *depoſed* that *he* gave you the *firſt Account*, in 1743 and 44: and conſequently, that you have *ſworn* that *you could* not *do*, what you knew, *you could do*, if you pleaſed.

This you muſt allow, unleſs you will affirm that your Memory of ſo remarkable an Event was taken from you at the Moment before your *depoſing that you could depoſe nothing farther*. For You know that in *January*, not *four Months* before this, you had ſworn at *Ipſwich*, that the original Letter from *You* to *Me*, marked Z, contained that *ſecond Account*, which he and his Wife gave you in 1747; and that you tranſcribed it from his own Hand-writing. And, what is ſtill more, You know that, in *May*, 1751, at the very Time when you *ſware you could depoſe Nothing upon the Subject*, *ſave what he told you in* 1743, or 44, You brought with you, and delivered, or read, to the *Examiner*, a Copy of this very Letter Z, containing this ſame *ſecond* Account of the *Note*. Whether this alone will not ſufficiently prove that your *Memory* was not in Fault at the very Time of this *Depoſition*; but that you had then in your Remembrance this *ſecond Account* of the *Note*; and therefore, that you *then* knew you *could* have *depoſed* ſomething more, when you ſware *you could not*; Every one will judge as he thinks right.

I am willing to acquit you of any Deſign of totally ſuppreſſing *Fournier's ſecond Account* given to you, of the Note: becauſe you knew it to be impoſſible; as I had in my Poſſeſſion your own original Letter, which contained it; and as you had before this ſworn to the ſaid Letter, as containing it. You alſo delivered a Copy of it into *Court*, amongſt many other Letters. But how you can poſſibly acquit yourſelf of having *ſworn you could depoſe Nothing*, *ſave what* Fournier *told you in* 1743, or 44, when you could not but know otherwiſe; I am at a loſs to ſay, or think. If this *Proceeding* was entirely free from all *Intention* of *Deceit*, or *Prevarication*; and can juſtly be accounted for, from mere *Inadvertency* and *Careleſſneſs*; you have my Conſent to plead ſuch an Excuſe. But then remember, This is ſuch a *Plea*, in ſo ſacred a Matter as an *Oath*, as ought to be accompanied with *Confuſion of Face*, *and bitter Repentance*.

VIII. After this, Nothing followed for me to mention, but that remarkable, unneceſſary, officious Readineſs to give your Atteſtation to that Letter of mine which *Fournier* has circulated as the Reaſon for his *new Attack* upon Me; and this, without one Word of *Diſlike* of the *Man*, and his former Proceedings, either accompanying it, or following it, in any Manner, *publick* or *private*; as far as I know. But of this I have already, in this *Letter*, ſaid enough; I fear, too much.

Having now laid before *You*, and the World, what relates particularly to the Conduct of *Fournier*, and *yourſelf*, towards *Me*; I think, I cannot better employ a few *Pages*, before I leave you, than in ſhewing that, if we go no farther than what I have produced in the foregoing part of this *Letter*, there is no need of any One Witneſs to *Fournier's* real *Guilt*, in the Contriving and Framing the *Promiſſory Note* in queſtion, beſides *Himſelf*, and his *Beſt Friend* and *Patron*. At leaſt, I hope I ſhall be excuſed, if I now endeavour to place before the *Publick*, in one View, the *Evidence* given of that *Guilt*, by *Two* ſuch *Witneſſes*, as muſt be allowed by *All*, to be far removed from all poſſible Suſpicion of any *Influence*, or *Corruption*, or *Temptation*, to *Fournier's* Hurt, or Diſadvantage. Take the following Inſtances, therefore, in the Order in which they lie.

1. *Fournier*, after having been preſent at the *Trial* of his own Cauſe, haſted down to *Ipſwich*; and there ſigned, and publiſhed, an *Advertiſement*, profeſſing to rectify the *imperfect*, and *falſe*, Accounts of Others; which *Advertiſement* itſelf contained an *Account* of the Affair, the moſt *deceitful*, *prevaricating*, *partial*, *imperfect*, and *falſe*, that can well be imagined.

By ſigning and publiſhing this, knowingly and wilfully, He has made *Himſelf* an Unexceptionable *Witneſs* againſt *Himſelf*; and given a *publick Teſtimony*, not only to his own utter Diſregard to all *Truth* and *Honeſty*; but to that *Guilt*, with regard to the *Note* itſelf, which the *Decree* had declared, and which this *Advertiſement* was deſigned to hide. See *p.* 933.

2. *Fournier* in 1743, or 1744, acquainted You, in Converſation, that the ſaid *Note* was ſigned and given Him by Me as a *Tie*, or *Security*, for *Preferment*; and not abſolutely for the Money in it. And in 1747, the ſame *Fournier* aſſured You, in writing, under his own hand, that the ſame *Note* was *not* given as a *Security* for *Preferment*, but for the *very Money* named in it, by aſſuring you that I had *paid five Guineas*, in *Part* of it, to be *diſcounted* when the reſt ſhould be *paid*. Theſe *two Accounts* are abſolutely *Contradictory*, the One to the other.

And therefore, *Fournier*, by telling Two ſuch *Inconſiſtent Tales* concerning the Reaſon and Deſign of the ſame *Note*, gives ſufficient *Evidence* of his being Himſelf the *Contriver*, and *Maker*, of it.

To the *Fact*, That he himſelf gave you *both* theſe Accounts, *You* are a Witneſs upon *Oath*. The *Self-contradiction* needs no words to make it more evident, than it appears at *firſt* ſight. The *Concluſion* is exactly agreeable to the conſtant *Judgement* of All, upon every like Occaſion. See *p.* 945, 946.

3. *Fournier*, in his *Anſwer* in *Chancery*, declares, upon *Oath*, that the *Note* was given Him, as a *Security* for *Preferment*; without the leaſt Hint of its being given for the Payment of the Money named in it. And, in his Account delivered to You in 1747, all of his own hand-writing, He affirms, with ſome ſolemnity, what amounts to the very contrary, *viz.* That the *Note* was given Him for the Money named in it: not ſo much as mentioning the leaſt *Hint* of *Preferment* to be ſecured by it. Both theſe *Inconſiſtent* Tales may well be ſaid to be affirmed, under his own hand; the *Former* being ſworn to, in what was his own *Anſwer* in *Court*; the *Latter* delivered to You in his own Hand-writing. If He will now affirm the *Former* to be the *Truth*; then He is himſelf a *Witneſs* upon *Oath*, to his having delivered to you, deliberately and knowingly, an *Account* of the ſame *Note* abſolutely *falſe*. Or, If He will now affirm the *latter* to be the *Truth*, as He did when He firſt gave it you; then is He a *Witneſs*, under his *own hand*, to his own *Wilful Perjury*, in ſwearing to the direct Contrary Account.

4. The ſame may be ſaid, with regard to the *five Guineas* before-mentioned. In his written Account, put into your hands 1747, He affirms, with Aſſeveration of its Truth, That I *payed* them to Him, in part of the Money named in the *Note*, as a Debt; and conſequently, did *not give* them to Him. In his *Anſwer* in *Chancery*, He affirms, upon his *Oath*, that I *gave* them to Him: and this in the ſtrict Senſe of a *Gift*; becauſe no other Senſe can be reconciled to the whole Tenor and Deſign of his Anſwer, which is, That the *Note* was given Him, as a Security for *Preferment*.

If therefore, He will now affirm the *Paper* of 1747, to be the true Account, and *that Sum* to have been *paid him* by Me, in *part* of the *Note*, as a *Debt*; then, He muſt be a ſtanding *Witneſs*, under his own hand, to his own *Perjury*, in wilfully *Swearing* that the ſaid *Money* was *given* Him: *that is*, not *payed* Him. Or, If He will now affirm his *Anſwer* upon *Oath*, to be the real *Truth*; then is He a *Witneſs*, upon *Oath*, that He delivered to You, with a particular *Aſſeveration* of its *Truth*, that the ſaid *Five Guineas* were paid Him by Me in part of the *Note*; knowing it to be *Falſe*, when He ſo gave it You under his hand. There is no middle way between theſe: For *two Propoſitions* directly Contradictory to One Another, cannot *Both* be *true*. But, in ſuch a *Caſe* as this, We always go farther: and, in the preſent Affair, have good Reaſon to ſay, that He makes himſelf, by this Conduct, an unanſwerable *Witneſs* that He himſelf, was the *Contriver* of the *Promiſſory* Note appearing, in his Hand-writing, over my Name. See *p.* 946, 949, 950.

5. *Fournier*, in 1743, or 44, affirmed that, thinking himſelf by a *Sentence* of the *Court* of *Jerſey*, 1. He appealed to my *Conſiſtorial Court*; 2. That he met with great Delays there; 3. That he then perſonally applied to *Me*, and expreſſed his Diſſatisfaction at thoſe Delays; and, 4. That he threatened to complain to the *Archbiſhop*, &c.

Theſe *four* Aſſertions I have, beyond Contradiction, proved to be *Forgeries*, abſolutely groundleſs.

Fournier, therefore, by theſe Aſſertions becomes a *Witneſs* againſt Himſelf, that, in the *preliminary* Steps, in which he pretended to ſhew the Reaſons of my making him a preſent of ſuch a *Note*, He abandoned himſelf to *Romance*, and *Invention*, and to unexampled *Falſhood:* and, conſequently, a *Witneſs* to his being himſelf the *Contriver* of that *Note*, of which He gave an Account full of ſo many Inventions, and forged Stories. See *p.* 951, 952.

To theſe *Aſſertions* of *Fournier* you are a *Witneſs* upon Oath. The *Concluſion* is a neceſſary Conſequence.

6. *Fournier* in 1743, or 44, affirmed to you, That “the *Note* was given *Him* by *Me*, in Conſideration of his having, at my Requeſt, *dropped* his *Money Demands* upon the *Dean* of *Jerſey*; and his *Appeal* to me, which was his *Proſecution* of the *Gentlewoman* who diſturbed him in the publick Exerciſe of his Function.”

The *former* of theſe, *viz.* his having dropped his Demands upon the *Dean*, I have ſhewn to be abſolutely falſe, from his own *Oath* of the Debt, and Proceedings in the *Common Pleas*, *both* after the *Date* of the *Note*, *Sept.* 4. And that he never *dropped* his Proſecution of that Gentlewoman, or (which is all one) his Appeal to me, till my final Sentence forced him to it, I have proved from his own *Words*, and evident *Facts*.

Fournier, therefore, by this ſteddy Perſeverance in the Forgery of *Falſhoods* for the Uſe of the *Note*, becomes a Witneſs, whether He will or no to his own Creating the *Note* itſelf, of which he gives an Account made up of ſuch groſs Falſhoods. See *p.* 952—956.

The *Argument* is undeniably concluſive. “*Fournier* affirms that I gave Him the *Note*, in Recompence for, or in Conſideration of, his having *dropped* the ſaid *Demands*, and the ſaid *Proſecution*, at my Requeſt.”

“It has been demonſtrated that He never *dropped* thoſe *Demands* upon the *Dean*, unleſs going to *Law* for them in a publick *Court* be *dropping* them; nor ever *dropped* his *Proſecution* of the ſaid *Gentlewoman*, unleſs purſuing his *Appeal* to Me till, and even after, my Sentence was given, be *dropping it*.”

“It muſt, therefore, follow, that I never gave Him that *Note* at all; and conſequently, that he contrived, and framed it himſelf.” Or, in other Words,

“According to his own *Account* to *You*, I gave him the *Note*, when He gave up the ſaid *Demands*, and *Proſecution*, at my Requeſt.” “But He *never* gave up the ſaid Demands, and Proſecution.” And “therefore, I *never* gave him that “Note.” And “therefore, He himſelf wilfully and fraudulently *contrived* and framed it.” To the *firſt* Propoſition, *You* are Witneſs upon *Oath*. To the *ſecond*, He himſelf, by his own Words and Deeds, gives the fulleſt *Teſtimony*. The *Concluſion* will follow whether He will, or no.

7. *Fournier*, in 1743, or 44, affirmed, that I *offered to give him a Note for ſuch Sum as He would require*. This *Aſſertion* is not only *abſurd* in itſelf, but *contradicted* by *Himſelf*. [See *p.* 957.] By which *Contradiction*, he not only makes himſelf a *Witneſs* to the *Falſhood* of that *Aſſertion*, as I have before obſerved; but to the Falſhood of *both:* and *himſelf* gives *Evidence*, that I neither made him ſuch a monſtrous Offer; nor ever ſent Him for a *Note* with *that*, or any, Sum in it. For theſe *Contradictions* mutually deſtroy one another; and conſequently fix upon Him the juſt Imputation of being himſelf the *Contriver* of that *Note*, which he himſelf loads with ſuch *Contradictions*.

To the firſt *Affirmation*, here charged upon Him, *You* are a *Witneſs*, upon *Oath*. To the contrary Affirmation, he himſelf is a Witneſs under his Hand. The *Concluſion* from it is too plain to be denied.

8. I will mention one Inſtance more, becauſe it affects the Man, in a particular Manner, as a *Note-maker*, and touches the *Caſe* now before us. *Fournier*, in 1743 or 44, affirmed to You, That " I offered him a promiſſory *Note*, expreſly for the Security of his promiſed *Preferment*. And conſequently, that the *Note*, which he then produced to you, was deſigned for nothing but that *Security*; and that He, being empowered to get ſuch a *Note*, applied to a Friend, becauſe he was *unacquainted himſelf with the Manner of writing promiſſory Notes*;" which laſt words He muſt mean particularly of ſuch a *promiſſory Note* as his own Story makes me to have offered him. I have ſhewn you, from his own *Hand-writing*, in the *firſt* and *ſecond* of the four *Notes* writ by Him over the *Dean* of *Jerſey's* Name, that he was *not unacquainted*, but very well underſtood, that a Money-note, deſigned for *Security* of *Preferment*, ought to have *That* plainly expreſſed in it: and that therefore, He could have directed his Friend to have inſerted this neceſſary Point into the *Note*, as eaſily as he directed Him about the *Sum*, or any other *Circumſtance*.

But He, according to his own Account, directed his Friend to draw the *Note* which he has ſworn to, as *mine*, without the leaſt Word, or Hint, of any ſuch *Security* for *Preferment* in it.

And from hence the *Concluſion* is natural from his own Story, That he never was ſent by *Me*, for the *Note* he has produced, and ſworn to; nor ever *tranſcribed* it by my Order; as He aſſerted to You.

" To the *Fact*, that he affirmed to You his *being unacquainted with the Manner of writing promiſſory Notes*; (which Expreſſion, I have obſerved, muſt particularly imply in it ſuch a *Note* as his own *Story* ſays He was empowered to get;) *You*, Sir, are a *Witneſs* upon *Oath*. He, himſelf is a Witneſs, under his own Hand, in two of the *Notes* over the Dean's Name, that He was *not unacquainted* with the Manner of writing ſuch a *Note*, deſigned only for Security of *Preferment*. He himſelf is alſo a *Witneſs*, under the ſame Hand which wrote the *promiſſory Note* in my Name, that He himſelf procured the *Note* to be drawn in the *abſolute* Manner, in which it now appears, and always did appear; without the leaſt Hint of any *Security* for *Preferment*, in it. The *Concluſion* is unavoidable, that the *Note* which He ſhewed You, and ſwore to in Court, as *Mine*, was a *deliberate Fraud*, of his own Contrivance."

In this *Recapitulation* of *Particulars*, I have omitted *ſeveral* Inſtances of his *Falſhood*, which adorn the foregoing Pages, becauſe they do not ſo directly affect *Him*, as a *Note-maker*. They are however Evidences, in general, of his utter Diſregard to *Truth*, through all his *Converſations* relating to the ſaid *Note*: and as long as *they* remain in the foregoing Pages, ſo long will it remain true, that no *Credit* ought to be given to any one *Fact*, which depends upon *his Teſtimony* alone; and conſequently, that no *One* of his Tales, about the *Note* itſelf, can claim any Belief, unleſs ſupported by great *Probabilities*; or by other *Witneſſes* more worthy of Credit than *Himſelf*: neither of which was ever ſo much as pretended by the moſt zealous of his Friends. But this may be truly ſaid of the *Inſtances* which I have produced, That they are inſtances of ſuch *Falſhoods*, *Inventions*, and *Contradictions*, diffuſed through *Fournier's* own *Stories* of the *Note* in queſtion, as can hardly be excelled by the Caſe of any one *Forgery*, in all the *Records* of *Iniquity* now exiſting.

And becauſe I have affirmed them to be ſtrong Proofs of his perſonal *Guilt*, in the *Contrivance* and *Formation* of the ſaid Note, I will add That neither He, nor any Man living, can poſſibly confute what I have here argued from them, unleſs it can be proved,

1. That *Fournier* never gave *You* that Account of the *Note* which you have ſworn you received from his own Mouth in 1743 or 44—That he never *delivered* to You, in *Writing*, that other *Account* in 1747, which You have likewiſe *ſworn* You received from his own Hands—That He never put into *Chancery* that *Anſwer*; nor wrote thoſe *Letters*; nor inſiſted upon that *Appeal*; nor entered into that *Law-ſuit* with the *Dean* of *Jerſey*; which I have made the *Evidences* of his *Guilt*:—Or,

2. That the *Inference* I have drawn from this *Series* of unparalleled Falſhoods and Inconſiſtencies, that He was Himſelf the *Contriver* of the *Note* in queſtion, is not a juſt *Conſequence*; nor agreeable to the Rules of judging about ſuch Affairs: Or,

3. That *Fournier* himſelf has been corrupted by *Me*, or ſome other Perſon, to become an unanſwerable *Witneſs*, (by talking, writing, acting, and ſwearing) to his own *Guilt*; and that You, his profeſſed *Friend* and *Patron*, under all the Appearances of Good-will towards Him, have been, by undue Influence, corrupted to act a Part, to the utter Ruine of his Cauſe.

When any one of theſe *three* Particulars ſhall be proved, I ſhall be ready to give up all that I have here ſaid. In the mean while, What I undertook to ſhew will juſtly be concluded from what I have now laid before the *Reader*, *viz.* That there needs no *Witneſs*, in order to *Fournier's* full *Conviction*, in the Judgement of any Man of Common Underſtanding, beſides the *Sinner* Himſelf, and the *Sinner's* chief *Friend* and *Patron*.

It is now time to releaſe you. What I have here layed before you, and the World, will ſhew plainly, how great, and uncommon, my Obligations are to *You*, in particular. Whether I have, in this Addreſs, made my Acknowledgments for them, in a proper Manner, I muſt leave to others to judge. Many, I fear, will be apt to interpret my particular Concern for *You*, and thoſe repeated *Offers* of *Information* which I preſſed upon you, as ſo many Proofs of my own *Weakneſs*, and little Knowledge of Mankind. I can acquieſce in the *Cenſure*: but I cannot repent of what I meant ſo well: being aſſured that I am not to anſwer for thoſe unſuitable Returns, which I could neither foreſee, nor prevent. It is enough that I have truly repreſented them to the Publick; and that I now forgive them as ſincerely, and as fully, as it is my Duty to do.

I am, SIR,

Your Well-wiſher and humble Servant,

B. *Wincheſter*.

APPEN-

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

A particular Account of the ſeveral Steps of Bernard Fournier's *Conduct, from the Day of his* Appeal *to the* Biſhop *of* Wincheſter, *to his laſt* Attack; *and the many* Variations *in his* Stories *about the* Note *for 8,800 l. writ by* Him *over the* Biſhop's *Name: In the Order of Time, in which They happened.*

I. THE *firſt Period* is from *May* 31, 1740, the Day on which *Fournier* firſt came to Me, to *Sept.* 4, 1740, the Day of the Date of the *Promiſſory Note*, over my Name.

1. On, or about, *May* 31, 1740, *Bernard Fournier* was introduced to Me by the Rev. Mr. *Laval*, late Preacher in the *French* Chapel in *Berwick-ſtreet*; and put into my Hands an *Appeal* from a Sentence given, in the Eccleſiaſtical Court of *Jerſey*, by the *Dean* of *Jerſey*, and his *Aſſeſſors*; and, at the ſame time, all proper Evidences, and all other Papers which He then, or ever afterwards, thought neceſſary for my Inſtruction, in order to form my Judgement about this Appeal.

I deſired *Him* and Mr. *Laval*, to come to Me again, in two or three Days Time. And when they came, I told them, that I had looked over the Papers left with Me; and it ſeemed to Me that the *Sentence* given below did not deſerve to be reverſed. And his *Appeal*, as to *Time*, being quite *irregular*; and the *Sentence*, (if I am not miſtaken,) already executed; (which was indeed, no more than a verbal Diſapprobation of what had paſſed aloud, in the Time of Divine Service; cenſuring the *Gentlewoman* concerned in it, as well as *Himſelf*;) I adviſed Him to go immediately back to his *Curacy*, and not to ſpend any more of his Money and Time here upon ſuch an Affair. But He, alledging that the Irregularity proceeded from the Refuſal of his *Appeal* by the *Court* below; and being importunate; I told Him, that I would immediately write to the *Dean*, then in *Jerſey*, to inform Me of the Reaſon of the aforeſaid Refuſal; and, as ſoon as I ſhould receive his Anſwer, if *Fournier* ſtill inſiſted upon it, I would give Him my *Judgement*; and that I would do this in a Manner moſt eaſy to Himſelf. And I added, that my going to *Farnham* ſhould not at all hinder, or delay, what I had promiſed. And then we parted; without one Word, or Hint, of ſeeing one another again before I ſhould leave the Town. This is ſupported by Mr. *Laval's Depoſitions* in the *Cauſe*. Nor did we once ſee one another during that Time, as far as I can recollect; nor had the leaſt Occaſion ſo to do: though *Fournier* has thought fit to affirm, under the Sanction of an *Oath*, that He had then frequent Occaſions of ſeeing Me.

2. On *July* 3, I went to *Farnham*: and, during my Stay there, *Fournier* forced me into a Correſpondence by *Letters* about his *Cauſe*. Theſe *Letters* on both

Sides (thoſe in *French* being tranſlated into *Engliſh*) were exhibited in the Cauſe, before the late *Maſter* of the *Rolls*; and are ſtill in being: which I remark, becauſe He has affirmed in Court, upon Oath, that they contain in them a Confirmation of what He calls my Promiſes; the very contrary to which is evident to the Eye-ſight, from the *Tenor*, the *Subjects*, and *Words* of them.

I came to Town on *Tueſday*, *Sept.* 2, at Night. And on *Thurſday* Morning *Sept.* 4th, to the beſt of my Remembrance of the time, he came to Me, unaccompanied by any one: though He himſelf had requeſted, and I had conſented, that a Friend of his, (who afterwards appeared to be Dr. *Le Moine*,) might come with him. I then told him, that I ſaw no reaſon to alter my Judgement; and obſerved, that He had not brought his Friend with Him, who (He ſaid) could convince me of my Error. I then added, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for Him to go immediately to his *Curacy* in *Jerſey*, or to quit it. To this He made no *Objection*; but ran into Complaints about the *Expenſes* of his Cauſe; and of his Journey, &c. Upon which I gave him *five Guineas*, to aſſiſt him in his Return; which, he promiſed Me, ſhould be without Delay.

I muſt here obſerve that, through all this Period, from *May* 31, to *Sept.* 4, 1740, on *my* Part there doth not appear, nor has appeared through the whole Cauſe, the leaſt tendency towards any *Promiſe*; or any *Favour* beyond the abovesaid *Charity*; nor any Thing in his Behaviour, or Correſpondence, before *Sept.* 4, that could lead me to give Him any Sort of Promiſe; much leſs, to ſign a Note for ſuch an exorbitant Sum immediately upon my coming to Town. But, on *his* Part, there is *Evidence* upon Oath in the *Cauſe*, that, before the *Date* of the *Note*, in Converſation with Mr. *Laval*, he had threatned Me even with Ruine, in a moſt ſhocking Manner, if I did not do Him Juſtice, as He ſometimes expreſſed it: that is, if I did not judge as He thought fit. The Rev. Mr. *Cantier* alſo has depoſed in the Cauſe, that ſome time in the Year 1740, He threatened Me, in his Hearing, in the ſame Sort of outrageous Expreſſions, unleſs I gave Him ſome Preferment. This, indeed, was the Talk and Language of a Madman. But the Evidence is undeniable. And whether this promiſſory Note was not then reſolved upon, as the Method of Revenge, let others judge. But theſe *Menaces* were kept ſecret from me for a long Time.

II. The *ſecond period* is from *Sept.* 4, 1740, to the ſame Time, in the Year 1742.

1. After *Sept.* 4, 1740, notwithſtanding his Promiſe, it has ſince appeared that he ſtayed about *three* Months in, or near, *London*. On *Nov.* 6, He perſonally made Oath of the *Dean* of *Jerſey's* Debt to Him before a proper *Officer* of the *Court of Common Pleas*; and afterwards left all Neceſſaries, for his *Proſecution* in that *Court*, in a Friend's Hands. And, in return to my Patience and Civility, He wrote a *promiſſory* Note for Eight Thouſand Eight Hundred Pounds, of which the *Reader* will find an *exact Copy*, at the Bottom of *p.* 932; and under this *Note* appears my Name, *B. Wincheſter*. The Date of this *Note* is certain, *Sept.* 4th, 1740. But on what Day he really wrote it, is quite uncertain. It muſt have been about this Time, becauſe it has been ſince proved that He ſhewed it to ſome Friends at *London*, before *December*; when, according to my Information, He went back to *Jerſey*.

The Cauſe againſt the *Dean* of *Jerſey* was opened about the Middle of *May*, and ended before the Middle of *June*, 1741. I ſhall relate nothing of it, but what has been ſworn by the *Dean* Himſelf about it, in my own Cauſe before the Maſter of the Rolls, in 1750. *Fournier*, in his *Anſwer* to my *firſt Bill*, having thought fit to tell a long Story about the *Dean* of *Jerſey's Debt* to Him, &c. this led unavoidably to the *Examination* of the ſaid *Dean*, who, in his Anſwers to Interrogatories, declares upon Oath, to this very Effect, " That he " was arreſted upon *Fournier's* Account, about *May*, 1741, at his Rectory, in " *Oxfordſhire*, by *Proceſs*, as He was informed, out of the *Court* of *Common Pleas* "—That He put in Bail, and came up to Town, and made Affidavit, in that " *Court*, that He owed *Fournier* nothing; that the *four promiſſory Notes*, upon " which the Suit was ſaid to be founded, and which He had ſeen in Mr. *Maynard's* Hands, were a *Forgery*; and were writ over his Name, *Francis Payne*, with " the Addition of *Dean* of *Jerſey*; which therefore, He ſuppoſed to be the bottom Part of ſome publick *Acts* of his *Office*, which alone he uſed to ſign in " that Manner:—That, upon this Affidavit, *Fournier's* own *Attorney* would have " nothing more to do with the Cauſe; and that neither *Fournier* himſelf, nor " his Agents, as far as He had heard, had ever revived the *Cauſe* againſt Him." And conſequently, This Charge of *Forgery*, accompanied with *Perjury*, ſtill ſtands unſhaken, upon the *Dean's Oath*, in the Records of the ſaid Court.

As, before theſe publick Proceedings in the *Common Pleas*, I never had heard one ſingle Report of any ſuch *Notes*, over the *Dean* of *Jerſey's* Name, though *Fournier* has, with his uſual Aſſurance, ſworn to the contrary: So, till ſome ſhort Time after this *Trial*, I never heard the leaſt Report of ſuch a *Note* over my own *Name*, as I have now mentioned. And when I did firſt hear it, it was ſo circumſtanced, that I could not believe it to be true; but thought it a Miſtake made from the Story of the *Notes* over the *Dean's* Name: not imagining it poſſible that the ſame Man, only a *Curate* in *Jerſey*, could take it into his Head to pretend that a *Dean*, and a *Biſhop*, in the ſame *Dioceſe*, had both ſigned *promiſſory Notes*, to Him, the *one* for 1000 *l.* the *other* for 8,800 *l.*

But having, about the *September* following, been informed that Dr. *Le Moine* was an Acquaintance of *Fournier's*, and then in Town; I ſent to him, though not then known to Me, to beg the Favour of a Viſit. He came to Me; and gave me full Aſſurance, from his own Eye-ſight, that there was ſuch a *Note* in *Fournier's* Poſſeſſion. But our Time was ſo ſhort, that He could ſay little more to Me, than that He had not then brought it with Him, but believed He could procure it for Me, for *a ſmall Sum*, which I abſolutely refuſed; and I could ſay little to *Him*, but that, if there were ſuch a *Note*, it was an abſolute Forgery. After our parting, He went very ſoon to his *Rectory* in the Country: and I never wrote to, nor heard from Him again, till about *May*, 1748, as far as I can recollect.

In *January*, 174½, Mrs. *Fournier*, being then come to *England* from *Jerſey*, I ſent a Meſſage to *Her* (He himſelf not appearing after his wretched *Cauſe*) by Mr. *Laval*, to deſire a Sight of the *Note* over *my* Name, and of *thoſe* over the *Dean's* Name; with a Promiſe of returning them ſafe to her again. And, after ſhe had conſulted with her neareſt *Kinſman*, Mr. *Maynard*, the *five Notes* were brought to Me, by Mr. *Tyrell*, an ancient *French* Gentleman, and a very worthy Man, accompanied by Mr. *Laval*. What the Deſign was, of her ſending, and of Mr. *Tyrell's* bringing, them, cannot be better known than from Mr. *Tyrell's* own Words, in a Letter to a particular Friend, which I myſelf have read, and a Copy of which I can now produce. In this, He declares that He delivered them to Me " for Me to do with them what I pleaſed, and in order that the Falſity of " theſe Notes ſhould not appear in any Court of Juſtice, and that the Truth

“ ſhould not be diſcovered, to the Man's utter Ruine;” or exactly to this Effect. From this ſame Letter alſo it is evident, that He was commiſſioned to beg of Me to uſe my Endeavours “ to perſuade the *Dean* of *Jerſey* not to proſecute “ *Fournier* any farther. Accordingly, He preſſed Me to burn all theſe Notes “ immediately:” which Mr. *Maynard* himſelf alſo, afterwards propoſed to Me; but I abſolutely refuſed to do.

What was ſaid, in this *Period*, by *Fournier* himſelf, about the *Note* over my Name, or at leaſt the moſt material Part of it, was for a long Time unknown to Me. But by degrees, and particularly from the *Teſtimony* of Dr. *Le Moine*, and Mr. *Maynard*, in the *Cauſe*, it plainly appeared, What his *firſt* Stories were preſently after the Date of it, whilſt his Note was hot and freſh upon his Mind. To theſe *two* Perſons, who were ſurprized at his ſhewing them ſuch a *Note*; and who could not but aſk Queſtions about it; He gave much the ſame Account of it.

The *firſt Story* to Dr. *Le Moine* was this, *viz.* “ That I had given him the “ ſame, (*viz.* the Note which He had ſhewed Him) to make Him amends for “ what He ſuffered by *appealing* to *Me* from a Sentence given againſt Him in the “ Court of the *Dean* of *Jerſey*, which I refuſed to reverſe; or to that Effect.” Which neceſſarily implies my own conſcientious Conviction, that I had injured Him, and thought myſelf obliged, in Duty, to make Him this Reparation for ſuch Injury.

When this was juſtly objected to, from the vaſt Diſproportion of the *Gift* to any ſuppoſed Injury; and the Dr. preſſed Him to tell the Truth, *Fournier* ſaid, He would *let him into the whole Myſtery*; and then acquainted Him that, being an Old Man, “ I uſed the ſupport of Drams of ſpirituous Liquors; and that when “ He got the ſaid Note from Me, *I was in my Cups*, and that He took that Op- “ portunity to preſs Me to give Him ſomething; and that thereupon, I told Him “ that He might write a Promiſſory Note for a *good round Sum*; and that I would “ ſign it: which I did upon the Spot, without conſidering of the ſame; or to that “ effect.” Mrs. *Le Moine* alſo, who was preſent in many of his Converſations with her Huſband, affirms this *fine Story* of my *Cups*, on her own hearing it; and was ready to have witneſſed to it, upon Oath, if needful. [To add to the Scandal, The ſigning this Note, (and, conſequently, my Uſe of Drams at this Time,) was in the *Morning*, as He himſelf aſſerts in his *Croſs-bill.*] Dr. *Le Moine* alſo teſtifies that all this was repreſented by *Fournier* as done between Ourſelves, without any help of any *Form* writ by another; and particularly, that “ *Fournier* “ ſaid, He wrote the Body thereof” (of the Note) “ in my Study, without my “ dictating the ſame.” All this marked thus “—is teſtified, upon Oath, by Dr. *Le Moine*, in the Cauſe.

The ſame Story of my giving him the *Note* to make Him amends for the *Wrong* I had done Him by my Judgement about his *Appeal*, He told to Mr. *Maynard:* As he has teſtified upon his Oath. And when *He* alſo wondered, He added the ſame *Tale*, in theſe or the like contemptuous Words, “ That the “ Biſhop grew old, that He drank, and that the Old Man did not well know “ what he did.” The following Obſervations naturally offer themſelves:

1. The *firſt* of theſe two Accounts is not in itſelf credible. For if I had injured him in the *Judgement* I had given in a *Letter* to Himſelf, that Injury was gone no farther than his own Pocket; and had never been made publick, nor was at all known. And, as I was at full Liberty to give a contrary Sentence, if, upon Re-conſideration, I thought I had done him wrong; This, which is often done in all Courts, was the only natural Way of doing him juſtice. The

giving Him an extravagant Sum of Money could not poſſibly have vindicated his Honour or Innocence ſo effectually, as the giving Him immediately a Paper, with a Judgement in his Favour, would have done. This Thought could not but offer itſelf; and muſt have been put in Execution, as the only Method for me to take upon the preſent Suppoſition.

2. As to the *ſecond* of theſe *Accounts*; It has this Abſurdity in it, at firſt hearing, *viz.* That a Perſon, ſo much a Stranger, ſhould be admitted to Me, in ſo diſordered a Condition. One in the Station of a *Biſhop*, if He could poſſibly be ſuppoſed to be given to this Practice, would naturally take care not to be ſurprized, or ſeen, in ſuch a Situation. Nay, *Fournier* himſelf may be ſaid to have acknowledged the *Falſhood* of his own *Story*, by his never afterwards (as far as appears,) ſpeaking of it. But this I do not attribute to any Regard in Him to the Truth, or Falſhood, of the *Fact*. His own *Intereſt* alone muſt have perſuaded Him to this *Silence*, as it could not but lead Him to ſee the *Force* of what his Friends at firſt obſerved to him, That this *Story* alone would deſtroy the whole Value of his *Note* at once: as the obtaining it in this Manner muſt appear to All who ſhould hear it, to have been a wilful Impoſition upon a *Weak Old Man, diſordered by* ſtrong Liquors; and not well knowing what He did.

Here I could willingly end upon this Subject, without any farther Regard to the idle Stories of a wretched Man, who has given ſo many Proofs of ſcrupling no *Invention* for his own Purpoſes. But, as it has happened in the Courſe of my Life, that *twice* before, within my own Knowledge, (and perhaps *oftener* out of it,) an Imputation of the ſame kind has been laid upon Me, by *Perſons* of more Conſideration; I flatter myſelf that this *Circumſtance* may plead ſome Excuſe for Me; and that it may at leaſt be pardoned, as my own natural Weakneſs, if I take this Opportunity of ſaying a Word or two more upon ſo ungrateful a Subject.

In the hotteſt Seaſon of *Party-rage*, I remember, I was informed by a *Gentleman*, who himſelf was engaged with ſeveral Other angry Men, but profeſſed ſtill ſome Perſonal Regard for Me, That my Life and Character would ſoon be laid before the World, in *print:* And in our Converſation He named the *Vice* of *Drinking*, amongſt other Particulars, as what was to be charged upon Me. In anſwer, I told Him the ſeveral Places where I had lived from my Youth to the Day of his Viſit; as the proper Places for any Enquiry about Me. After a ſhort Time the ſame Gentleman came to Me again, and, in the Name of all concerned, begged my Pardon, with the poor Excuſe, that They had miſtaken *Another* for *Me.*

In the *other* Caſe now pointed at, a *Perſon* who had, in company, unwarily dropped ſomething to the ſame Purpoſe, (with an hint of great *Privacy* in this Practice,) being better inſtructed by One preſent, who knew me as perfectly as any Friend can well know another, ſeemed to be convinced. Nor have I any reaſon to think that He ever afterwards ſpake again in the ſame Manner.

I can indeed, upon the moſt ſevere Recollection, truly affirm—That, from the earlieſt Stage of Life to this Hour, I never was *once* under the leaſt Diſorder of this Kind; not even by Accident, or Surprize from any Deſign of others; —That I *never once*, through my whole Life, entertained Myſelf, *alone*, in the low Manner here pointed out; nor ever *once*, with a Friend, in any *private* or *hidden* Way;—That, in my general uniform Courſe, thoſe Perſons who have been at Table with Me at one certain Time of the Day, have been Witneſſes to *all* my *Indulgencies* of this kind;—And particularly, That, with relation to thoſe deteſtable Supports which *Fournier* has wickedly invented for My *Old Age*; I thank

I thank God, it is ſuch an *Old Age* as not only does not want *them*, but abhors the Thought of them. Let me add, that I now ſpeak thus, well knowing that, if what I ſay be *falſe*, it may be eaſily confuted by ſome or other of thoſe Many, who have, at various times, lived under the ſame Roof with Me; or of thoſe numerous Friends and Acquaintance, with whoſe Viſits (at all Hours never refuſed) I have been favoured. Nor can any One, I think, be ſo void of Candour, as to imagine Me to ſeek for any Applauſe by what I have now ſaid. For, what Praiſe can it be to a *Chriſtian*, and a *Preacher* of the *Goſpel*, that He is innocent of *one* Crime, of which it is moſt infamous for *Him* to be guilty? To return,

Taking both theſe Accounts together, the *Reader* will obſerve, without my Aſſiſtance, that they abſolutely confute and deſtroy one another. For, if I gave Him the *Note* in a conſcientious Senſe of my Duty, and as a Chriſtian; I could not do it *in my Cups*, and in a fit of drunken Good-nature. And if I did it *in my Cups*, hardly knowing what I did; I was far from doing it as a Chriſtian, or as my Duty towards one I had injured.

2. The ſame two Perſons have alſo depoſed, That, in his firſt Converſations with them, about this Note, and about what had paſſed between Him and Me, He himſelf told Them that I had *given* Him Five Guineas, to help Him in his Return to *Jerſey*; &c.

3. Within the Compaſs of this *Period* alſo, it muſt be remarked, *Fournier's* ever-memorable ſecret *Flight*, with his Family, to *Ipſwich*, happened: I think, about the beginning of *June*, 1742. For the Purpoſe of this Expedition, He changed his Habit into that of a Lay-gentleman; and his Name into *John Bequer*: And it was advertiſed three Times in the *Ipſwich Journal*, by his own Order, in *June*, 1742, "That the *French* Tongue was taught by *John Bequer*, "a Man of Letters from *Paris*:" A groſs Falſhood, or a vile Prevarication! For, by his own Account of his Travels, from the *Year* 1730, about which Time He ran from his *Convent* to *Geneva*, it is impoſſible to think that He *could* have been once at *Paris*, if He *would*, for *twelve* Years before this *Advertiſement*; and abſolutely *incredible* that He ſhould chooſe to be *there*, if He could. And indeed, it is not to be believed that, *before* the Year 1730, He ever had lived *there* at all. For it was not the Place of his *Birth*, or *Education*, as I have been well informed: and the *Convent*, of which he was a Member, was Twenty Miles from it; as He told Mr. *Chevallier*. I ſhall only here add, that this *Flight* to *Ipſwich*, in diſguiſe, can never be explained but by that *Guilt* which wanted the covering of Falſhood and Hypocriſy. For the *Cauſe* he then fled from, was a *Cauſe* begun by himſelf; and a Cauſe, from which He could have received nothing but Glory, if He had proceeded in it, and proved the *Truth* of what he had *ſworn* againſt the *Dean* of *Jerſey*; and the *Falſhood* of that Charge of *Forgery* and *Perjury*, which the *Dean* had *ſworn* againſt *Him*.

III. The *third* Period is from *Sept.* 1742, to the beginning of *Aug.* 1745.

Within this Time, I received a long wild Letter from *Fournier* himſelf, dated *Aug.* 21, 1743, in which a ſtill more ſtrange and wicked Scheme, with relation to this Note, is opened. For in it He makes Me one of the moſt abandoned, and, I think, diabolical, of Men; and repreſents Me as employing my Time, and concerting all Meaſures with the *Dean* of *Jerſey*, in order, and with Deſign, to ruine Him, and his Family, by Means of this very pretended *promiſſory Note*. To which Purpoſe, He charges Me particularly with ordering Him to put into the Note the vaſt Sum of 8,800 *l.* expreſsly with Deſign, not only to invalidate *my own* Note, as He calls it, by the Incredibility of the Sum; but farther, with Deſign to teach the Dean of *Jerſey* alſo to cheat Him, by arguing, from the Largeneſs and Diſproportion of the Sum mentioned in his four *Notes*, againſt their Validity: thus painting us out as two conbined Villains, chooſing to ſpend our Time in contriving his Ruine, &c. as if we had nothing to do but to hurt ſuch a poor Man at the Expence of our own Souls. In Summer, 1744, I had another Letter from Him, owning the former, and wondering He had no Anſwer to it. It is hardly worth while to obſerve that the *Fact* itſelf is next to impoſſible, in the Nature of ſuch Affairs; as the Time was ſhort, the *Dean* in *Jerſey*, *Myſelf* in *England*, and the Conveyance of Letters by Sea tedious and uncertain.

I need not add, what every *Reader* will ſee, that this Account of the *Note* is abſolutely inconſiſtent with his firſt *two* Stories, of a conſcientious Reparation of an Injury; and a Fit of drunken Good-nature: and particularly with the *Fact* which He affirmed to Dr. *Le Moine*, not long before this, that I only bad him write a *Note* for a *good round Sum*, and that *He himſelf* put into it, with his own Hand, the *round Sum* of 8,800 Pounds: by which He himſelf allows, that I was ſo far from ordering that Sum for his Ruine, that I did not order it at all. I ſay no more of this infamous Imputation, too ſhocking, in itſelf, to be believed; and *utterly deſtroyed* by his own Self-contradictions: but only obſerve, that a Letter of *Fournier's* to Dr. *Le Moine*, ſo lately dated as the 21ſt of *June*, 1748, in which the ſame wicked Deſign is affirmed very poſitively of Me, is a ſtrict Demonſtration that I have not miſtaken his real Meaning in the aforeſaid Letter to myſelf. *N.B.* Theſe Letters were exhibited in the Cauſe.

The Reaſon why I did not give any Anſwer to either of them, was, becauſe they ſeemed to be the Words of a *Man*, hardened in his Iniquity, and abandoned to all Degrees of ſhameleſs *Invention*. I could not therefore, but think it high Time to put an End to all direct Correſpondence with Him.

2. Within this Space of time, Whilſt He was entertaining *Me* with ſo deteſtable an Account of the *Note* for 8,800 Pounds, He was, in the ſame Years, 1743 and 1744, entertaining his beſt Friend in *Suffolk*, with quite another and different Story. Mr. *Chevallier* has ſworn, in the *Cauſe*, that *Fournier*, in theſe Years, told Him, that in Recompence for his Compliance with my own Requeſt, by dropping his *Appeal* to Me, &c. I firſt promiſed Him *Preferment*; and then, of my own Accord, offered Him a *Note* for any Sum He ſhould chooſe, as a *Security* for my making good that Promiſe. I have ſpoken ſo much, and ſo particularly, upon *This*, in the foregoing *Letter*, that I will not repeat one Word of what I have already ſaid. But I may add, what has not yet been obſerved, that here is, during the very ſame *Period* of *Time*, an abſolute Contradiction, delivered to Mr. *Chevallier* by his own Mouth, to the wicked Accuſation juſt mentioned. For, if I *left the Sum to* Him, as a Security for his *Preferment*; then I did not *Myſelf* order it into the *Note* for the wicked Purpoſe of *ruining* Him.

IV. The *Fourth Period* is from *Auguſt* 1744, to *October* 1747.

Within this Time, in *Auguſt* 1745, Mr. *Rant*, a *Counſellor* of *Ipſwich*, acquainted Me, in a Letter occaſioned by another Affair, that there was one *Fournier*

nier there, who ſhewed about a *Note* over my Name, and was liſtened to by ſome, &c. In Anſwer, I told Him what was proper about the *Note*. And He, at my Requeſt, having frequent Opportunities of converſing with *Fournier*, wrote down ſeveral *Queſtions*, relating to this *Note*, on a *Paper*: to which *Fournier* wrote diſtinct *Anſwers*, in his Preſence, on the ſame Paper; all which were exhibited, upon *Oath*, in the Cauſe; and here follow, Word for Word.

"Q. What can be the Reaſon why, as You have had the Biſhop's Note ſo long, You have not called upon Him for the Performance of it? *A.* I called upon Him ſeveral Times.

Q. Why did not the Biſhop write the Note himſelf? *A.* For his own Reaſons.

Q. Who ſaw him ſign it? *A.* Nobody but I.

Q. Where did he ſign it? *A.* At his Houſe.

Q. Why was it not atteſted by ſome credible Perſon? *A.* For his own Reaſons.

Q. Why was it not wrote upon a larger piece of Paper? *A.* For his own Reaſons too.

Q. Why was there not a Conſideration ſpecified in the Body of the Note? *A.* He would not have it done ſo.

Q. What Converſation paſſed at the Time of ſigning? *A.* One long enough.

Q. Was it deſigned for the Payment of ſo much Money? *A.* He ſaid ſo.

Q. Or, was the Biſhop to give You a Living, or forfeit the Sum? *A.* He never mentioned a Living.

Q. If ſo, has any Living become vacant in his Lordſhip's Gift, ſince the ſigning the ſaid Note? *A.* I don't know.

Q. Did the Biſhop dictate the Note Word by Word? *A.* No; ſince I went by his leave to an Attorney for that Purpoſe.

Q. Did He expreſsly order the Sum mentioned? *A.* Yes.

Q. Did He order You to make the Note *for Value received*, particularly as You know no real Conſideration was ever paid by You? *A.* Yes, becauſe he would not permit me to expreſs the Conſideration; which is, that I ſhould not trouble him no more about the *Affair of the Church*. [*i. e.* His *Appeal*, which He called ſo.]

Q. As You appear to ſpeak Engliſh very imperfectly now, was You, or was You not, able to ſpeak or write Engliſh at the Time the Note was wrote, and how long at that Time had You learnt Engliſh? *A.* It was then very eaſy to me to write Engliſh, ſince I had before me the Form of the Note written by the Attorney's Hands. And at that Time I was able to underſtand what I read in Engliſh, although I could not ſpeak it but more imperfectly than I do now. At *laſt*, I had learnt it a little during the Six Months before I went into the Iſland of *Jerſey*. So that when I came back from the ſaid Iſland, where I continued to learn it by myſelf, I could underſtand all by reading; but very little by ſpeaking, and a little more by hearing. The *Biſhop* kept the aforeſaid Form written by the Attorney's Hands; which Form I copied out Word by Word; and the ſaid Biſhop ſigned it." This is the *whole* of the ſaid *Paper*.

As theſe *Anſwers* of *Fournier* to Mr. *Rant's Queſtions*, are produced as Inſtances of the many *Variations*, and *Falſhoods*, in his *Stories* about the ſame *Promiſſory Note* over my Name; (which are ſo many Proofs of his *Iniquity*;) the following *Obſervations* will be proper and ſufficient for my preſent Purpoſe.

1. In theſe *Anſwers*, He declares that the *Conſideration* for the *Note* was, His not troubling Me any more about his *Cauſe*: which is quite *inconſiſtent* with his *three* former Accounts of the *Note*, already mentioned.

2. In the *laſt* of theſe *Anſwers* He affirms, that He wrote the *Note* from a *Form* given Him by his *Attorney*: Which is an abſolute Contradiction to what Dr. *Le Moine* has teſtified upon Oath to have been told Him by *Fournier* in the Year 1740, that I bad Him write a Note for a *good round Sum*, and that He did ſo immediately in my Preſence; and that I as readily ſigned it.

3. That *before* his Writing deliberately theſe *Anſwers* in Mr. *Rant's* Preſence, 1745, He had, in the Years 1743 and 1744, aſſured Mr. *Chevallier*, that the *Note* was given Him by me as a Security for the Performance of my *Promiſe* of *Preferment*; (which could be nothing, according to other Accounts of his own, and the Nature of the Thing, but a *Living*;) and expreſsly, that it was NOT given Him abſolutely for the Money named in it: All which He here contradicts, by effectually affirming, in theſe Anſwers, that this ſame *Note* was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, a *Money Note*, and NOT a Security for *Preferment*; nay, that I never ſo much as mentioned a *Living* to Him.

4. That *after* the Writing theſe *Anſwers* in 1745, He himſelf *Sware*, in 1749, in the Court of *Chancery*, that this ſame *Note* was given Him, as a *Security* for *Preferment*, and by this abſolutely contradicted what he had writ down in theſe *Anſwers*: And conſequently, in the year 1749, He himſelf declared, upon his *Oath*, that the *Particulars* which He had deliberately affirmed, under his Hand, to be *true*, in 1745, were *deliberate Falſhoods*, as truly and effectually, as if He had *Sworn* ſo, in *expreſs Words*. Needs there one Word more to ſhew the Wickedneſs of theſe *Anſwers*? Or, need I ſo much as obſerve, that it is impoſſible to be true, that He ever *called upon Me once*, to demand the Contents of ſuch a *Note*; or that any one Particular here mentioned, could paſs between us, concerning a *Note*, of which He himſelf has not been able, through many Years, to ſpeak without ſuch *Self-contradictions*, as ſufficiently prove it never to have been ſigned by *Me*.

V. The *fifth Period* is from *September* 1747 to *June* 1, 1748.

In the Beginning of *October* 1747, when I firſt heard of Mr. *Chevallier's* Favour to *Fournier*, I wrote to that Gentleman upon the *Subject*; and, after ſome other Letters had paſſed, I received from Him one dated in *December*, 1747, with an *Account* of the *Note* copied from a Paper of *Fournier's* own Hand-writing given him, (with Aſſeverations of it's Truth,) by *Fournier* himſelf, to be ſent to Me. I have entered very particularly into this, in the foregoing Letter to Mr. *Chevallier*: to which, therefore, I refer the Reader. He will there ſee that the Note, which, according to the Account given to this Gentleman by *Fournier*, in 1743, or 1744, was a *Note* for Security of Preferment, and *not* abſolutely for the Money, was now declared to this ſame Gentleman, to be a *Note* abſolutely for the Money named in it, and *not* for the Security of Preferment: And alſo, that the *five Guineas*, which were a *Gift*, or *Preſent*, in his Stories of 1740 and 1741, to Dr. *Le Moine*, and Mr. *Maynard*, were now, in 1747, turned into a *Debt*, and paid, as ſuch, by Me to Him.

VI. The *ſixth Period* is from *June* 1, 1748, to *Auguſt* 1751.

1. The *firſt Fact* within this Time, which I ſhall mention, is the Publication of a ſhameleſs *Libel*, (no one can doubt, by *Fournier's* Order,) under the Form of an *Advertiſement*, in the *General Evening Poſt*, *June* 7, 1748; which News-paper was incloſed in a Letter to Me, by the Poſt, written in a *Lawyer's* Hand and Style. In the *Advertiſement*, I was plainly pointed out; and as many Falſhoods aſſerted as could well be crowded into ſuch a Compaſs. In the *Letter* I was ſtill more abuſed; and it was concluded with theſe Words,—" I am, " therefore, ordered to inform your Lordſhip, that, if this *Advertiſement* don't " produce the proper Effect, this Caſe muſt be laid before my Lord Chancellor " for his Lordſhip's Animadverſion." And then, after more Rudeneſs, the Writer very ingeniouſly ſubſcribes the Word NOBODY.

2. Upon this I thought it high Time to cite *Fournier* into this *Court* of his own chooſing, by a *Bill filed in Chancery*, *June* 21, 1748; in which He was required to give a full Account of the ſaid *Note*. But, though he knew as much of the *Note* itſelf, and of the Way of his coming to have it, the firſt Moment after it's Creation, as he could at any Time afterwards; yet He delayed to put in his *Anſwer*, for near twelve Months. And, what is more remarkable, juſt before He put it into Court, he thought fit to apply to me in ſo extraordinary a Manner, as to induce Me to give a very particular Account of a *Tranſaction*, which is not much known; and yet deſerves as much to be known, as any *Part* of *Fournier's* whole Behaviour.

3. On *April* 29, 1749, a Letter writ by *Fournier* himſelf, in *Engliſh*, was brought to Me, by one Mr. *Harding*, who told Me, He was an *Attorney* in *Dagget's Court*, *Moor-fields*. A Copy of the *Letter* here follows, Word for Word.

" MY LORD,

" Incloſed I ſend you a Copy of my Anſwer, intended to be put in to your " Lordſhip's Bill filed againſt Me. But if, inſtead thereof, it is agreeable to " your Lordſhip that the *Note* ſhould be deſtroyed in your Preſence, I have " given Orders to the Perſon who attends herewith, ſo to do. And, to end " this Affair, I hope your Lordſhip will order the Caveats lodged againſt Me " to be ſubducted, and all Proceedings in the Suit ſtayed; and that your Lordſhip will conſider the Diſadvantages I have ſuffered upon this Account; and " reſt, your Lordſhip's obedient, but diſtreſſed, humble Servant,

" *Bernard Fournier.*"

London, *April* 29, 1749.

I rejected his *Propoſal*, chiefly becauſe his *Letter* had not one Word in it of any Acknowledgment of his Guilt in the Matter of the *Note*; but ſtill left upon Me the Imputation of ſigning it: and alſo expreſſed ſome Hopes of *Favours* from Me; which he might afterwards pretend to have been the *Condition* upon which he gave up the *Note*. Upon my refuſing to accept his Offer, He ſent Me another Letter, by the ſame Perſon, in which he only vouchſafed to aſſure Me, that I ſhould have no Reaſon to complain of his Behaviour for the future. But, as He made no Acknowledgment of any Fault in what was *paſt*; and alſo left himſelf ſtill at Liberty to ſay, or act, whatever he himſelf ſhould judge, or pretend, could not juſtly give me any *Reaſon* to complain; the *Propoſal* was again rejected.

He was now under the Dread of the *legal Conſequences* of a *Proceſs* of *Contempt*, on Account of the Delay of his *Anſwer*. And therefore, as ſoon as He could get it ſigned by a proper Perſon, He put it into *Chancery*, under the ſolemn Sanction of an Oath, on, or about, *May* 24, 1749.

The *Falſhoods* to which He has, in a moſt ſhocking Manner, ſworn, are ſo many in this *Anſwer*, that to lay them before the *Reader* would be to tranſcribe almoſt every Sentence and Word of it. I ſhall only therefore, obſerve what is ſufficient to my Purpoſe.

1. That the Part of it, relating to the *Dean* of *Jerſey's* Notes for Money, and the *Intimacy* between *Him* and Me, has been declared to be abſolutely falſe, and the *Notes* a *Forgery*, upon the *Oath* of the ſaid *Dean*: to which *Fournier* has never made the leaſt Reply.

2. That the many *Facts* ſworn to, in this *Anſwer*, relating to *Me*, and my *Note* (ſo called), and to my Letters, and repeated in his *Croſs-bill*, with great Particularity, have been declared and proved by *Me*, to be *abſolute Falſhoods*, in my *Anſwer* to that Bill, delivered into Court, according to Cuſtom, upon *Honour*: which is eſteemed of the ſame Force as if delivered upon *Oath*. To this alſo he never made the leaſt Reply; but left his many *Inventions*, (for which he did not produce any *Evidence* but his own Word, nor any *Witneſs* but *Himſelf*,) to ſhift for themſelves. And this is a good Argument that he had nothing to reply. Theſe *Facts* have alſo, many of them, been occaſionally handled and confuted in the foregoing Pages. But the chief *Obſervation*, eſſential to my preſent Purpoſe, I muſt not omit: Which is,

3. That the *promiſſory Note* over my Name, which, in 1743, or 44, was affirmed, by his own Mouth, to Mr. *Chevallier*, to have been given for *Security* of *Preferment*; and in 1747, in the *Account* given to the ſame Mr. *Chevallier*, by *Him*, under *his own* Hand, was turned into an abſolute *Money Note*, for the Sum named in it; was now, in this *Anſwer* upon *Oath*, *turned back again* into a *Note* for *Security* of *Preferment* only. And, agreeably to this, the *five Guineas*, which, in 1747, were affirmed to Mr. *Chevallier*, to be paid by *Me* to *Him*, as a *Debt*, in Part of the *Sum* named in the *Note*, were now, in this *Anſwer*, declared upon *Oath* to have been *given* to Him by *Me*; i. e. *not paid* to Him as a *Debt*. To return,

4. After reading *Fournier's Letter*; brought to me by Mr. *H.* I deſired to ſee the *Note* mentioned in it. And, upon taking it into my Hands, and viewing it carefully, I immediately ſaw (as I then thought, and ſtill think) that it was *not* the ſame *Note*, which was brought to Me by Mr. *Tyrell*, in *January*, 174½. The Reaſons for my thinking ſo now follow.

The *Note* brought to me by Mr. *Tyrell* in 174½, was in my Poſſeſſion above *three Weeks*; in all which Time the Nature of the Affair made it impoſſible for Me not to view and examine it, and all its Circumſtances, with the utmoſt Exactneſs. I preſently took it from the Paper to which it was paſted; the Paſte being not dry when it was delivered to Me. And I could not then avoid obſerving that, in taking it off from the other Paper, it ſtuck a little; and therefore was a little *torn*, or jagged, at the right hand Edge, at Bottom. It was impoſſible for me afterwards to forget this Circumſtance, not only becauſe it was ſo remarkable in itſelf, and done by myſelf; but, becauſe I was often put in mind of it by *Fournier's* Affirmations of it in his Converſations reported to Me; and more plainly by his own expreſs Words in his Paper delivered to Mr. *Chevallier* in

1747,

1747, already mentioned. I alſo took notice, at firſt Sight of it, that the Ink with which my *Name* appeared to be writ under the ſaid Note was much of the ſame Colour with the Note itſelf, writ by *Fournier* over it; which Circumſtance I could not forget, as *Fournier* had inſultingly called it to my Remembrance in his *Letter* to myſelf in 1743.

As ſoon as I had well viewed the ſaid *Note* brought to me, by Mr. *Tyrell*, in 174$\frac{1}{2}$, I ſuſpected that the *Scrap* of *Paper* upon which the ſaid *Note* was writ, had been taken from the Outſide Direction of one of my *Letters* to *Fournier* from *Farnham*, in Summer 1740. And, in a few Days, I was more perſuaded of this, when I ſaw *three* of the *ſix* Letters ſo writ to *Fournier*, and returned to me by Mr. *Maynard*, to be without their *Covers*, or *Directions*; In which Directions, at that Time, the Word *Free* always ſtood over my Name and a ſmall *Hook* was always put after it, in this Manner,

Free
B. *Winchester*]

I was therefore led by this to look, with the utmoſt Care, upon the Place juſt over my Name in the *Note*, where the Word *Free* muſt have ſtood, ſuppoſing it the *Direction* of a *Letter*: For *that Word* was abſolutely neceſſary to be put out of Sight, or *eraſed*, in order to perfect ſuch a *Note*. And by repeated Views I ſaw, too plainly to be doubted of, a *thin* Place, which I judged to be a *Raſure*. I alſo as plainly ſaw another *thin* Place (or *Raſure)* where the ſaid *Hook* uſed to be after my Name.

Another Obſervation I then made; *viz.* that almoſt all the *Figures* in the *Date* of the *Year* put to the *Note* [*viz.* 1740] were carried into *that thin Place* over my Name; and that they were made of a Size not proportionable to the *Smallneſs* of the *Character*, in which the Words of the Note itſelf were writ; ſo as the better to fill that *thin Space:* and therefore were the more remarkable, and indeed ſeemed to Me to be contrived ſo, that the *Raſure* might be the leſs obſerved. At the ſame time I took particular Notice that the *upper Edge* of the ſaid *Note* was uneven and rough, and, in a few Places, appeared to have very ſmall *Dots*, or *Marks*, like the *Bottoms* of ſome *Letters*, as if it had been ſevered from a Paper in which there had been Writing *above* theſe *Dots*, near enough to be inconvenient for *Note-making*. And ſuch there muſt have been in any Direction of a Letter. Nor can the Alteration of this *upper Edge* afterwards, by making it ſmooth, and cutting off theſe ugly Marks of *Letters*, at all affect the truth of this *Obſervation:* which is alſo particularly confirmed by the *Depoſition* of Dr. *Le Moine*, in the *Cauſe*, concerning the *Note* which was ſhewn to *Him* by *Fournier*, in the Years 1740 and 1741.

Having thus obſerved my Care and particular Attention with Relation to the *Note*, brought to me by Mr. *Tyrell*, in 174$\frac{1}{2}$; I will now relate the Care I took not to be deceived in my Obſervations upon the *Note* of the ſame Purport, which was brought to Me by Mr. *Harding*, *April* 29, 1749.

When I had the ſaid *Note* in my Hands, I examined it, and carefully viewed it to the *Light*; and then, for the ſame Purpoſe, I took it a ſecond Time into my Hands. Upon this careful View and Review, I ſaw plainly the ſame Sort of *thin Places*, in the ſame *critical Parts* of the *Paper*, on which *this* promiſſory Note was writ, which I had ſeen in that brought to me in 174$\frac{1}{2}$: And particularly, the *thin Place* over my Name, and another juſt after it: which *thin Places* and *others*, ſeen and acknowledged by Mr. *Harding*, were attributed by him to the original *Make* of the *Paper*. For this, it ſeems, was ſo providently made, as to be originally furniſhed with theſe *thin* Spots, exactly in the *Places* where the *Note-maker* muſt, upon my preſent Suppoſition, have made *Raſures*, if the *Paper-maker* had not thus happily contrived for Him.

And, as I took the *Note* into my Hands *twice*, at leaſt; and viewed it over and over again, with a deliberate Regard to this Point, that the Note brought to Me in 174½, was a little *torn* at the right hand Corner at Bottom, by my taking it from another *Paper*; I apprehend that, in this Caſe thus circumſtanced, I could not be deceived in this *Fact*, of which *Eye-ſight* is the proper Judge, *viz.* that this *Note*, or *Paper*, brought to me by Mr. *Harding*, *April* 29, 1749, was not *torn* at all towards the ſaid Right Hand Corner; nor indeed, in any other Part.

I alſo plainly ſaw, by repeated Views, that, in this *Note* brought to me by Mr. *Harding*, *Fournier* had managed the Writing of it ſo, that the *laſt Figure* only of the Year 1740, [*viz.* 0] was brought into the *thin Place* (or *Raſure*) which was juſt over my Name, *B. Wincheſter*. I alſo found by my Senſes that the *upper Edge* of the ſaid *Note* ſent by Mr. *Harding* in 1749, was perfectly ſmooth, and even, and clear from any Marks of the Bottoms of Letters, which I ſaw in that of 174½. Nor could I help ſeeing and obſerving that the Ink with which my *Name* appeared to be writ under the *Note* brought me by Mr. *Harding*, was remarkably blacker than the Ink with which *Fournier* had writ the *Note* over it.

I therefore, upon the Sight and repeated View of theſe *Appearances*, (which I affirm, to the beſt of my Obſervation and Remembrance, to be exactly ſuch as I have repreſented,) could not but argue, That a Piece of Paper, or Note, ſent to me in 1749, *not torn* in any Part of it, could not be the Piece of Paper, or Note, ſent to me in 174½, which I myſelf then *tore*, by taking it from another Paper, and ſent back ſo *torn* to *Fournier's* Wife: Nay, which he himſelf had for many Years afterwards in his own Poſſeſſion, known to, and affirmed by, himſelf, to be ſo *torn*. Upon the ſame Evidence I argue, that a Note in which the one only Figure of (0) in the Date of the Year was writ in the *thin Place* over my Name, could not poſſibly be the Note or Paper in which almoſt all the Figures (1740) were writ in the *thin Place* over my Name: and alſo, that a *Note* under which my Name (*B. Wincheſter*) appeared *April* 29, 1749, in much blacker Ink than that of the Note itſelf writ over it by *Fournier*, could not poſſibly be the very *Note* under which my Name appeared, *January* 174½, in near the ſame coloured Ink with the *Note* itſelf: And that a Note perfectly ſmooth and even, in 1749, and without any the leaſt Marks of the Bottoms of Letters, on the top Edge, could not poſſibly be the Note, *unaltered*, which was ſeen in 174½, plainly to be *rough*, uneven, and with little Dots on the ſaid Top-edge. I have here added the Word *unaltered*, becauſe I do not mean to deny that it might be, in a good Senſe, the ſame *Note* which I ſaw in 1741, though the upper Edge has been ſince made *Even*. And when ſuch *Alteration* ſhall be owned, I am ready to acknowledge this alone not to be a certain Proof of the Difference of the *Notes*. But this will never be *owned*, becauſe it muſt be thought utterly unjuſtifiable in any Man, poſſeſſed of a *conteſted Money-note*, to alter the Appearance of any one particular Circumſtance which once belonged to it, before it comes to a due, or legal, Examination; and becauſe, whoever is found to do this, will always be juſtly thought, or ſtrongly ſuſpected, to be the *Forger* of ſuch *Note*.

From theſe real Differences in the two aforeſaid Notes, aſſured to me by my Senſes, I then concluded, and ſtill conclude, that the Note brought to me by Mr. *Harding*, *April* 29, 1749, was *not* the *Note*, which was brought to me by Mr. *Tyrell* in *January* 174½, but a different *Note*, though to the ſame Purpoſe, in the ſame Words, and of the ſame Date.

It is here proper to obſerve that, ſoon after *Fournier* had, in his *Anſwer*, declared Himſelf to have the ſaid *promiſſory Note* in his Poſſeſſion, a Motion was made, on my Part, that the Lord *Chancellor* would pleaſe to order the *Note* to be produced, and lodged in Court; and that, upon this Motion, an Order was made, "That it ſhould be lodged in the Hands of (Mr. *Dowſe) Fournier's* Clerk "in Court, for the Inſpection of the *Biſhop* of *Wincheſter*, and his Agents." As ſoon as I could, after I knew that the *Note* was ſo depoſited, I did with the utmoſt Care view and examine it, in Mr. *Dowſe's* Preſence; and, by the ſame Evidence of my Eye-ſight, I was fully perſuaded, and am ſtill ſo, that this Note, which I ſhall call Mr. *Dowſe's* Note, was, in ſeveral Circumſtances, quite different from that brought to Me by Mr. *Harding*. I ſhall now lay theſe before the *Reader*.

Firſt, the *Paper* on which Mr. *Dowſe's Note* (A) was writ did not appear ſo fair, or ſo clean, or quite ſo large, as the Paper of Mr. *Harding's* Note. *Secondly*, Mr. *Dowſe's* Note (A) appeared to the Eye-ſight moſt plainly to be *torn* in the Place mentioned; whereas Mr. *Harding's Note* was *not torn* in *that*, or any other Part. *Thirdly*, In Mr. *Dowſe's Note* (A) almoſt all the Figures 1740, were writ in the *thin Part*, or Raſure, over my Name, *B. Wincheſter*; whereas in Mr. *Harding's Note* the laſt only of them [*viz.* 0] was writ in the *thin Place*, or *Raſure*, juſt over my ſaid Name. *Fourthly*, the *Ink* with which *B. Wincheſter* appears to have been writ in Mr. *Dowſe's Note*, is not very ſenſibly different in its Colour from that in which *Fournier* has writ the *Note* over it; whereas, in Mr. *Harding's Note*, the *Ink* with which the Name *B. Wincheſter* had been writ, was remarkably *blacker* than the *Ink* with which the *Note* itſelf was written over it by *Fournier*. From all which Circumſtances it appeared to me plainly, that, though Mr. *Dowſe's Note* (A) might poſſibly be the ſame *Note* which was ſent to me in *January* 174½; ſuppoſing *Fournier* to have been ſo bold as afterwards to make the *rough Edge*, at Top, *even*; yet it could not poſſibly be the ſame *Note*, which was brought to Me by Mr. *Harding* in 1749.

That the *whole* of what I have to ſay, for Proof of this remarkable and material *Point* now before us, may appear at once, I will here add the *Teſtimony* of Mr. *Harding* himſelf. About the beginning of *October*, 1749, as near as I can remember, I wrote to him, amongſt other Things, this *Inquiry*, "Whether he "did not agree that the Note He brought to Me was a *plain Note*, not *folded*, "*mangled*, nor *torn at all in any Part*." To this his Anſwer, *October* 10, 1749, was in theſe Words; "My Lord, I remember that the Note was wrote upon "a ſmall Piece of Paper, very legible, not folded, mangled, or *torn*, unleſs the "Spots which appeared therein *pale* and *thin* on holding the ſame up to the "Light." Now from this Teſtimony, which was given, as He aſſured me in a *ſecond Letter*, after a careful Attention and Recollection of Particulars, (for the great Labour of which Recollection, he let me know He expected to be paid) it is to be argued unanſwerably, that Mr. *Harding's Note*, and Mr. *Dowſe's Note*, were two different Notes, on the following Accounts.

1. Mr. *Harding's Note*, according to Himſelf, had *pale*, or *thin*, Places in it; but, beſides theſe, no one Place in it mangled or *torn*; whereas Mr. *Dowſe's Note* had the like *pale*, or *thin*, *Places* in it, and, beſides theſe, it had a Place at the Bottom of the right hand Edge, viſibly *torn*, in or near which *torn* Part, there is no *thin* Place at all. 2. The *pale*, or *thin*, *Places* in Mr. *Harding's Note* could not be ſeen without holding it up to the Light, which he makes neceſſary for ſeeing them; whereas the *torn Place* in Mr. *Dowſe's Note* is very viſible to every Eye, as it lies flat; and, without holding it up to the Light, appears *torn*

at firſt Sight: and therefore, cannot be one of thoſe *thin Places* not to be ſeen without holding the *Note* up to the Light. 3. The *thin*, or *pale*, Places in Mr. *Harding's Note*, were not in the leaſt Degree *torn*; but appeared as *whole*, as any other Parts of the Paper, even when held up to the Light: which Mr. *H.* himſelf effectually acknowledged, when he ſuppoſed them to be originally in the Paper at its firſt Formation. And, as Mr. *Harding* has teſtified, under his Hand, that the *Note* he brought to me was *not torn*, *unleſs thoſe thin Places*, as his Words are; (which *thin Places* were *not torn* at all;) it muſt follow, that the ſaid *Note* brought by Mr. *Harding* to me was not *torn* at all, in any one Part of it; whereas Mr. *Dowſe's Note* (A) is literally and viſibly *torn* in one certain Part of it. 4. This *torn Place* in Mr. *Dowſe's Note* (A) could not but be known to Mr. *Harding* himſelf, when, before his Examination in the Cauſe, he ſaw and examined Mr. *Dowſe's Note*, and could not but then ſee this remarkable *torn* Corner of the ſaid *Note*; becauſe it had been ſo torn ever ſince *January*, 174½, (as Mr. *Harding* himſelf had been informed) many Years before it was delivered by *Fournier* to Mr. *Dowſe*. From theſe foregoing Particulars, I ſay, it appears moſt evident, that the *Note* (A) delivered to Mr. *Dowſe* by *Fournier*, could not be the *Note* brought to *Me* by Mr. *Harding*.

What I have now ſaid about the different *Appearances* upon the *Note*, brought to me by Mr. *Tyrell*, in *January*, 174½, as alſo of that depoſited in Mr. *Dowſe's* Hands, from the *Note* brought to me by Mr. *Harding*, *April* 29, 1749, is a more than ſufficient Juſtification of Thoſe who adviſed me to file a *ſupplemental Bill*, which was done on or about *Sept.* 4, 1749, to repreſent what I had reaſon to think true; and to oblige *Fournier* to declare whether he had not more *promiſſory Notes* than *one*, written over *my Name*, to the ſame Purpoſe; and particularly, whether the *Note*, brought to me by Mr. *Harding*, was the ſame *Note* which had been delivered to Mr. *Dowſe*, &c.

Fournier, in his *Anſwer* to this *ſupplemental Bill*, ſworn to by Him at *Ipſwich*, *Dec.* 15, 1749, affirms, That he neither has now, nor ever had, any *Note* of that Kind, with my Name to it, but that *one*, then in Mr. *Dowſe's* Hands: That the ſaid *Note*, then in Mr. *Dowſe's* Hands, is the very *Note* which was brought to, and left with me, in *January*, 174½, and was returned *torn* to his Wife; and the very ſame *Note* which he ſent by Mr. *Harding* to me, *April* 29, 1749. To which he adds, what is very remarkable, That "He did not believe Mr. *Harding* ſhewed me any other *Note*, unleſs it might be a *Copy* of "*that*."

Here Iniquity ſeems to have overſhot itſelf. It can hardly be conceived that ſuch a Thought as this could come into *Fournier's* Head, unleſs he knew that there were exiſting *ſeveral* ſuch *Papers* in the Form of *Notes* over my Name; and all of *his own* Hand-writing. And indeed, his introducing this into his Oath, without any other apparent Reaſon, ſeems to me to have been meant, in order to a *Salvo*, or an *evaſive Anſwer* to the *Queſtion* now before us; *viz.* that he might, if *Proof* ſhould at any Time appear of *ſeveral* ſuch Papers, pretend that the others, all except one, were only *Copies* of that *one*. At leaſt, I muſt think it ſo intended, till ſomebody ſhews me any other Reaſon in the World for his putting this *Suppoſition* into his *Oath*. No one will ſay, he did it with Deſign to lay a moſt infamous Imputation upon his Agent, of forging a *Copy* to cheat me with, inſtead of the *Original*. This is the Way in which *Fournier* himſelf has thought fit to declare, upon *Oath*, againſt the *Exiſtence* of more than *one* promiſſory Note over my Name.

But it ought not to be hid from the *Reader*, that Mr. *Harding* alſo, in his *Examination* on the Part of *Fournier*, when Mr. *Dowſe's Note* (A) was again ſhewn to him, declared upon his Oath, that this *Note* (A) was the very Note which he himſelf brought to me on *April* 29, 1749.

For my own Part, I am fully perſuaded that the poſitive Evidence I have produced to the contrary, taken from *Facts*, and viſible Marks of Diſtinction, are too ſtrong for the *Oath* of any one; and much more ſo, for the Oath of *Fournier*, who had, many Years before, been charged, in open Court, with the *Forgery* of *four Notes*, and the *Perjury* of ſwearing to them; and who choſe to fly from the *Cauſe*, and to leave himſelf under the *Character* of a Man wilfully *forſworn:* whoſe *Oath* therefore can, after this, never be of the leaſt Value, till that *Charge* be diſproved.

As to Mr. *Harding*, as far as I have heard, the only Reaſon he ever gave for his ſwearing Mr. *Dowſe's Note* to be the very *Note*, which he brought to me, *April* 29, 1749; was, that Mr. *Dowſe's Note* had the ſame Sort of *thin Places* in it, and ſeemingly in the ſame Parts of the *Note*, which were in the *Note* he brought to Me. But, who does not know, that, ſuppoſing them *two different Notes*, they not only *might*, but *muſt*, have had the ſame *thin Places*, or *Raſures*, neceſſary to their Perfection; as being both taken from Covers, or Directions, of two different Letters; and therefore having Words, in nearly the very ſame Parts of thoſe Directions, *neceſſary to be eraſed* for the Purpoſe of a *Money-note*? But, without this Obſervation, it may be unanſwerably urged, that *theſe* and many more ſuch Similitudes in the *Note* (A) cannot poſſibly prove it to be the *Note* brought to Me, by Mr. *H.* in 1749, if it wants only that *one* particular Mark, *viz.* the right hand Corner *torn:* And conſequently, that a thouſand Oaths of Mr. *Harding* cannot make a *Note*, or *Paper*, *not torn* in the ſaid Corner, to be a *Note*, or *Paper*, having the ſaid *Likeneſſes*, or *thin Places*; and, beſides theſe, being viſibly *torn* in that one certain Place. Nor can I think, there is a ſingle Man, who will not rather chooſe to believe Mr. *Harding's Teſtimony*, naturally given in a private Letter; *viz.* that his *Note* was *not torn* in any Part; and conſequently could not be the *Note* viſibly *torn* at one Corner; before his *Teſtimony*, though upon *Oath*, that a *Note not torn*, was a *Note torn*.

I will now add, for farther Proof that *Fournier* had formed, and kept in his Poſſeſſion, more ſuch *Notes* than *one*, that Dr. *Le Moine* and Mr. *Rant* have both depoſed in the Cauſe, with great Poſitiveneſs, that the *Note* which *One* of them often ſaw in 1740 and 1741, and the *Other* carefully viewed in 1745, was not Mr. *Dowſe's Note* (A) ſhewn to them in their Examination. Dr. *Le Moine* affirms upon his *Oath*, that He never ſaw the ſaid *Note* (A) before his Examination: though it be plain He had ſeen a *Note* to the ſame Purpoſe. Mr. *Rant* ſwears that Mr. *Dowſe's* Note (A) was never produced to *Him* by *Fournier*; and that the *promiſſory Note*, ſhewn to *Him*, was different from it, in ſeveral Circumſtances by Him named. Mr. *Maynard* has ſworn alſo to the very particular Reaſons and Marks, which make him rather think that Mr. *Dowſe's Note* (A) is *not* the *Note* which he ſaw in 1740, and delivered to Mr. *Tyrell* to bring to me in *January*, 174½.

From this Evidence given by ſeveral Witneſſes, and from what I myſelf have here argued, I think, it may juſtly be concluded, that *Fournier* had more than *one*, or *two*, ſuch *promiſſory Notes* over my Name, for the ſame *Sum*, and of the ſame Date; notwithſtanding what he has been pleaſed to ſwear.

I am confirmed in this Judgement, ſtill more, by calling to mind the two following remarkable Circumſtances: That, when he conſented to ſend me back the *ſix Letters* I wrote to Him from *Farnham*, *Three* of them were returned to me, *without* their *Directions*, and conſequently without my *Name*; which *Name* was neceſſary to ſuch a *Note* as he has produced: and that *theſe three Directions*, which he did *not* ſend Me, were the *only Directions* of the *ſix* that could be made uſe of for *Note-making*. And if any Perſon can poſſibly invent a Reaſon for his keeping back from Me the *Directions* of theſe *three*, unleſs this *one*, that he had made uſe of *theſe*, to try his Skill in *Note-making*; or was determined to do ſo; I do not deſire Him to think as I do: If it ſhould be aſked, for what end, or with what view, he could think of attempting to form ſeveral ſuch *Notes*? Theſe Reaſons offer themſelves: *viz.* that if *one* did not ſucceed, *another* might: Or, if all ſucceeded tolerably, that he might have it in his Power to produce, either in private or publick, which of ſuch ſeveral Notes ſhould be judged by Him, at the Time, to have the beſt and moſt unexceptionable Appearance.

I have been the longer upon this particular Charge againſt *Fournier*, which, I am fully perſuaded, is juſt; becauſe, as it was not, and could not be, made a Part of the publick Pleadings in the *Cauſe*, it ſeemed the more neceſſary to ſtate and explain it to thoſe Many, who never perhaps heard any thing of the Grounds of it before.

As, in this *Period*, the Promiſſory *Note* itſelf was delivered into *Court*; it will be proper here to make ſome Obſervations about the *bad and ſuſpicious Appearances* upon the *Face* of it. I have already unavoidably mentioned *ſome*. But I may be allowed to repeat them, ſince I am now going to make uſe of them for another and more general Purpoſe.

That I wrote ſeveral Letters from *Farnham* to *Him* at *London*, is paſt Doubt. *He* himſelf acknowledges it; nay, contends for it: And I have *ſix* now in my Poſſeſſion, returned to Me by Him. That I *franked* them all, and put my *Name* on their *Directions*, I cannot prove by *Witneſſes*; becauſe no one ever calls Witneſſes to the *franking* of his *Letters*. It is enough to ſay, that it was my conſtant Cuſtom to do it to *all*; and, particularly with regard to theſe *ſix* returned to me, that *Three* of them had, and ſtill have, their *Directions* with my *Name* and *Franks*, on the *left* Side at bottom, in the Manner in which I always uſed to *frank* my *Letters* before his *Attempt* taught me otherwiſe; and that the *three* others were ſent back to Me *without* their *Directions* and *Franks*. For I believe, every one will conclude from hence, that theſe *other three* had alſo once *Directions* upon them to convey them to *Fournier*; and that theſe *Directions* had the Word *Free* upon them, with my *Name* at the Bottom.

This alone, therefore, being granted; I will go on to obſerve thoſe *bad Appearances* upon the *Note* itſelf, which may induce us to believe that it was formed and faſhioned from one of theſe *Covers*, or *Directions*, which He kept in his own Poſſeſſion, when He ſent Me the others: and conſequently, that it was a *groſs Fraud* and *Contrivance* of his own. And in order to this, I will now ſhew That there are the very ſame *Marks* and *Appearances* upon this *promiſſory Note* (A) delivered into *Court* by *Fournier*, which there muſt and would have been, if He had taken the Paper he made uſe of, from the *Cover*, or *Direction*, of one of my Letters, with my *Name* upon it, and the word *Free* over my Name. For inſtance,

1. In this Caſe, He could not make uſe of this *Direction*, for his Purpoſe, without putting out of Sight the Word *Free* over my *Name*, and the *Hook* after

it: and this could not be done but by a *Raſure*, which muſt leave a *thin* place where they ſtood. Accordingly, there is a *thin* Place to be ſeen over my *Name*, and another where the *Hook* uſed to be.

2. Thoſe Words of the *Direction* which came too much in the Way of *Note-making*, and which could not but ſtand where it was neceſſary for ſome of the Words of the *Note* to ſtand, muſt, in the preſent Caſe, be alſo removed; and the Part of the Paper from whence they were removed prepared for freſh Writing. And this could not be done without *eraſing* them; and uſing ſome little Art for fitting the Paper, after ſuch *Eraſure*, to bear the new Words, which were to be writ upon it. And accordingly, there are plain Tokens of a larger *Eraſure* than the former, and higher in the *Note*. And (as thoſe who are uſed to ſuch Appearances ſay) plain Marks of the *Paper* being *pounced*, or ſomehow prepared, in order to prevent the Ink, with which the *Note* was to be writ, from ſinking into it; and from hence ſome little Difference of Colour in this Part, from other Parts of the ſame *Note*, may be obſerved.

Upon theſe Accounts, the *paſting* this *Note* flat to another Piece of Paper, when it was ſent to Me in $174\frac{1}{2}$, which He himſelf acknowledges, may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be intended particularly for the hiding of ſuch *Eraſures*: which indeed it muſt, in great Meaſure, have covered from the Sight, if the Paſte had been too dry to have hindered me from ſeparating it from the other Paper. And ſo alſo, the bringing in almoſt all the Figures (1740) into the *thin* Place over my *Name*, and making their Characters ſo large as they are in this *Note*, may juſtly be thought deſigned for the better preventing the Eye from obſerving that particular *Raſure* ſo filled. And both theſe *Facts* are not inſignificant Proofs of the Reality of all the *Raſures* here mentioned.

3. Upon the preſent Suppoſition, it was impoſſible for *Fournier* to have any other Paper to write his *Note* upon, than ſuch a *Scrap*, as that Part of the *Direction* which had my *Name* under it, and what could be found to the left hand of this, when unfolded and laid open, would afford him for the Purpoſe. And accordingly, the *Note* is writ upon juſt ſuch a *Scrap* of *Paper* as it muſt have been, had it been ſo formed: the Length of it being *four Inches*, three Quarters, and a little more; and the Breadth of it two Inches and a Quarter.

4. The following Obſervation particularly deſerves a place here, viz. That *Fournier* could not make uſe of the *Direction* of a *Letter* of mine, in the Manner now ſuppoſed, without taking into his *Note*, the *Mark*, or *Trace*, of a *Fold*, which muſt always be in *Letters*, when made up in order to be *directed* and *franked*. And accordingly, a *Mark* of ſuch a *Fold* ſtill manifeſtly ſhews itſelf in this *Note*. And if the *Note* were actually *folded* as this Mark directs, the Words of the *Note* would be left on the Outſide of the *Paper*. It appears at the left Hand, pretty cloſe to the Place where my *Name* and the Word *Free* over it, muſt have ſtood, upon the preſent Suppoſition. What I mean will appear plainly to any one, from the Sight of a *Letter* folded up, as for the Poſt; and *franked* on the left Hand at bottom: which, if it be unfolded and ſpread open with the *Direction* outwards, will ſhew the back Part, or Trace, of ſuch a *Fold*. It would have been exceedingly convenient for the *Note-maker* to have got rid of ſo odd an *Appearance* as this. And the Reaſon why he left this unlucky *Mark* in the *Note*, could be no other, than becauſe he could not help it. For he could not make his *Note* from ſuch a *Direction* of a *Letter*, without taking this *Mark* of a *Fold* into it, becauſe he wanted that Quantity of Paper to the *left Hand* of the *Frank*, where this Mark was, in order to write the Words of his *Note* compleatly.

pleatly. And ſuch a *Mark* of a *Fold* could not be *eraſed*; nor indeed at all *ſcraped*; without being made worſe.

I will here add, That no one who has a *Money-note* in his Poſſeſſion, ever chooſes to fold it ſo as to leave the very *Words* of the *Note* outward, and expoſed to all Accidents: and that *Fournier*, therefore, could not be ſuppoſed, either *after* the Note was writ, or *before*, to *fold* the *Paper* himſelf in ſuch a Manner, as muſt turn the *Words*, written, or to be written, upon it, outwards. Neither did He ever let it appear actually *folded* according to the Direction of this Mark; particularly, not when he delivered it into *Court*. And as it anſwers exactly to a *Fold* (to the left Hand of that Part whereon the *Direction*, and *Frank*, and *Name*, uſed to be writ) which *Fold* muſt be in *Letters*, or *Covers*, when made up for the Poſt; this Obſervation may juſtly help to confirm us in the Thought, that the *Scrap* of Paper upon which the *Note* (A) is written, and in which this *Mark* of ſuch a *Fold* appears, was taken from one of thoſe *Letters* to which ſuch *Fold* naturally belonged.

5. To all theſe very bad Appearances He added a new one at laſt. For when this *Note* was delivered, by *Fournier's* Order, to Mr. *Dowſe*, according to the Command of the *Court*, it was actually folded *inwards*, from the right Hand, and from the left, in *two Folds*, in a Manner, I believe, never ſeen before; eſpecially in the Caſe of a *Money-note* writ upon ſo ſmall a *Scrap* of Paper. *This* muſt be *Fournier's* own Act, or Order; and muſt be owing (one may venture to ſay) to the Hope of making the *Mark* of an old *Fold* (which I have juſt mentioned) or ſome other bad Appearance, to be leſs taken Notice of, than it might otherwiſe have been. For when I was permitted to ſee it in 174½, it was *paſted* upon another Paper, as has often been ſaid by *Fournier* himſelf; and conſequently, was itſelf as flat a Piece of Paper as it could be made; and returned by me to his Wife *not folded*; and after that, ſhewn to All in *Suffolk*, and every where elſe, open, and *not folded*. Nay, ſo lately as 1749, when He was juſt going to put his *Anſwer* into *Chancery*, the *Note* He then ſent to Me, as the very *Note* in Queſtion; and which Mr. *Harding* has ſworn to be the very *Note* (A), put afterwards into Mr. *Dowſe's* Hands; was *not folded*, as Mr. *Harding*, who brought it to me, expreſsly affirms: and, therefore, muſt be allowed by *Fournier* himſelf, to have continued *not folded*, till that critical Time when it was to appear in *Court* to be more nicely examined. What one Reaſon can be thought of, for playing this *Trick* with this *Scrap* of *Paper*, but the *one* juſt now mentioned? It is certain that real Money-notes do not uſe to be ſo turned, and varied, in their *Appearances*: nor can be ſo, without raiſing a ſtrong Suſpicion of *Fraud* and wicked Contrivance.

The foregoing Obſervations relate to the Marks of *Fraud* upon the *Paper* on which the *Note* is writ. The *following* will relate to the very *Words* of the *Note*.

6. The little Piece of a *Word*, *Min:* put after *Fournier's* Name, in the *Note*, may juſtly be numbered amongſt the *bad Appearances* I am ſpeaking of: and, as ſmall a Matter as it ſeems at firſt, may have ſome Force in proving the *Note* to be of his own contriving, and making, in a very proper Senſe. For the writing in the very *Note* itſelf, Mr. *Bernard Fournier Min:* [meaning *Miniſter*] muſt be *his own* Act, or the Act of Mr. *Ruſſell*, who, He has ſworn, gave him the Form of the *Note:* which *Form*, he aſſured Mr. *Rant*, under his Hand, *He copied out, word by word.* Now that this Word *Min:* was put into the *Form* by Mr. *Ruſſell*, will hardly be believed by any one who conſiders that no *Engliſh Man*, eſpecially a Lawyer, is known to uſe the Word *Miniſter* on ſuch Occaſions;

caſions; but either *the Reverend* Mr. —— or the Word very common in the Forms of Law, *Clerk*; and that Mr. *Ruſſell* was an *Attorney* and an *Engliſhman*. And if Mr. *Ruſſell* did not put it in, it follows unavoidably that *Fournier* did. Add to this, That a *Word*, or *Deſcription*, very common amongſt the *French* Divines, and particularly Thoſe he moſt converſed with in *England*, might naturally offer itſelf to *Fournier* himſelf, in the forming of this *Note*: and that this will be more eaſily believed than that Mr. *Ruſſell* ſhould go out of the common way of his Countrymen, and Brethren of the *Law*, to ſeek for it, for the Uſe of this particular *Note*. From hence it will follow alſo that the name *Bernard Fournier* was not in the Form writ for Him by Mr. *Ruſſell*: becauſe, if it had, either *the Rev.* before it, or *Clerk* after it, or *Both*, would have been inſerted by Mr. *Ruſſell* who knew *Fournier's* Profeſſion very well. What I now argue will be confirmed by what follows. For, as the Name of Mr. *Ruſſell* has been mentioned by *Fournier* himſelf, in his *Anſwer* upon Oath; and has been now brought into the Hiſtory of this *Note*; I muſt ſay ſomething more material ſtill about Him, very agreeable to the *Subject* now before us, though the *Fact* happened long before this *Period* of Time.

When the *Note* over *my* Name came to be publickly talked of, amongſt *Fournier's* Acquaintance, a Perſon, who ſaid his Name was *Ruſſell*, came to my Houſe, and deſired to ſpeak with Me. In diſcourſe, He let me know that *Fournier* (whoſe *Attorney* He had been, in the *Cauſe* in the *Common Pleas* againſt the *Dean* of *Jerſey*, till he found Reaſon to refuſe to go on,) had certainly framed a promiſſory *Note* over *my Name*; and had done it by the Help of a *Form* of ſuch a *Note* which he had requeſted of Him; and of which He gave Me the following Account: *viz.* That *Fournier* one day told Him, there was a Friend of His to whom a Man owed about *five or ſix Pounds*, which he could not immediately pay, but was very willing to give Him a *Note* for, if he had a proper *Form* of ſuch a *Note* in the *Engliſh* Language: That upon this Mr. *Ruſſell* wrote down, and gave Him, the *Form* of ſuch a *Note* for *five or ſix Pounds*: and that He was now perſuaded that, by the help of this Form, *Fournier* had writ the *promiſſory Note* in *my Name*, for a very great Sum. If I remember right, He offered to atteſt upon *Oath*, at any proper Time, that he gave *Fournier* ſuch a *Form*. I am ſure, He added that He was now more and more convinced there was not living a worſe Man than *Fournier*; which he expreſſed in very groſs Words. But when I came to enquire after Him, at the proper Seaſon, I heard that He had been dead ſome time. Much the ſame was affirmed to a Friend, by the late Mr. *Montignac*, a *French Clergyman* at *Marybone*, upon his Death-bed, as the Account He had often heard from Mr. *Ruſſell's* own Mouth. All I can ſay, of my own Knowledge, is, that in Fact this is the *Story* which Mr. *Ruſſell* himſelf told Me: and that the *Time* He named, when ſuch a Form was requeſted, agreed very well with all the Circumſtances of the *Note* in *Queſtion*.

It is proper for me here to obſerve, that *Fournier*, in his firſt *Stories* about the *Note*, in 1740 and 41, to Dr. *Le Moine* and Mr. *Maynard*, did not mention any ſuch *Form* of a *Note* given Him by Mr. *Ruſſell*, and tranſcribed by Himſelf; nor, indeed, till 1743, in his Letter to Me; and more plainly in the Year 1745, in Anſwer to a Queſtion propoſed to Him by Mr. *Rant*; as we have ſeen before: But, on the contrary, affirmed to Dr. *Le M.* that the *Note* was written by Himſelf, upon the Spot, by my Order; and not ſo much as *dictated* by Me. Upon which account it was thought highly proper to enquire, in the *Cauſe*, about his writing readily, and ſpelling exactly, ſome of the difficult Words of the ſaid *Note*; and to ſhew it to be *impoſſible*.

But when He comes to affirm that He wrote it from a *Form* given Him by an *Attorney*; and afterwards to ſwear that Mr. *Ruſſell* was this *Attorney*; the Caſe is altered. For it is evident that *He*, who *then* knew a good deal of *Engliſh*, might take ſuch a *Form* of a *Note* for *five or ſix* pounds, as Mr. *Ruſſell* affirmed he gave him; and from thence, at his Leiſure, by the Aſſiſtance of an *Engliſh* and *French Dictionary*, write ſuch a *Note* as He has done over *my Name*, and ſpell the Words *eight Thouſand eight Hundred*, with ſuch helps, very well; preſerving the *promiſſory Form*, and the Words *Value received*, and any other proper Words furniſhed by Mr. *Ruſſell*, in the *Form* before mentioned. And, if we go farther, I am ſure there is a greater *Probability* that He would chooſe this way, than that He would alarm Mr. *Ruſſell* by deſiring a Form of a *Promiſſory Note* for ſo monſtrous a Sum as 8,800*l.* to be paid Him by Me: which would naturally have induced Mr. *Ruſſell* to have come to Me immediately at the very time; and ſo, would at once have confounded his whole *Scheme*. This *Story* alſo agrees exactly with what I have juſt now argued, that *Min.* for *Miniſter*, and the Name *Bernard Fournier*, were not in Mr. *Ruſſell's Form:* and is, indeed, perfectly conſiſtent with all other *Facts*; and, upon the whole, very credible.

7. Another *bad Appearance* upon the *Face* of the *Note*, is, that it is writ by *Fournier* himſelf. He never has denied, nor can He, that I myſelf was then capable of Writing a *promiſſory Note*. He has indeed, the Aſſurance to ſay that I choſe not to write it myſelf, *for my own Reaſons:* and therefore directed *Him* to write it. But as, on one ſide, He cannot invent a ſingle *Reaſon*, why I ſhould not be very deſirous Myſelf to write my own *Promiſe*, if there were any ſuch; ſo, on the other ſide, ſtrong *Reaſons* might be given, why *He* ſhould chooſe to write it himſelf, if it were all his own *Fiction*. *One* of theſe is ſufficient, *viz.* That the Writing it *himſelf* was the only poſſible Way of performing his wicked Deſign of a *promiſſory Note over* my Name, with any Hope of Secrecy, or Succeſs.

8. A worſe *Appearance* is, that this *Note*, which, it muſt be remembered, He has *ſworn* to be a *conditional Note*, is, in its Words, as *abſolute* as poſſible, without the leaſt hint of any Condition whatſoever: Nay, that in expreſs Words a *Time* is fixed, *viz.* [*three Months*] for the *Payment* of this *Note*, ſworn to be given only for Security of *Preferment*. Now, this *Preferment* could not, with the leaſt probability, be ſuppoſed to fall in *three Months*; and might not fall in *three Years* Time; nor indeed, in my Life-time: And ſo, *Myſelf*, if I outlived three Months, and my Heirs, if I did not, were made anſwerable for a *vaſt Sum*, abſolutely, and without Remedy, as far as this Note could make Us.

9. Once more, the *Note* ſets *Me* forth, (who, in *Fournier's* own Story, am ſaid, of my own accord, to have promiſed him *Preferment*,) as ſuſpecting my own Honeſty; and contriving to tie *myſelf* to *Performance*, by a *Note*, for a vaſt Sum, hanging over my Head: the like to which was never yet known of any *Patron* upon Earth; whoſe voluntary Promiſes are always gladly accepted, as ſufficient without any Security, of any ſort. And this is as great an Abſurdity as can eaſily be conceived.

10. I may perhaps think it a *ſtill greater*, That I am ſhewn to the World, by my Name appearing at the Bottom of this *Note*, as *Weak*, or *Mad*, enough to Sign, willingly and readily, a *Note* of *his* Hand-writing; and a *Note*, in expreſs

preſs Words, ſetting before my Eyes, what, if ſucceſsful, muſt be *Ruine* to my Family, ſuppoſing Me to die ſoon.

I have ſaid enough about the *bad Appearances* upon the *Note* itſelf. I ſhall only add that, had I not been able to give ſo plain a Proof of the *Fact*, that *Fournier* had *my Name* in his Poſſeſſion upon the *Directions* of ſeveral *Letters*; and ſo good an Account of his forming the *Note* from one of them; yet, the *Raſures*, upon the *Face* of the *Note*, would alone have been ſufficient Evidences of it's being a groſs *Cheat*; as they were Proofs that ſomething elſe had once been written, or marked, upon the Paper, which was of neceſſity to be taken away before the *Note* could be rightly formed. And I have been told that, in the *Trial* of the Cauſe, the *Judge* himſelf was heard to ſay as much, upon his own attentive view of the *Note*, in open Court, with the help of a very large Light behind it.

Within this *Period*, the Examination of *all Witneſſes*, on both Parts, in the *Cauſe*, was finiſhed. It is very proper therefore here to remark, That, of the *eleven* Perſons ſummoned by *Fournier* himſelf for the ſupport of his Cauſe, the *Four* Principal, *viz. Clement Chevallier*, Eſq. Mr. *Maynard*, Dr. *Le Moine*, and Mr. *Laval*, have teſtified to *Facts*, which ſupport what I have affirmed; and prove his *Guilt*, in the ſtrongeſt manner: That *four* Others of them teſtify nothing that has any relation to the Queſtion about the Genuineneſs of the *Note* over my Name: That, of the *three* remaining, the Rev. Mr. *Tooſey* teſtifies, and undeniably proves, the direct contrary to what the *Interrogatories* put to Him were deſigned to inſinuate, and lead him to; and ſo, as far as His Teſtimony goes, is a Witneſs upon *Oath*, againſt *Fournier* who cited him: That Mr. *Tyrell* ſays not one word in Juſtification of *Fournier's Note*, or his *Innocence*; and that his real Sentiments about the *Note*, have been already ſhewn, from the plain Words of a Letter of his to a particular Friend, to be very ſtrong againſt him: And laſtly, that the Rev. Mr. *John Chauvet* teſtifies only to an accidental Converſation at a *Coffee-houſe*, between Himſelf and Dr. *Le Moine*, in the Year 1746. To which it is ſufficient to ſay, that Dr. *Le Moine* gives a different Account of that *Converſation*. I will however obſerve, that it is not of the leaſt Importance to the Genuineneſs of the *Note*, what Dr. *Le M.* thought about it in 1746: nor indeed, to the Dr. himſelf, who had a Right and a Duty to inquire into the Affair more ſtrictly after 1746; and, like an honeſt Man, to change his Mind upon better Information. But, after what is here ſaid, what can the *Reader* think of a *Note*, which appears to have received ſo many mortal *Wounds* from *Some*, and ſo little Aſſiſtance from *Others*, of Thoſe very *Witneſſes*, who were ſummoned, by *Fournier* himſelf, to defend and ſupport it?

VII. The *Seventh Period* is from *Auguſt* 1751, to the Hearing of the Merits of the *Note*; and the Decree pronounced upon it, *July* 23, 1752. In this Space of Time, the only remarkable Matter I ſhall mention, is, that *Fournier*, who had *filed* a *Croſs-bill* againſt *Me*, of a great Length, with an uncommon Number of Particulars in it; accompained with a Demand of many *Papers* and *Letters*; when the *former* were all anſwered with the utmoſt punctuality; and the *latter* all delivered into *Court*; never returned to the *Charge*: but fled from this Continuation of his Wickedneſs, without attempting to make good any one *Fact* that was contradicted; or deſiring that this *Croſs-bill* of his might be heard with the *original* Bill againſt Him. And this, in ſuch a Caſe as his, muſt juſtly be eſteemed an effectual Acknowledgment that He could not defend what He had, with the utmoſt Aſſurance, affirmed to the *Court*, in a continued *Romance* of *Facts* which never were, and of *Converſations* between Us, which never exiſted.

VIII. The *Eighth Period* is from the *Hearing*, and the *Judgement* given againſt *Fournier*, as the *Contriver* of a *Groſs Fraud*, &c. to this Day. And here I ſhall make only *two Obſervations*, *viz.* 1. That, if He had thought himſelf aggrieved by the *Sentence* given, He had an undeniable Right to *Appeal* to my *Lord Chancellor*; and that this *Appeal*, by the ſetled Rules of Proceeding, as I am informed, would have been heard without *Delay*; and could have added but little to his paſt Expences. 2. That, inſtead of this unblameable Conduct, He choſe firſt to put on the Appearance of *Victory*; and to act openly with as much Aſſurance, as if the *Judgement* had been given in his Favour; and, after the ill Succeſs of this, to return to his *Inſults* upon Me, of another kind: of which I have given a full Account in the foregoing *Letter*.

If, in any part of what is now offered to the *Publick*, I appear to produce *my own* Evidence, I hope it will be underſtood, that I do not propoſe this, as a ſtrict Proof of *Fournier's Guilt*, which has already been declared in *publick Court*, without the aid of *My* Teſtimony; and ſtands not at all in need of it: but that it was unavoidable, when I was giving an Account of many *circumſtantial Particulars* of this Affair. I am ſure, I expect no Credit to be given to what is here affirmed by *Myſelf*, but as it carries along with it the ſtrongeſt Marks of *Probability*; or ſtands ſupported by the *Teſtimony* of *Others*; and is perfectly conſiſtent with all the *principal* Appearances through the whole Affair. And I know very well that whenever, in this *Story*, my own Word ſtands quite *alone*, Every One will, and ought to, believe it, or *not* believe it, as He thinks Me capable, or *not* capable, of inventing *Facts*, and then inventing Supports for them: an *Iniquity*, which I have charged, and fully proved, upon *Another*.

And now, before I conclude, let Me be allowed to recapitulate the Travels of this famous *Note*, under its various Habits, in a very few Words.

This Note, in 1740, and 41, was ſhewn at *London*, by *Fournier*, ſecretly to particular Friends, as a *Note* given Him by Me, out of a conſcientious *Principle* of making him *Amends* for the *Injury* I had done Him in my *Judgement* about his *Appeal* to Me. But it was preſently, in the ſame Years, and by the ſame *Fournier*, and to the ſame Friends, changed into a *Note*, given Him by Me, *not* out of a Principle of Conſcience, but from *Gaiety* of Heart *in my Cups*.

In 1743, and 1744; from being the good and laudable Effect of *Juſtice*; or the generous Effect of a *Cup* of *Liquor*; it was turned into an *Inſtance* of my *uncommon Wickedneſs*; a *Note* wilfully contrived by *Me*, in *One* part of it, for the cheating and injuring of *Fournier*, who had fled to Me for Juſtice. But then, in theſe *ſame* Years, in which it was thus deſcribed in a private Letter to *Myſelf*, at that Time in *Surrey*; it was in *Suffolk* ſhewn to Mr. *Chevallier*, his *beſt Friend*, as a Note ſo *Innocent*, as not to be deſigned ſo much as for the Payment of the Money *named* in it; but given Him by Me, as a Security for *Preferment* only.

I know not what was the Matter: but the poor *Note* was not ſuffered to *reſt* in this *Form* long. For, in the Year 1745, it was, by *Fournier* himſelf, in the Preſence of a *Gentleman* at *Ipſwich*, and by Operation of his own Hand-writing, denied to be a *Note* intended for the Security of *Preferment*; and aſſerted to be given Him as a *Note* for the *Payment* of the vaſt *Sum* named in it. And in this Dreſs, as far as appears publickly, the *Note* was left till 1747; at the End of which Year, *Fournier* preſuming upon his *Friend's* little Attention, or bad Memory; and led by *his own* bad Heart; ſhewed it to Mr. *Chevallier* himſelf in this ſame Habit; aſſuring *Him* alſo, under his Hand, as a proof that it was truly a *Note* for the Money named in it, that I had actually paid Him a Part of it; and was to pay the Remainder; in abſolute Contradiction to the Account He had given this ſame Gentleman in 1743, or 44.

But after this, in 1749, came on a *critical Point* of Time, when the *Note* was, of neceſſity, to be fixed to *one* certain Form; which muſt now be *ſworn* to: and, after *that*, the *Swearer* could not vary it, at his own wanton Will and Pleaſure. What then became of it? Why, the unſcrupulous *Owner* made no Difficulty to affirm and *ſwear* it, back again, into a *Note* for the *Security* of *Preferment* only.

A *Series* this, of *written* and *oral* Falſhoods, deſtroying one another! and a *Scene* of inconſiſtent *Stories* about the ſame Note, concluded by an *Oath*, deſtroying *them*, and falling itſelf with them! and an *Oath*, which many of the *Vile* and *Wicked* themſelves would have ſtarted at, conſidering what had gone before it! The whole Procedure indeed, ſuch as no Man could have gone through, (as far as I can judge of Mankind) but *One*, whoſe *unmoved Appearance* without, and *unrelenting Conſcience* within, had been formed, by long Diſcipline, for ſuch Work! To conclude,

If ever any *Money-note*, ſince that Name was known in the World of *Buſineſs*, went through ſo many *Changes* of *Name* and *Nature*, as *this* has done, in the *Accounts* given of it by the very *Perſon* upon whom it was found; and, after ſuch a Series of *Variations*, was ever thought to be a *genuine* and *honeſt Note*; let *this Note* be thought ſo.

If the *Man* who gave it twice under his Hand, *firſt* to Mr. *Rant*, and afterwards to Mr. *Chevallier*, That this *Note* was deſigned for the Payment of the *Sum* named in it; and afterwards *ſware*, in a publick Court of Juſtice, that this ſame *Note* was deſigned only to be a *Security* for *Preferment*, and conſequently, was *not deſigned* for the Payment of that *Sum*; could be an *honeſt* Poſſeſſor of this *Note*; let *Fournier* be accounted ſo.

But, at the ſame Time, let *Truth* and *Falſhood*, *Integrity* and *Knavery*, *Simplicity* and *Fraud*, be decreed to be the ſame things; or (which is all one) to have the ſame *Marks* ſo ſtrong upon them, that they cannot be at all diſtinguiſhed from one another. And, when this is the Caſe, let *Civil Society* ſubſiſt, if it can.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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